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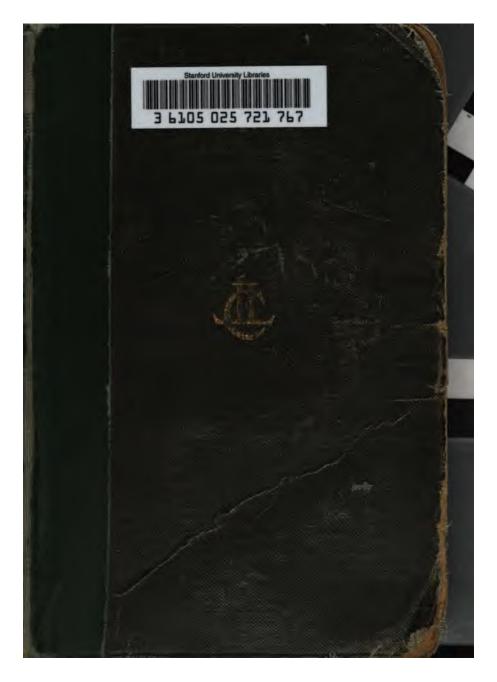
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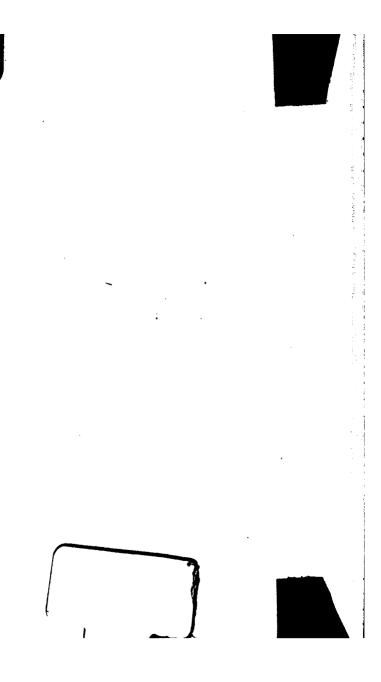
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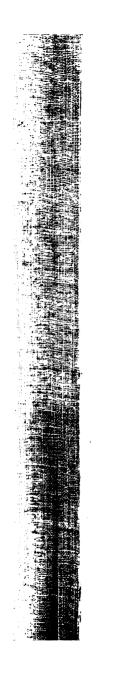
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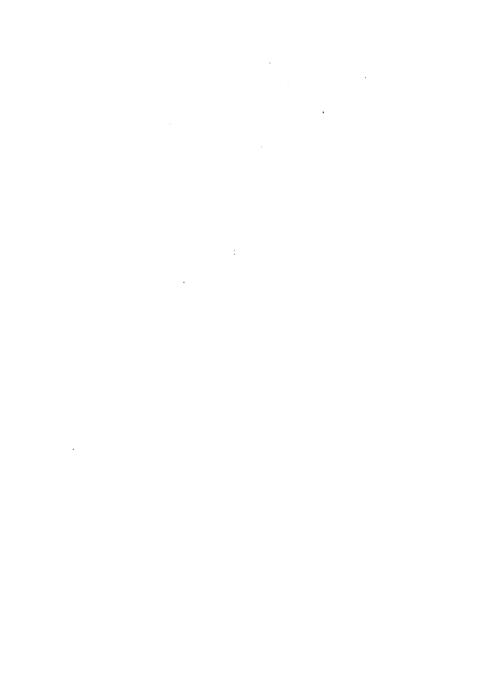
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### **HERODOTUS**

Ι



# **HERODOTUS**

# WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY A. D. GODLEY

HON, FELLOW OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD

IN FOUR VOLUMES

I

BOOKS I AND II



LONDON: WILLIAM HEINEMANN NEW YORK: G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS

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#### A

It is impossible to give certain and undisputed dates for the lifetime of Herodotus. But if we are to believe Aulus Gellius, he was born in 484 B.C.; and the internal evidence of his History proves that he was alive during some part of the Peloponnesian war, as he alludes to incidents which occurred in its earlier years. He may therefore be safely said to have been a contemporary of the two great wars which respectively founded and ended the brief and brilliant pre-eminence of Athens in Hellas. He belongs in the fullest sense to the "great" period of Greek history.

Herodotus was (it is agreed on all hands) a native of Halicarnassus in Caria; and if his birth fell in 484, he was born a subject of the Great King. His early life was spent, apparently, in his native town, or possibly in the island of Samos, of which he shows an intimate knowledge. Tradition asserts that after a visit to Samos he "returned to Halicarnassus and expelled the tyrant" (Lygdamis); "but when later

he saw himself disliked by his countrymen, he went as a volunteer to Thurium, when it was being colonised by the Athenians. There he died and lies buried in the market-place." This is supported by good evidence, and there seems to be no reason for doubting it. It is also stated that he visited Athens and there recited some part of his history; this may have happened, as alleged, about the year 445. It is evident from his constant allusions to Athens that he knew it well, and must have lived there.

So much may be reasonably taken as certain Beyond it we know very little; there is a large field for conjecture, and scholars have not hesitated to expatiate in it. If Herodotus was banished from Halicarnassus for political reasons, it is probable that he was a man of some standing in his birth-place. The unquestioned fact that he travelled far makes it likely that he was well-to-do. But his history, full as it is to the brim of evidences of travel, is never (except in an occasional phrase, "I have myself seen," and the like) autobiographical; and we know nothing. from any actual statement of the historian's own, of the date of his various visits to the countries which he describes. Probably they were spread over a considerable part of his life. All that can be said is that he must have visited Egypt after 460 B.C., and may have been before that date in Scythia. Nothing else can be asserted; we only know that at some time or other Herodotus travelled not only in Greece and

the Aegean, of which he obviously has personal knowledge, but also in a large part of what we call the Near East. He saw with his own eves much of Asia Minor; Egypt, as far south as Assuan; Cyrene and the country round it; Syria, and eastern lands perhaps as far as Mesopotamia; and the northern coast of the Black Sea. Within these limits, πολλών ανθρώπων ίδεν άστεα και νόον έγνω. But as the dates of his travels are unknown, so is their intention. Did he travel to collect materials for his history, its scheme being already formed? or was that history the outcome of the traveller's experiences? We only know that Herodotus' wanderings and the nine books of his narrative are mutually interwoven.

His professed object is, as he states it in the first sentence of his first book, to write the history of the Graeco-Persian war. But in order to do this he must first describe the rise of the Persian empire, to which the chapters on Lydia and the story of Croesus are introductory. When he comes in due time to relate the Persian invasion of Egypt, this is the cue for a description and history of the Nile valley, occupying the whole of the second book; and the story of Darius' subsequent expedition against Scythia leads naturally to a long digression on the geography and customs of that country. The narrative in the later books, dealing with the actual Persian invasion of Greece, is naturally less broken; but till then at least it is interrupted by constant episodes and digressions, here a chapter, there a whole book; it

is the historian's practice, as he himself says, to introduce  $\pi\rho\sigma\theta\eta\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ , additions, whenever anything even remotely connected with the matter in hand occurs to him as likely to interest the reader. The net result is really a history of the Near East, and a good deal besides; a summary of popular knowledge or belief respecting recent events and the world as known more or less to the Greeks; which eventually, after branching out into countless digressions and divagations, centres in the crowning narrative of Marathon, Thermopylae, Salamis, Plataea, Tortuously, but never tediously, Herodotus' history moves to this goal. For all his discursiveness, he does not lack unity. "He is the first," it has been said, "to construct a long and elaborate narrative, in which many parts are combined in due subordination and arrangement to make one great whole."1

That a narrative so comprehensive in its nature—dealing with so great a variety of subjects, and drawn from sources so miscellaneous—should contain much which cannot be regarded as serious history, is only to be expected. It is impossible to generalise; where popular belief and ascertained fact, hearsay and ocular evidence are blended, "the historical value of the matter found in Herodotus' work varies not merely from volume to volume, or from book to book, but from paragraph to paragraph, from sentence to sentence, from line to line. Every separate story, every individual statement is to be tried on its own

<sup>1</sup> How and Wells' Commentary on Herodotus.

merits." 1 Many critics have not taken the trouble to exercise this discrimination; it was for a long time the fashion to dismiss the Father of History as a garrulous raconteur, hoping to deceive his readers as easily as he himself was deceived by his informants. This "parcel of lies" type of criticism may now, fortunately, be considered extinct. Modern research, which began by discrediting Herodotus, has with fuller knowledge come to far different conclusions. It should be now (says Dr. Macan) "universally recognised that the most stringent application of historical and critical methods to the text of Herodotus leaves the work irremovably and irreplaceably at the head of European prose literature, whether in its scientific or in its artistic character." He has been blamed for a "garrulity" which gives currency to much which is alleged to be beneath the dignity of history. But most scholars must now agree that even from the historical standpoint the world would have lost much of infinite value had Herodotus been more reticent; his "garrulity" is often proved to point the way to right conclusions.

Obviously, the condition of human beliefs and opinions falls within the field of history. Where Herodotus plainly and demonstrably errs, he is often of supreme interest as indicating contemporary thought, which he not only summarises but criticises as well. His geography and his meteorology are representative of a stage of thought. He has not arrived

1 R. W. Macan, Herodotus IV-VI.

at truth (naturally!) but he is consistent with a current opinion which is nearer to truth than earlier conceptions of the world. It is true that the sun's course is not affected, as Herodotus believes it to be, by the wind. It is also true that the Danube does not rise in the Pyrenees, and that the course of the upper Nile is not from west to east. But no one in his time knew better. He reflects and discusses contemporary opinion; he rejects earlier and more primitive ideas. It may be counted to him for righteousness that if he knows much less than Strabo, at least he knows a great deal more than Homer.

Always and everywhere, Herodotus gives us the best that is accessible to him; and it is one of his great merits as a historian that he does not give it uncritically. Scanty justice, till lately, has been done him in this matter; in reality, his manner of retailing what has been told him shows anything but credulity. Definite acceptance is much rarer than plain expressions of disbelief in what he has heard; "they say, but I do not believe it" is a very frequent introduction. This attitude is shown by the grammatical construction of the narrative-a construction which translation cannot always reproduce without awkwardness, and which is sometimes therefore overlooked altogether; the fact remains that much of the story is cast in the mould of reported speech, showing that the writer is not stating that so-and-so is a fact but only that it has been told him; and the oratio obliqua is maintained throughout the narrative.

Herodotus deliberately professes that this is his method; ἐγὼ ὀφείλω λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα, πείθεσθαί γε μἢν παντάπασιν οὐκ ὀφείλω (Bk. vii.); τοῖσι μέν νυν ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων λεγομένοισι χράσθω ὅτεῳ τὰ τοιαῦτα πιθανά ἐστι ἐμοὶ δὲ παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον ὑποκέεται ὅτι τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπ' ἐκάστων ἀκοἢ γράφω (ii. 123); "I know not what the truth may be, I tell the tale as 'twas told to me." In view of these plain statements, to attack Herodotus for foolish credulity is nothing less than disingenuous.

Some harm, moreover, has been done to Herodotus' reputation by the tendency of modern languages to alter the meaning of derived words. Herodotus repeats  $\mu \hat{\nu} \theta o \iota$ . Now a  $\mu \hat{\nu} \theta o \varsigma$  is simply a tale, with no implication of falsity; it may just as well be true as not. But when we say that Herodotus repeats myths, that is an altogether different matter; myth and mythical carry the implication of falsehood; and Herodotus is branded as a dupe or a liar, who cannot be taken seriously as an authority for anything.

Herodotus' reputation for untrustworthiness arises, in fact, from his professed method of giving a hearing to every opinion. This has been of great service to those who early and late have accused him of deliberate and perhaps interested falsification of historical fact. These attacks began with Plutarch; they have been more than once renewed in modern times by critics desirous of a name for originality and independence. None of them can be regarded as of any serious importance. They leave Herodotus' credit

untouched, for the simple reason that they are hardly ever based on solid evidence. Plutarch's treatise on Herodotus' "malignity" only establishes his own. Modern critics, who maintain that Herodotus' praise and blame is unjustly distributed, have seldom any witness to appeal to save the historian himself; and failing necessary support ab extra, they can only assert the a priori improbability that an historian who is inaccurate in one narrative should be accurate in another. It is quite possible that the heroes of the history were not so heroic and the villains not so villainous as the historian paints them; but we have no evidence as to the private life of Cyrus or Cambyses beyond what the historian himself has given us. Nor is there any justification for depreciating the services of Athens to Greece because the eulogist of Athens happened to believe that the Danube rises in the Pyrenees, and that the sun's course is affected by the wind.

It cannot be denied that Herodotus invites criticism. Plainly enough, a great deal of the evidence on which he relies must be more substantial than simple hearsay. He has undoubtedly learnt much from documents engraved or written. To take one instance, the long and detailed catalogue of the nations included in the Persian empire and the amounts of tribute paid by each must rest on some documentary authority. But he will not support his credit by producing his proofs—at least, he does so seldom; for the most part, his fontes are included

under "what he has heard"; he may have seen this, he may have read that, but it is all set down as hearsay and no more. There could be no better way of opening the door to suspicious critics. Further, some of the qualities which constitute the charm of his narrative make him suspect to those who ask only from history that it should be a plain statement of what did actually happen. Herodotus is pre-eminently biographical; personal passion and desire is the guiding motive of events; they are attributed to individual action more than to the force of circumstance. Debatable situations are described in terms of an actual debate between named champions of this or that policy,-as in Euripides, nav, as even in the comparatively matterof-fact narrative of Thucydides. Nor is it only the human individual will which decides; it is the superhuman above all. The fortunes of individuals and communities are presented to us as they appear to a Greek who sees in human life "a sphere for the realisation of Divine Judgments." Το θείον is always working; whether as "Nemesis" to balance good and evil fortune, and correct overweening pride and excessive prosperity by corresponding calamity, or as eternal justice to punish actual wrongdoing. Such beliefs, common to all ages, find especial prominence in the history of Herodotus, as they do in Greek tragedy. The stories of Croesus, Polycrates, Cambyses, the fall of Troy-all are illustrations of a

divine ordering of human affairs; indeed the central subject of the story—the débâcle of the vast Persian expedition against Hellas—exemplifies the maxim that ὕβρις εἰ πολλῶν ὑπερπλησθῆ μάταν | ἀκρότατον εἰσαναβᾶσ' | ἀπότομον ὅρονσεν εἰς ἀνάγκαν.¹ History thus written is a means to moral edification; and Herodotus may not be above the suspicion of twisting the record of events so as to inculcate a moral lesson. Such predispositions make history more dramatic and more interesting; but those may be excused who hold that they militate against strict accuracy.

The dialect in which Herodotus writes is lonic, the oldest literary dialect of Greece; but he also makes use of many words and forms which are commonly associated with the literature of Attica. When therefore Dionysius of Halicarnassus calls him της Ἰάδος ἄριστος κανών, this must refer rather to his pre-eminence as an Ionian stylist than to the "purity" of his dialect; which in fact is rightly described as μεμιγμένη and ποικίλη.2 Perhaps Herodotus' language was affected by his residence at Athens. But Ionic and "Old Attic" appear to have been so nearly akin that it is difficult to draw a clear line of division between them. From whatever sources drawn, his diction is pervaded by an indefinable but unmistakably archaic quality which constitutes not the least of a translator's difficulties.

<sup>2</sup> Hermogenes, περὶ Ιδεῶν

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Sophocles, Oedipus Tyrannus, 874-7.

B

Among comparatively recent books the following will be of especial value to the reader of Herodotus: J. W. Blakesley's edition (text and notes); H. Stein (text and German notes); G. Rawlinson's History of Herodotus (translation, notes, and copious appendix); R. W. Macan's Herodotus IV-VI and VII-IX (text and notes); W. W. How and J. Wells' Commentary on Herodotus (notes and appendix); Hude's Clarendon Press edition (text and apparatus criticus); Grote's and Bury's Histories of Greece.

The text of Herodotus rests mainly on the authority of nine MSS., of which a "Laurentianus" and a "Romanus" of the tenth and eleventh centuries respectively are considered the best. merits of all the nine MSS, and the problems which they present to an editor are fully discussed in Hude's preface to the Clarendon Press edition. The text which I have followed is that of Stein; in the few passages of any importance where I have thought fit to follow any other authority, the fact is noted. In the spelling of names I have not attempted to be consistent. I use the familiar transliteration of k and o, and write "Croesus" and "Cyrus," not "Kroisos" and "Kuros," only retaining terminations in os where they are familiar and traditional. Where place-names have a well-known English form, not widely different from the Greek, I have kept to that; for instance, "Athens" and "Thebes," not

"Athenae" and "Thebae"; but I write "Carchedon" and "Taras," not "Carthage" and "Tarentum." This is (I trust) a reasonable, though undeniably an inconsistent method. The scheme of the present series does not contemplate a commentary; only the briefest notes, therefore, have been added to this translation, and only where the "general reader" may be supposed to stand in urgent need of a word of explanation.

# INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS I

It was by their conquest of Lydia that the Persians were first brought into contact with the Greeks. Hence it is necessary to Herodotus' plan to trace the history of the line of Lydian kings which ended with Croesus; this, with many attendant digressions, occupies chapters 1–44 of Book I. On the same principle, the history of the Medes and Persians, and the early life of Cyrus himself, must be narrated (ch. 45–140). Then follows the story of Cyrus' dealings with the Greeks of Asia Minor (ch. 140–177). The rest of the book is concerned with the wars of Cyrus against the Assyrians and the Massagetae; a descriptive digression on Babylonian civilisation naturally forms a part of this section.

Cyrus, killed in battle by the Massagetae, was succeeded by his son Cambyses; and Cambyses, soon after the beginning of his reign, resolved to attack Egypt. This resolve gives the cue for Herodotus' memorable digression on the history and customs of that country.

The second book falls into two parts The first xix

#### INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS I AND II

is the portrayal of the Nile valley and its inhabitants (ch. 1-98); the second gives a history of the Egyptian kings. The whole book—a strange medley of description and conjecture, history and fable—has, in so far as it is descriptive of present things, the supreme merit of a collection of pictures drawn by an eyewitness. Herodotus' travels seem to have been mostly in Lower Egypt. But he knows also the upper valley of the Nile, and apparently has travelled as far as Assuan; his record, apart from the charm of the narrative, has an enduring interest as the earliest and for many centuries the only literary source of our knowledge of the country.

But a clear distinction must be drawn between the descriptive and the historical chapters.

It is not likely that Herodotus is inaccurate in describing what he has seen. But, for his Egyptian chronicles, he has had to rely on what was told him, certainly through the medium of interpreters and probably in many cases by informants whose own knowledge was limited and inexact. Here, as usual, he safeguards himself against the charge of uncritical credulity by showing that he repeats the tale as told to him without guaranteeing its truth. It is very clear, however, that the impressions of history given to him are exceedingly misleading, at least for the long period before the twenty-sixth or Saïte dynasty. His chronicle is full of errors of nomenclature and chronological sequence, and is made to cover far too long a period of time. Our knowledge of the early

#### INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS I AND II

rulers of Egypt rests, firstly, on evidence supplied by Egyptian monuments; secondly, on what remains to us (though in an epitomised and imperfect form) of the chronicle of Manetho, an Egyptian priest who in the third century B.C. compiled a list of the kings of his country. Herodotus is repeatedly at variance with both these sources of information. In a brief introduction it is impossible to multiply proofs, or even to summarise the difficulties which beset students of these abstruse matters; it is enough to remember that "for Egyptian history in the strict sense chapters 99 to 146 are valueless." 1 These deal with the dynasties preceding 663 B.c., and covering in fact some 2700 years. Herodotus gives them a far longer duration; apparently he was shown a list of Egyptian rulers, and calculated the united lengths of their reigns by assuming one generation, or thirty years, for each king. So rough-and-ready a method of calculation could lead to no true conclusion; and it is wholly invalidated by the undoubted fact that many of the reigns named in the list were contemporaneous.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> How and Wells, op. cit.; the reader is referred to their Commentary for a discussion of these matters.

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# HERODOTUS BOOK I

### ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΙ

#### A

1. Ἡροδότου Ἁλικαρνησσέος ἱστορίης ἀπόδεξις ἥδε, ὡς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηται, μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά, τὰ μὲν Ἑλλησι τὰ δὲ βαρβάροισι ἀποδεχθέντα, ἀκλεᾶ γένηται, τά τε ἄλλα

και δι' ην αιτίην έπολέμησαν άλληλοισι.

Περσέων μέν νυν οί λόγιοι Φοίνικας αίτίους φασί γενέσθαι της διαφορής. τούτους γάρ ἀπὸ της Ερυθρης καλεομένης θαλάσσης απικομένους έπὶ τήνδε την θάλασσαν, καὶ οἰκήσαντας τοῦτον τον χώρον τον καὶ νῦν οἰκέουσι, αὐτίκα ναυτιλίησι μακρήσι ἐπιθέσθαι, ἀπαγινέοντας δὲ φορτία Αἰγύπτιά τε καὶ 'Ασσύρια τῆ τε ἄλλη ἐσαπικνέεσθαι καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς "Αργος. τὸ δὲ "Αργος τοῦτον τον χρόνον προείχε άπασι των έν τη νυν Έλλάδι καλεομένη χώρη. ἀπικομένους δὲ τοὺς Φοίνικας ές δή το "Αργος τούτο διατίθεσθαι τον φόρτον. πέμπτη δὲ ἡ ἔκτη ἡμέρη ἀπ' ἡς ἀπίκοντο, έξεμπολημένων σφι σχεδον πάντων, ελθείν επί την θάλασσαν γυναϊκας άλλας τε πολλάς και δή και τοῦ βασιλέος θυγατέρα τὸ δέ οἱ οὔνομα εἶναι, κατά τώυτὸ τὸ καὶ "Ελληνες λέγουσι, Ιοῦν τὴν

### HERODOTUS

#### BOOK I

one why they warred against each other may

not lack renown.

The Persian learned men say that the Phoenicians were the cause of the feud. These (they say) came to our seas from the sea which is called Red,¹ and having settled in the country which they still occupy, at once began to make long voyages. Among other places to which they carried Egyptian and Assyrian merchandise, they came to Argos, which was about that time preeminent in every way among the people of what is now called Hellas. The Phoenicians then came, as I say, to Argos, and set out their cargo. On the fifth or sixth day from their coming, their wares being now well-nigh all sold, there came to the sea shore among many other women the king's daughter, whose name (according to Persians and Greeks alike) was Io, the daughter of Inachus. They

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Not the modern Red Sea, but the Persian Gulf and adjacent waters.

#### HERODOTUS

Ίνάχου ταύτας στάσας κατὰ πρύμνην τῆς νεὸς ἀνέεσθαι τῶν φορτίων τῶν σφι ἦν θυμὸς μάλιστα καὶ τοὺς Φοίνικας διακελευσαμένους ὁρμῆσαι ἐπὰ αὐτάς. τὰς μὲν δὴ πλεθνας τῶν γυναικῶν ἀποφυγεῖν, τὴν δὲ Ἰοῦν σὺν ἄλλησι ἀρπασθῆναι. ἐσβαλομένους δὲ ἔς την νέα οἰχεσθαι ἀποπλέοντας

έπ' Αἰγύπτου.:

2. Ούτω μέρ Τούν ές Αίγυπτον απικέσθαι λέγουσι Πέρσαι, ούκ ώς "Ελληνες, και των άδικημάτων πρώτον τούτο άρξαι. μετά δὲ ταύτα Έλλήνων τινάς (οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσι τοὕνομα ἀπηγήσασθαι) φασί της Φοινίκης ές Τύρον προσσχόντας άρπάσαι του βασιλέος την θυγατέρα Εθρώπην. είησαν δ' αν ούτοι Κρήτες. ταθτα μέν δη ίσα πρὸς ίσα σφι γενέσθαι, μετά δὲ ταῦτα "Ελληνας αιτίους της δευτέρης άδικίης γενέσθαι. καταπλώσαντας γὰρ μακρή νηὶ ἐς Αἰάν τε τὴν Κολχίδα και έπι Φάσιν ποταμόν, ενθεύτεν, διαποηξαμένους καὶ τάλλα των είνεκεν απίκατο, άρπάσαι του βασιλέος την θυγατέρα Μηδείην. πέμψαντα δὲ τὸν Κόλχων βασιλέα ἐς τὴν Έλλάδα κήρυκα αιτέειν τε δίκας της άρπαγης και άπαιτέειν την θυγατέρα. τούς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ώς οὐδε ἐκεῖνοι Ἰοῦς τῆς ᾿Αργείης ἔδοσάν σφι δίκας της άρπαγης ούδε ων αὐτοι δώσειν εκείνοισι.

 stood about the stern of the ship: and while they bargained for such wares as they fancied, the Phoenicians heartened each other to the deed, and rushed to take them. Most of the women escaped: Io with others was carried off; the men cast her into the ship and made sail away for

Egypt.

2. This, say the Persians (but not the Greeks), was how Io came to Egypt, and this, according to them, was the first wrong that was done. Next, according to their tale, certain Greeks (they cannot tell who) landed at Tyre in Phoenice and carried off the king's daughter Europe. These Greeks must, I suppose, have been Cretans. So far, then, the account between them stood balanced. But after this (say they) it was the Greeks who were guilty of the second wrong. They sailed in a long ship to Aea of the Colchians and the river Phasis 1: and when they had done the rest of the business for which they came, they carried off the king's daughter Medea. When the Colchian king sent a herald to demand reparation for the robbery, and restitution of his daughter, the Greeks replied that as they had been refused reparation for the abduction of the Argive Io, neither would they make any to the Colchians.

3. Then (so the story runs) in the second generation after this Alexandrus son of Priam, having heard this tale, was minded to win himself a wife out of Hellas by ravishment; for he was well persuaded that, as the Greeks had made no reparation, so neither would he. So he carried off Helen. The Greeks first resolved to send messengers demanding

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This is the legendary cruise of the Argonauts.

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του πέμψαντας άγγέλους ἀπαιτέειν τε Ἑλένην καὶ δίκας τῆς άρπαγῆς αἰτέειν. τοὺς δέ, προϊσχομένων ταῦτα, προφέρειν σφι Μηδείης τῆν άρπαγήν, ὡς οὐ δόντες αὐτοὶ δίκας οὐδὲ ἐκδόντες ἀπαιτεόντων βουλοίατό σφι παρ' ἄλλων δίκας

γίνεσθαι.

4. Μέχρι μεν ων τούτου άρπαγάς μούνας είναι παρ άλλήλων, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου "Ελληνας δη μεγάλως αίτίους γενέσθαι προτέρους γαρ άρξαι στρατεύεσθαι ές την Ασίην ή σφέας ές την Ευρώπην. το μέν νυν άρπάζειν γυναίκας ανδρών αδίκων νομίζειν έργον είναι, τὸ δὲ άρπασθεισέων σπουδήν ποιήσασθαι τιμωρέειν ανοήτων, τὸ δὲ μηδεμίαν ἄρην ἔχειν άρπασθεισέων σωφρόνων δήλα γάρ δη ότι, εί μη αύταὶ έβούλοντο, οὐκ αν ήρπάζοντο. σφέας μεν δή τούς έκ της Ασίης λέγουσι Πέρσαι άρπαζομενέων τῶν γυναικῶν λόγον οὐδένα ποιήσασθαι, "Ελληνας δὲ Λακεδαιμονίης είνεκεν γυναικός στόλον ιέγαν συναγείραι καὶ ἔπειτα ελθόντας ές την Ασίην την Πριάμου δύναμιν κατελείν. ἀπὸ τούτου αίεὶ ἡγήσασθαι τὸ Ελληνικὸν σφίσι είναι πολέμιου. την γάρ 'Ασίην και τὰ ἐνοικέοντα έθνεα βάρβαρα 1 οἰκηιεθνται οἱ Πέρσαι, την δὲ Εὐρώπην καὶ τὸ Ελληνικὸν ήγηνται κεγωρίσθαι.

5. Οὔτω μὲν Πέρσαι λέγουσι γενέσθαι, καὶ διὰ τὴν Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν εὐρίσκουσι σφίσι ἐοῦσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἔχθρης τῆς ἐς τοὺς Ελληνας. περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἰοῦς οὐκ ὁμολογέουσι Πέρσησι οὕτω Φοίνικες οὐ γὰρ ἀρπαγῆ σφέας χρησαμένους λέγουσι ἀγαγεῖν αὐτὴν ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν τῷ

<sup>1</sup> έθνεα [βάρβαρα] Stein.

that Helen should be restored and atonement made for the rape; but when this proposal was made, the Trojans pleaded the rape of Medea, and reminded the Greeks that they asked reparation of others, yet had made none themselves, nor given up the plunder at request.

- 4. Thus far it was a matter of mere robbery on both sides. But after this (the Persians say) the Greeks were greatly to blame; for they invaded Asia before the Persians attacked Europe. "We think," say they, "that it is wrong to carry women off: but to be zealous to avenge the rape is foolish: wise men take no account of such things: for plainly the women would never have been carried away, had not they themselves wished it. We of Asia regarded the rape of our women not at all; but the Greeks, all for the sake of a Lacedaemonian woman, mustered a great host, came to Asia, and destroyed the power of Priam. Ever since then we have regarded Greeks as our enemies." The Persians claim Asia for their own, and the foreign nations that dwell in it : Europe and the Greek race they hold to be separate from them.
- 5. Such is the Persian account of the matter: in their opinion, it was the taking of Troy which began their feud with the Greeks. But the Phoenicians do not tell the same story about Io as the Persians. They say that they did not carry her off to Egypt by force: she had intercourse in Argos with the captain

#### HERODOTUS

"Αργεϊ εμίσγετο τω ναυκλήρω της νεός επεί δ' έμαθε έγκυος ἐοῦσα, αίδεομένη τοὺς τοκέας οῦτω δη έθελοντην αὐτην τοίσι Φοίνιξι συνεκπλώσαι.

ώς αν μη κατάδηλος γένηται.

Ταῦτα μέν νυν Πέρσαι τε καὶ Φοίνικες λέγουσι έγω δε περί μεν τούτων ούκ έρχομαι ερέων ώς ούτω ή άλλως κως ταύτα έγένετο, τον δε οίδα αὐτὸς πρώτον ὑπάρξαντα ἀδίκων ἔργων ἐς τοὺς "Ελληνας, τούτον σημήνας προβήσομαι ές τὸ πρόσω τοῦ λόγου, όμοίως σμικρά καὶ μεγάλα άστεα ανθρώπων επεξιών, τὰ γὰρ τὸ πάλαι μεγάλα ήν, τὰ πολλὰ σμικρὰ αὐτῶν γέγονε τὰ δὲ ἐπ' ἐμεῦ ἢν μεγάλα, πρότερον ἢν σμικρά. τὴν ανθρωπηίην ων επιστάμενος εύδαιμονίην ούδαμα έν τωντώ μένουσαν, επιμνήσομαι αμφοτέρων

ομοίως.

6. Κροίσος ήν Λυδός μεν γένος, παίς δε 'Αλυάττεω, τύραννος δὲ ἐθνέων τῶν ἐντὸς "Αλυος ποταμού, δς ρέων από μεσαμβρίης μεταξύ Συρίων τε καὶ Παφλαγόνων έξιει πρὸς Βορέην ἄνεμον ές του Εύξεινου καλεόμενου πόντου. ούτος ό Κροίσος βαρβάρων πρώτος των ήμεις ίδμεν τούς μεν κατεστρέψατο Έλλήνων ες φόρου απαγωγήν, τούς δέ φίλους προσεποιήσατο. κατεστρέψατο μεν Ίωνάς τε καὶ Αἰολέας καὶ Δωριέας τους έν τη 'Ασίη, φίλους δὲ προσεποιήσατο Λακεδαιμονίους. πρὸ δὲ τῆς Κροίσου ἀρχῆς πάντες Έλληνες ήσαν έλεύθεροι το γάρ Κιμμερίων στράτευμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίην ἀπικόμενον Κροίσου ον έον πρεσβύτερον ου καταστροφή έγενετο των πολίων άλλ' έξ ἐπιδρομῆς άρπαγή.

7. Ἡ δὲ ἡγεμονίη οὕτω περιῆλθε, ἐοῦσα Ἡρα-

of the ship: then, perceiving herself to be with child, she was ashamed that her parents should know it, and so, lest they should discover her condition, she sailed away with the Phoenicians of her own accord.

These are the stories of the Persians and the Phoenicians. For my own part, I will not say that this or that story is true, but I will name him whom I myself know to have done unprovoked wrong to the Greeks, and so go forward with my history, and speak of small and great cities alike. For many states that were once great have now become small: and those that were great in my time were small formerly. Knowing therefore that human prosperity never continues in one stay, I will make mention alike of both kinds.

- 6. Croesus was by birth a Lydian, son of Alyattes, and monarch of all the nations west of the river Halys, which flows from the south between Syria and Paphlagonia, and issues northward into the sea called Euxinus. This Croesus was as far as we know the first foreigner who subdued Greeks and took tribute of them, and won the friendship of others,—the former being the Ionians, the Aeolians, and the Dorians of Asia, and the latter the Lacedaemonians. Before the reign of Croesus all Greeks were free; for the Cimmerian host which invaded Ionia before his time did not subdue the cities but rather raided and robbed them.
  - 7. Now the sovereign power, which belonged to

κλειδέων, ές τὸ γένος τὸ Κροίσου, καλεομένους δὲ Μερμνάδας, ην Κανδαύλης, του οί "Ελληνες Μυρσίλον ονομάζουσι, τύραννος Σαρδίων, απόγονος δε 'Αλκαίου τοῦ 'Ηρακλέος. "Αγρων μεν γαρ ο Νίνου τοῦ Βήλου τοῦ Αλκαίου πρώτος Ήρακλειδέων βασιλεύς έγένετο Σαρδίων, Κανδαύλης δὲ ὁ Μύρσου ὕστατος, οἱ δὲ πρότερον Αγρωνος βασιλεύσαντες ταύτης της χώρης ήσαν ἀπόγονοι Λυδοῦ τοῦ "Ατυος, ἀπ' ὅτευ ὁ δημος Λύδιος εκλήθη ό πᾶς ούτος, πρότερον Μηίων καλεόμενος. παρά τούτων Ἡρακλείδαι ἐπιτραφθέντες ἔσχον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ θεοπροπίου, ἐκ δούλης τε της Ίαρδάνου γεγονότες και Ήρακλέος, άρξαντες μεν έπι δύο τε και είκοσι γενεάς ανδρών έτεα πέντε τε καὶ πεντακόσια, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς έκδεκόμενος την άρχην, μέχρι Κανδαύλεω τοῦ Μύρσου.

8. Οὖτος δὴ ὧν ὁ Κανδαύλης ἠράσθη τῆς ἐωυτοῦ γυναικός, ἐρασθεὶς δὲ ἐνόμιζέ οἱ εἶναι γυναῖκα πολλὸν πασέων καλλίστην. ὅστε δὲ ταῦτα νομίζων, ἢν γάρ οἱ τῶν αἰχμοφόρων Γύγης ὁ Δασκύλου ἀρεσκόμενος μάλιστα, τούτω τῷ Γύγη καὶ τὰ σπουδαιέστερα τῶν πρηγμάτων ὑπερετίθετο ὁ Κανδαύλης καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ εἶδος τῆς γυναικὸς ὑπερεπαινέων. χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος (χρῆν γὰρ Κανδαύλη γενέσθαι κακῶς) ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸν Γύγην τοιάδε. "Γύγη, οὐ γάρ σε δοκέω πείθεσθαί μοι λέγοντι περὶ τοῦ εἶδεος τῆς γυναικός (ὅτα γὰρ τυγχάνει ἀνθρώποισι ἐόντα ἀπιστότερα ὀφθαλμῶν), ποίεε ὅκως ἐκείνην θεήσεαι γυμνήν." ὸ δ᾽ ἀμβώσας εἶπε "δέσποτα, τίνα λέγεις λόγον οὐκ ὑγιέα, κελεύων με δέσποτα,

the descendants of Heracles, fell to the family of Croesus—the Mermnadae as they were called—in the following way. Candaules, whom the Greeks call Myrsilus, was the ruler of Sardis; he was descended from Alcaeus, son of Heracles; Agron, son of Ninus, son of Belus, son of Alcaeus, was the first Heraclid king of Sardis, and Candaules, son of Myrsus, was the last. The kings of this country before Agron were descendants of Lydus, son of Atys, from whom all this Lydian district took its name; before that it was called the land of the Meii. From these the Heraclidae received the sovereignty and held it in charge, by reason of an oracle; and they ruled for two and twenty generations, or 505 years, son succeeding father, down to Candaules, son of Myrsus.

8. This Candaules, then, fell in love with his own wife, so much that he supposed her to be by far the fairest woman in the world; and being persuaded of this, he raved of her beauty to Gyges, son of Dascylus, who was his favourite among his bodyguard; for it was to Gyges that he entrusted all his weightiest secrets. Then after a little while Candaules, being doomed to ill-fortune, spoke thus to Gyges: "I think, Gyges, that you do not believe what I tell you of the beauty of my wife; men trust their ears less than their eyes; do you, then, so contrive that you may see her naked." Gyges exclaimed loudly at this. "Master," said he, "what a pestilent command is this that you lay upon me! that I should see her who

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Descendants of Heracles seems to mean descended from the Asiatic sunged identified with Heracles by the Greeks.

ναν την έμην θεήσασθαι γυμνήν; ἄμα δὲ κιθῶνι ἐκδυομένω συνεκδύεται καὶ την αἰδῶ γυνή. πάλαι δὲ τὰ καλὰ ἀνθρώποισι ἐξεύρηται, ἐκ τῶν μανθάνειν δεῖ· ἐν τοῖσι ἐν τόδε ἐστί, σκοπέειν τινὰ τὰ ἐωυτοῦ. ἐγὰ δὲ πείθομαι ἐκείνην εἶναι πασέων γυναικῶν καλλίστην, καὶ σέο δέομαι μὴ δέεσθαι

ἀνόμων."

9. 'Ο μέν δή λέγων τοιαύτα ἀπεμάχετο, άρρωδέων μή τί οί εξ αὐτῶν γένηται κακόν, δ δ' άμεί-Βετο τοισιδε. " θάρσεε, Γύγη, και μη φοβεῦ μήτε έμέ, ώς σέο πειρώμενος 1 λέγω λόγον τόνδε, μήτε γυναίκα την έμην, μή τί τοι έξ αὐτης γένηται βλάβος. άρχην γάρ έγω μηχανήσομαι ούτω ώστε μηδέ μαθείν μιν οφθείσαν ύπο σεύ. έγω γάρ σε ές τὸ οἴκημα ἐν τῶ κοιμώμεθα ὅπισθε τῆς άνοιγομένης θύρης στήσω. μετά δ' έμε έσελθόντα παρέσται καὶ ή γυνη ή έμη ές κοῖτον. κεῖται δὲ άγγου της εσόδου θρόνος έπι τούτον των ιματίων κατά εν εκαστον εκδύνουσα θήσει, και κατ' ήσυχίην πολλήν παρέξει τοι θεήσασθαι. ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου στείχη ἐπὶ τὴν εὐνὴν κατά νώτου τε αὐτῆς γένη, σοὶ μελέτω τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ὅκως μή σε όψεται ίόντα διὰ θυρέων."

10. 'Ο μεν δη ώς οὐκ ἐδύνατο διαφυγεῖν, ην ἔτοιμος ὁ δὲ Κανδαύλης, ἐπεὶ ἐδόκεε ἄρη τῆς κοίτης εἶναι, ἤγαγε τὸν Γύγεα ἐς τὸ οἴκημα, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα παρῆν καὶ ἡ γυνή. ἐσελθοῦσαν δὲ καὶ τιθεῖσαν τὰ εἴματα ἐθηεῖτο ὁ Γύγης. ὡς δὲ κατὰ νώτου ἐγένετο ἰούσης τῆς γυναικὸς ἐς τὴν κοίτην, ὑπεκδὺς ἐχώρεε ἔξω, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐπορᾶ μιν ἐξιόντα. μαθοῦσα δὲ τὸ ποιηθὲν ἐκ τοῦ

eculty

<sup>1</sup> πειρώμενον Stein.

# BOOK I. 8-10

is my mistress naked! with the stripping off of her tunic a woman is stripped of the honour due to her. Men have long ago made wise rules for our learning; one of these is, that we, and none other, should see what is our own. As for me, I fully believe that your queen is the fairest of all women; ask not lawless

acts of me, I entreat you."

9. Thus speaking Gyges sought to turn the king's purpose, for he feared lest some ill to himself should come of it: but this was Candaules' answer: "Take courage, Gyges: fear not that I say this to put you to the proof, nor that my wife will do you any harm. I will so contrive the whole business that she shall never know that you have seen her. I will bring you into the chamber where she and I lie and set you behind the open door; and after I have entered, my wife too will come to her bed. There is a chair set near the entrance of the room: on this she will lay each part of her raiment as she takes it off, and you will be able to gaze upon her at your leisure. Then, when she goes from the chair to the bed, turning her back upon you, do you look to it that she does not see you going out through the doorway."

10. As Gyges could not escape, he consented. Candaules, when he judged it to be bed time, brought Gyges into the chamber, his wife presently followed, and when she had come in and was laying aside her garments Gyges beheld her; and when she turned her back upon him, going to her bed, he slipped privily from the room. The woman saw him as he passed out, and perceived what her husband had done. But shamed though she was she never cried

ἀνδρὸς οὕτε ἀνέβωσε αἰσχυνθεῖσα οὕτε ἔδοξε μαθεῖν, ἐν νόφ ἔχουσα τίσεσθαι τὸν Κανδαύλεα. παρὰ γὰρ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι βαρβάροισι καὶ ἄνδρα ὀφθῆναι

γυμνον ές αἰσχύνην μεγάλην φέρει.

11. Τότε μεν δη ούτω ούδεν δηλώσασα ήσυγίην είγε ως δε ήμερη τάχιστα έγεγόνεε, των οικετέων τούς μάλιστα ώρα πιστούς ἐόντας ἐωυτῆ, ἐτοίμους ποιησαμένη ἐκάλεε τὸν Γύγεα. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν δοκέων αὐτὴν τῶν πρηχθέντων ἐπίστασθαι ἦλθε καλεόμενος εώθεε γάρ καὶ πρόσθε, ὅκως ή βασίλεια καλέοι, φοιτάν. ώς δὲ ὁ Γύγης ἀπίκετο, ἔλεγε ή γυνη τάδε, "νῦν τοι δυών όδων παρεουσέων Γύγη δίδωμι αίρεσιν, όκοτέρην βούλεαι τραπέσθαι. ή γαρ Κανδαύλεα αποκτείνας έμε τε και την βασιληίην έχε την Λυδών, η αὐτόν σε αὐτίκα ούτω ἀποθνήσκειν δεί, ώς αν μη πάντα πειθόμενος Κανδαύλη τοῦ λοιποῦ ίδης τὰ μή σε δεί. ἀλλ' ήτοι κεινόν γε τον ταυτα βουλεύσαντα δεί ἀπόλλυσθαι, ή σὲ τὸν ἐμὲ γυμνὴν θεησάμενον καὶ ποιήσαντα οὐ νομιζόμενα." ὁ δὲ Γύγης τέως μὲν άπεθώμαζε τὰ λεγόμενα, μετὰ δὲ ἰκέτευε μή μιν άναγκαίη ενδέειν διακρίναι τοιαύτην αίρεσιν. ούκων δη έπειθε, άλλ' ώρα αναγκαίην άληθέως προκειμένην η τον δεσπότεα απολλύναι η αυτον ύπ' ἄλλων ἀπόλλυσθαι· αίρέεται αὐτὸς περιείναι. έπειρώτα δη λέγων τάδε. "έπεί με αναγκάζεις δεσπότεα του έμου κτείνειν ούκ εθέλοντα, φέρε ακούσω τέω και τρόπω ἐπιγειρήσομεν αὐτω." ή δὲ ὑπολαβοῦσα ἔφη "ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μὲν χωρίου ή όρμη ἔσται ὅθεν περ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐμὲ ἐπεδέξατο γύμνην, ὑπνωμένω δὲ ἡ ἐπιχείρησις ἔσται."

out nor let it be seen that she had perceived aught, for she had it in mind to punish Candaules; seeing that among the Lydians and most of the foreign peoples it is held great shame that even a man should be seen naked.

11. For the nonce she made no sign and held her peace. But as soon as it was day, she assured herself of those of her household whom she perceived to be most faithful to her, and called Gyges: who, supposing that she knew nothing of what had been done, came at call; for he had always been wont to attend the queen whenever she bade him. So when he came, the lady thus addressed him: "Now, Gyges, you have two roads before you; choose which you will follow. You must either kill Candaules and take me for your own and the throne of Lydia, or yourself be killed now without more ado; that will prevent you from obeying all Candaules' commands in the future and seeing what you should not see. One of you must die: either he, the contriver of this plot, or you, who have outraged all usage by looking on me unclad." At this Gyges stood awhile astonished: presently he entreated her not to compel him to such a choice; but when he could not move her, and saw that dire necessity was in very truth upon him either to kill his master or himself be killed by others, he chose his own life. Then he asked the queen to tell him, since she forced him against his will to slav his master, how they were to attack the king: and she replied, "You shall come at him from the same place whence he made you see me naked; attack him in his sleep."

12. 'Ως δὲ ἤρτυσαν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, νυκτὸς γενομένης (οὐ γὰρ ἐμετίετο ὁ Γύγης, οὐδέ οἱ ἦν άπαλλαγή οὐδεμία, άλλ' ἔδες ή αὐτὸν ἀπολωλέναι η Κανδαύλεα) είπετο ές του θάλαμου τη γυναικί. καί μιν έκείνη, έγχειρίδιον δούσα, κατακρύπτει ύπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν θύρην. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναπαυομένου Κανδαύλεω ύπεκδύς τε και αποκτείνας αὐτὸν ἔσχε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν βασιληίην Γύγης τοῦ καὶ 'Αρχίλοχος ὁ Πάριος κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον γενόμενος ἐν ἰάμβω τριμέτρω έπεμνήσθη.1

13. Έσχε δὲ τὴν βασιληίην καὶ ἐκρατύνθη ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖσι χρηστηρίου. ὡς γὰρ δὴ οί Αυδοί δεινον εποιεύντο το Κανδαύλεω πάθος καί έν ὅπλοισι ήσαν, συνέβησαν ἐς τώυτὸ οί τε τοῦ Γύγεω στασιώται καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Λυδοί, ἢν μὲν τὸ χρηστήριον ἀνέλη μιν βασιλέα είναι Λυδών, τὸν δε βασιλεύειν, ην δε μή, αποδούναι οπίσω ές Ήρακλείδας την άρχην. ἀνειλέ τε δή τὸ χρηστήριον καὶ έβασίλευσε ούτω Γύγης. τοσόνδε μέντοι είπε ή Πυθίη, ώς Ἡρακλείδησι τίσις ήξει ές του πέμπτου απόγουου Γύγεω. τούτου τοῦ έπεος Λυδοί τε καὶ οἱ βασιλέες αὐτῶν λόγον ούδένα ἐποιεύντο, πρὶν δὴ ἐπετελέσθη.

14. Τὴν μεν δὴ τυραννίδα οὕτω ἔσχον οί Μερμνάδαι τους Ήρακλείδας ἀπελόμενοι, Γύγης δὲ τυραννεύσας ἀπέπεμψε ἀναθήματα ἐς Δελφούς ούκ ολίγα, άλλ' όσα μεν άργύρου άναθήματα, έστι οι πλείστα εν Δελφοίσι, πάρεξ δε τοῦ άργύρου χρυσον ἄπλετον ἀνέθηκε ἄλλον τε καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Stein brackets the words τοῦ καl-ἐπεμνήσθη as superfluous and therefore probably spurious.

12. So when they had made ready this plot, and night had fallen, Gyges followed the lady into the chamber (for he could not get free or by any means escape, but either he or Candaules must die), and she gave him a dagger and hid him behind the same door; and presently he stole out and slew Candaules as he slept, and thus made himself master of the king's wife and sovereignty. He is mentioned in the iambic verses of Archilochus of Paros who lived about the same time.

13. So he took possession of the sovereign power, and was confirmed therein by the Delphic oracle. For when the Lydians were much angered by the fate of Candaules, and took up arms, the faction of Gyges and the rest of the people came to an agreement that if the oracle should ordain him to be king of the Lydians, then he should reign: but if not, then he should render back the kingship to the Heraclidae. The oracle did so ordain: and Gyges thus became king. Howbeit the Pythian priestess declared that the Heraclidae should have vengeance on Gyges' posterity in the fifth generation: an utterance of which the Lydians and their kings took no account, till it was fulfilled.

14. Thus did the Mermnadae rob the Heraclidae of the sovereignty and take it for themselves. Having gained it, Gyges sent not a few offerings to Delphi: there are very many silver offerings of his there: and besides the silver, he dedicated great store of

του μάλιστα μνήμην άξιον έχειν έστί, κρητηρές οί ἀριθμον εξ χρύσεοι ἀνακέαται, έστασι δε ούτοι έν τῶ Κορινθίων θησαυρώ, σταθμον έγοντες τριήκοντα τάλαντα· άληθει δε λόγω χρεωμένω οὐ Κορινθίων του δημοσίου έστι ο θησαυρός, άλλα Κυψέλου τοῦ Ἡετίωνος. οὖτος δὲ ὁ Γύγης πρῶτος βαρ-Βάρων των ήμεις ίδμεν ές Δελφούς ανέθηκε άναθήματα μετά Μίδην τον Γορδίεω Φρυγίης βασιλέα. ἀνέθηκε γὰρ δη καὶ Μίδης τὸν βασιλήιον θρόνον ές του προκατίζων εδίκαζε, εόντα άξιοθέητον κείται δε ό θρόνος ούτος ένθα περ οί τοῦ Γύγεω κρητήρες. ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς οὖτος καὶ ὁ άργυρος του ο Γύγης ἀνέθηκε, ὑπὸ Δελφων καλέεται Γυγάδας έπὶ τοῦ ἀναθέντος ἐπωνυμίην.

15. Έσέβαλε μέν νυν στρατιήν καὶ ούτος ἐπείτε ήρξε ές τε Μίλητον καὶ ές Σμύρνην, καὶ Κολοφώνος τὸ ἄστυ είλε: ἀλλ' οὐδὲν γὰρ μέγα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ άλλο έργον εγένετο βασιλεύσαντος δυών δέοντα τεσσεράκοντα έτεα, τοῦτον μὲν παρήσομεν τοσαῦτα έπιμνησθέντες, 'Αρδυος δὲ τοῦ Γύγεω μετά Γύγην βασιλεύσαντος μνήμην ποιήσομαι. Πριηνέας τε είλε ές Μίλητόν τε έσέβαλε, έπὶ τούτου τε τυραννεύοντος Σαρδίων Κιμμέριοι έξ ήθέων ύπο Σκυθέων των νομάδων έξαναστάντες απίκοντο ές την Ασίην και Σάρδις πλην της ακροπόλιος

είλου.

16. 'Αρδυος δε βασιλεύσαντος ένδς δέοντα πεντήκοντα έτεα έξεδέξατο Σαδυάττης ὁ "Αρδυος, καὶ έβασίλευσε έτεα δυώδεκα, Σαδυάττεω δε 'Αλυάττης. ούτος δε Κυαξάρη τε τώ Δηιόκεω απογόνω έπολέμησε και Μήδοισι, Κιμμερίους τε έκ της 'Ασίης έξήλασε, Σμύρνην τε την άπο Κολοφώνος

gold: among which six golden bowls are the offerings chiefly worthy of record. These weigh 30 talents 1 and stand in the treasury of the Corinthians: though in very truth it is the treasury not of the Corinthian people but of Cypselus son of Ection. This Gyges then was the first foreigner (of our knowledge) who placed offerings at Delphi after the king of Phrygia, Midas son of Gordias. For Midas too made an offering, to wit, the royal seat whereon he sat to give judgment, and a marvellous seat it is; it is set I in the same place as the bowls of Gyges. This gold and the silver offered by Gyges is called by the

Delphians "Gygian" after its dedicator.

15. As soon as Gyges came to the throne, he too, like others, led an army into the lands of Miletus and Smyrna; and he took the city of Colophon. But he did nothing else great in his reign of thirtyeight years; I will therefore say no more of him, and will speak rather of Ardys the son of Gyges, who succeeded him. He took Priene and invaded the country of Miletus; and it was while he was monarch of Sardis that the Cimmerians, driven from their homes by the nomad Scythians, came into Asia, and took Sardis, all but the citadel.

16. Ardys reigned for forty-nine years, and was succeeded by his son Sardyattes, who reigned for twelve years; and after Sardvattes came Alvattes, who waged war against Deioces' descendant Cyaxares and the Medes, drove the Cimmerians out of Asia, took Smyrna (which was a colony from Colophon),

1 The "Attic" talent had a weight of about 58 lbs, avoirdupois, the "Aeginetan" of about 82.

Many Greek states had special "treasuries" allotted to them in the temple precincts at Delphi, in which their offerings were deposited.

κτισθείσαν είλε, ές Κλαζομενάς τε ἐσέβαλε. ἀπὸ μέν νυν τούτων οὐκ ὡς ἤθελε ἀπήλλαξε, ἀλλὰ προσπταίσας μεγάλως: ἄλλα δὲ ἔργα ἀπεδέξατο

έων έν τη άρχη άξιαπηγητότατα τάδε.

17. Ἐπολέμησε Μιλησίοισι, παραδεξάμενος τον πόλεμον παρά τοῦ πατρός. ἐπελαύνων γὰρ ἐπολιόρκες την Μίλητον τρόπω τοιώδε. ὅκως μεν είη έν τη γη καρπός άδρός, τηνικαθτα έσέβαλλε την στρατιήν έστρατεύετο δε ύπο συρίγγων τε καί πηκτίδων καὶ αὐλοῦ γυναικηίου τε καὶ ἀνδρηίου. ώς δὲ ἐς τὴν Μιλησίην ἀπίκοιτο, οἰκήματα μὲν τὰ έπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν οὕτε κατέβαλλε οὕτε ἐνεπίμπρη ούτε θύρας ἀπέσπα, ἔα δὲ κατὰ χώρην ἐστάναι. δ δὲ τά τε δένδρεα καὶ τὸν καρπὸν τὸν ἐν τῆ γῆ ὅκως διαφθείρειε, ἀπαλλάσσετο ὀπίσω, της γὰρ θαλάσσης οι Μιλήσιοι επεκράτεον, ώστε επέδρης μή είναι έργον τη στρατιή. τὰς δὲ οἰκίας οὐ κατέ-Βαλλε ὁ Λυδὸς τῶνδε είνεκα, ὅκως ἔχοιεν ἐνθεῦτεν ορμώμενοι την γην σπείρειν τε και έργάζεσθαι οί Μιλήσιοι, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκείνων ἐργαζομένων ἔχοι τι καὶ σίνεσθαι ἐσβάλλων.

18. Ταῦτα ποιέων ἐπολέμεε ἔτεα ἔνδεκα, ἐν τοῖσι τρώματα μεγάλα διφάσια Μιλησίων ἐγένετο, ἔν τε Λιμενηίω χώρης τῆς σφετέρης μαχεσαμένων καὶ ἐν Μαιάνδρου πεδίω. τὰ μέν νυν ἐξ ἔτεα τῶν ἔνδεκα Σαδυάττης ὁ "Αρδυος ἔτι Λυδῶν ῆρχε, ὁ καὶ ἐσβάλλων τηνικαῦτα ἐς τὴν Μιλησίην τὴν στρατιήν Σαδυάττης οὖτος γὰρ καὶ ὁ τὸν πόλεμον ἦν συνάψας τὰ δὲ πέντε τῶν ἐτέων τὰ ἑπόμενα τοῖσι ἐξ 'Αλυάττης ὁ Σαδυάττεω ἐπολέμε, δς παραδεξάμενος, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται, παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν πόλεμον προσείχε ἐντετα-

and invaded the lands of Clazomenae. But here he came off not at all as he wished, but with great disaster. Of other deeds done by him in his reign these were most notable:

17. He continued the war against the Milesians which his father had begun. This was the manner in which he attacked and laid siege to Miletus: he sent his invading army, marching to the sound of pipes and harps and flutes bass and treble, when the erops in the land were ripe; and whenever he came to the Milesian territory, the country dwellings he neither demolished nor burnt nor tore off their doors, but let them stand unharmed; but the trees and the crops of the land he destroyed, and so returned whence he came; for as the Milesians had command of the sea, it was of no avail for his army to besiege their city. The reason why the Lydian did not destroy the houses was this-that the Milesians might have homes whence to plant and cultivate their land, and that there might be the fruit of their toil for his invading army to lay waste.

18. In this manner he waged war for eleven years, and in these years two great disasters befel the Milesians, one at the battle of Limeneion in their own territory, and the other in the valley of the Macander. For six of these eleven years Sardyattes son of Ardys was still ruler of Lydia, and he it was who invaded the lands of Miletus, for it was he who had begun the war; for the following five the war was waged by Sardyattes' son Alyattes, who, as I have before shown, inherited the war from his father and carried

μένως. τοῖσι δὲ Μιλησίοισι οὐδαμοὶ Ἰώνων τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον συνεπελάφρυνον ὅτι μὴ Χῖοι μοῦνοι. οὖτοι δὲ τὸ ὅμοιον ἀνταποδιδόντες ἐτιμώρεον καὶ γὰρ δὴ πρότερον οἱ Μιλήσιοι τοῖσι Χίοισι τὸν πρὸς Ἐρυθραίους πόλεμον συνδιήνεικαν.

19. Τῷ δὲ δυωδεκάτῳ ἔτεῖ ληίου ἐμπιπραμένου ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιῆς συνηνείχθη τι τοιόνδε γενέσθαι πρῆγμα· ὡς ἄφθη τάχιστα τὸ λήιον, ἀνέμῳ βιώμενον ἄψατο νηοῦ 'Αθηναίης ἐπίκλησιν 'Ασσησίης, ἀφθεὶς δὲ ὁ νηὸς κατεκαύθη. καὶ τὸ παραυτίκα μὲν λόγος οὐδεὶς ἐγένετο, μετὰ δὲ τῆς στρατιῆς ἀπικομένης ἐς Σάρδις ἐνόσησε ὁ 'Αλυάττης. μακροτέρης δέ οἱ γινομένης τῆς νούσου πέμπει ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπους, εἴτε δὴ συμβουλεύσαντός τευ, εἴτε καὶ αὐτῷ ἔδοξε πέμψαντα τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρέσθαι περὶ τῆς νούσου. τοῖσι δὲ ἡ Πυθίη ἀπικομένοισι ἐς Δελφοὺς οὐκ ἔφη χρήσειν πρὶν ἡ τὸν νηὸν τῆς 'Αθηναίης ἀνορθώσωσι, τὸν ἐνέπρησαν χώρης τῆς Μιλησίης ἐν 'Ασσησῷ.

20. Δελφων οίδα έγω ούτω ἀκούσας γενέσθαι Μιλήσιοι δὲ τάδε προστιθεῖσι τούτοισι, Περίανδρον τὸν Κυψέλου ἐόντα Θρασυβούλω τῷ τότε Μιλήτου τυραννεύοντι ξεῖνον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, πυθόμενον τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ τῷ ᾿Αλυάττη γενόμενον, πέμψαντα ἄγγελον κατειπεῖν, ὅκως ἄν τι

προειδώς πρός το παρεον βουλεύηται.

21. Μιλήσιοι μέν νυν οὕτω λέγουσι γενέσθαι. Άλυάττης δέ, ὥς οἱ ταῦτα ἐξαγγέλθη, αὐτίκα ἔπεμπε κήρυκα ἐς Μίλητον βουλόμενος σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι Θρασυβούλω τε καὶ Μιλησίοισι χρόνον ὅσον ἄν τὸν νηὸν οἰκοδομέη. ὁ μὲν δὴ it on vigorously. None of the Ionians helped to lighten this war for the Milesians, except only the Chians: these lent their aid for a like service done to themselves; for the Milesians had formerly helped the Chians in their war against the Erythraeans.

19. In the twelfth year, when the Lydian army was burning the crops, it so happened that the fire set to the crops and blown by a strong wind caught the temple of Athene called Athene of Assesos¹: and the temple was burnt to the ground. For the nonce no account was taken of this. But presently after the army had returned to Sardis Alyattes fell sick; and, his sickness lasting longer than it should, he sent to Delphi to inquire of the oracle, either by someone's counsel or by his own wish to question the god about his sickness: but when the messengers came to Delphi the Pythian priestess would not reply to them before they should restore the temple of Athene at Assesos in the Milesian territory, which they had burnt.

20. Thus far I know the truth, for the Delphians told me. The Milesians add to the story, that Periander son of Cypselus, being a close friend of Thrasybulus who then was sovereign of Miletus, learnt what reply the oracle had given to Alyattes and sent a despatch to tell Thrasybulus, so that thereby his friend should be forewarned and make

his plans accordingly.

21. Such is the Milesian story. Then, when the Delphic reply was brought to Alyattes, straightway he sent a herald to Miletus, offering to make a truce with Thrasybulus and the Milesians during his building of the temple. So the envoy went to

A small town or village near Miletus.

ἀπόστολος ἐς τὴν Μίλητον ἢν, Θρασύβουλος δὲ σαφέως προπεπυσμένος πάντα λόγον, καὶ εἰδὼς τὰ ᾿Αλυάττης μέλλοι ποιήσειν, μηχανᾶται τοιάδε ὅσος ἢν ἐν τῷ ἄστεῖ σῖτος καὶ ἐωυτοῦ καὶ ἰδιωτικός, τοῦτον πάντα συγκομίσας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν προεῖπε Μιλησίοισι, ἐπεὰν αὐτὸς σημήνη, τότε πίνειν τε

πάντας καὶ κώμω χρᾶσθαι ἐς ἀλλήλους.

22. Ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίεέ τε καὶ προηγόρευε Θρασύβουλος τωνδε είνεκεν, όκως αν δη ο κήρυξ ο Σαρδιηνός ίδών τε σωρον μέγαν σίτου κεχυμένον καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν εὐπαθείησι ἐόντας ἀγγείλη Αλυάττη τὰ δη καὶ ἐγένετο. ὡς γὰρ δη ἰδών τε έκεινα ο κήρυξ και είπας προς Θρασύβουλον τοῦ Λυδοῦ τὰς ἐντολὰς ἀπῆλθε ἐς τὰς Σάρδις, ὡς ένω πυνθάνομαι, δι' ούδεν άλλο ένένετο ή διαλλαγή. ἐλπίζων γὰρ ὁ Αλυάττης σιτοδείην τε είναι ίσχυρην έν τη Μιλήτω και τον λεών τετρῦσθαι ές τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ, ήκουε τοῦ κήρυκος νοστήσαντος έκ της Μιλήτου τούς έναντίους λόγους ή ώς αὐτὸς κατεδόκεε. μετὰ δὲ ή τε διαλλαγή σφι εγένετο επ' ώ τε ξείνους άλλήλοισι είναι καὶ συμμάγους, καὶ δύο τε ἀντὶ ένὸς νηούς τη 'Αθηναίη οἰκοδόμησε ὁ 'Αλυάττης ἐν τη Ασσησώ, αὐτός τε ἐκ τῆς νούσου ἀνέστη. κατὰ μέν τον πρός Μιλησίους τε καὶ Θρασύβουλον πόλεμον Αλυάττη ώδε έσγε.

23. Περίανδρος δὲ ἢν Κυψέλου παῖς, οὖτος ὁ τῷ Θρασυβούλῳ τὸ χρηστήριον μηνύσας: ἐτυράννευε δὲ ὁ Περίανδρος Κορίνθου: τῷ δὴ λέγουσι Κορίνθιοι (ὁμολογέουσι δέ σφι Λέσβιοι) ἐν τῷ βίῳ θῶμα μέγιστον παραστῆναι, 'Αρίονα τὸν Μηθυμναῖον ἐπὶ δελφῖνος ἐξενειγθέντα ἐπὶ Ταίναρον.

Miletus. But Thrasybulus, being exactly forewarned of the whole matter, and knowing what Alyattes meant to do, devised the following plan: he brought together into the market place all the food in the city, from private stores and his own, and bade the men of Miletus all drink and revel together when he

should give the word.

22. The intent of his so doing and commanding was, that when the herald from Sardis saw a great heap of food piled up, and the citizens making merry, he might bring word of it to Alvattes: and so it befell. The herald saw all this, gave Thrasybulus the message he was charged by the Lydian to deliver, and returned to Sardis; and this, as far as I can learn, was the single reason of the reconciliation. For Alyattes had supposed that there was great scarcity in Miletus and that the people were reduced to the last extremity of misery; but now on his herald's return from the town he heard an account contrary to his expectations; so presently the Lydians and Milesians ended the war and agreed to be friends and allies, and Alvattes built not one but two temples of Athene at Assesos, and recovered of his sickness, the story of Alyattes' war against Thrasybulus and the Milesians.

23. Periander, who disclosed the oracle's answer to Thrasybulus, was the son of Cypselus, and sovereign lord of Corinth. As the Corinthians and Lesbians agree in relating, there happened to him a thing which was the most marvellous in his life, namely, the landing of Arion of Methymna on Taenarus, borne thither by a dolphin. This Arion was a

ἐόντα κιθαρφδὸν τῶν τότε ἐόντων οὐδενὸς δεύτερον, καὶ διθύραμβον πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ποιήσαντά τε καὶ ὀνομάσαντα καὶ

διδάξαντα έν Κορίνθω.

24. Τούτον τον Αρίονα λέγουσι, τον πολλον τοῦ χρόνου διατρίβοντα παρά Περιάνδρω ἐπιθυμήσαι πλώσαι ές Ίταλίην τε καὶ Σικελίην, έργασάμενον δε χρήματα μεγάλα θελήσαι όπίσω ές Κόρινθον ἀπικέσθαι, ὁρμᾶσθαι μέν νυν ἐκ Τάραντος, πιστεύοντα δὲ οὐδαμοῖσι μάλλον ἡ Κορινθίοισι μισθώσασθαι πλοίον ἀνδρών Κορινθίων. τούς δέ έν τω πελάγει επιβουλεύειν τον 'Αρίονα εκβαλόντας έγειν τὰ γρήματα. τὸν δὲ συνέντα τοῦτο λίσσεσθαι, χρήματα μέν σφι προϊέντα, ψυχὴν δὲ παραιτεόμενον. οὔκων δη πείθειν αὐτὸν τούτοισι, άλλα κελεύειν τους πορθμέας η αυτον διαχρασθαί μιν, ώς αν ταφής έν γη τύχη, ή έκπηδαν ές την θάλασσαν την ταχίστην άπειληθέντα δη του Αρίονα ες απορίην παραιτήσασθαι, επειδή σφι ούτω δοκέοι, περιιδείν αὐτὸν ἐν τῆ σκευῆ πάση στάντα εν τοίσι εδωλίοισι αείσαι αείσας δε ύπεδέκετο έωυτὸν κατεργάσασθαι. καὶ τοίσι έσελθειν γαρ ήδονην εί μέλλοιεν ακούσεσθαι του άρίστου ἀνθρώπων ἀοιδοῦ, ἀναχωρήσαι ἐκ τῆς πρύμνης ές μέσην νέα. τον δε ενδύντα τε πάσαν την σκευήν και λαβόντα την κιθάρην, στάντα έν τοίσι έδωλίοισι διεξελθείν νόμον τον δρθιον, τελευτώντος δὲ τοῦ νόμου ρίθαί μιν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν έωυτον ώς είχε σύν τη σκευή πάση, και τούς μέν αποπλέειν ές Κόρινθον, τον δε δελφίνα λέγουσι ύπολαβόντα έξενεικαι έπι Ταίναρον, ἀποβάντα lyre-player second to none in that age; he was the first man, as far as we know, to compose and name the dithyramb 1 which he afterwards taught at Corinth.

24. Thus then, the story runs : for the most part he lived at the court of Periander; then he formed the plan of voyaging to Italy and Sicily, whence, after earning much money, he was minded to return to Corinth. Having especial trust in men of that city, he hired a Corinthian ship to carry him from Taras.2 But when they were out at sea, the crew plotted to cast Arion overboard and take his money. Discovering the plot, he earnestly entreated them, offering them all his money if they would but spare his life; but the sailors would not listen to him; he must, they said, either kill himself and so receive burial on land, or straightway cast himself into the sea. In this extremity Arion besought them, seeing that such was their will, that they would suffer him to stand on the poop with all his singing robes about him and sing; and after his song, so he promised, he would make away with himself. The men, well pleased at the thought of hearing the best singer in the world, drew away from the stern amidships; Arion, putting on all his adornment and taking his lyre, stood up on the poop and sang the "Shrill Strain," 3 and at its close threw himself without more ado into the sea, clad in his robes. So the crew sailed away to Corinth; but a dolphin (so the story goes) took Arion on his back and bore him to Taenarus. There he

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The dithyramb was a kind of dance-music particularly associated with the cult of Dionysus.

<sup>2</sup> Tarentum.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The δρθιος νόμος was a high-pitched (and apparently very well-known) song or hymn in honour of Apollo.

δὲ αὐτὸν χωρέειν ἐς Κόρινθον σὺν τῆ σκευῆ, καὶ ἀπικόμενον ἀπηγέεσθαι πᾶν τὸ γεγονός. Περίανδρον δὲ ὑπὸ ἀπιστίης 'Αρίονα μὲν ἐν φυλακῆ ἔχειν οὐδαμῆ μετιέντα, ἀνακῶς δὲ ἔχειν τῶν πορθμέων. ὡς δὲ ἄρα παρεῖναι αὐτούς, κληθέντας ἱστορέεσθαι εἴ τι λέγοιεν περὶ 'Αρίονος. φαμένων δὲ ἐκείνων ὡς εἴη τε σῶς περὶ 'Ιταλίην καί μιν εὖ πρήσσοντα λίποιεν ἐν Τάραντι, ἐπιφανῆναί σφι τὸν 'Αρίονα ὥσπερ ἔχων ἐξεπήδησε καὶ τοὺς ἐκπλαγέντας οὐκ ἔχειν ἔτι ἐλεγχομένους ἀρνέεσθαι. ταῦτα μέν νυν Κορίνθιοί τε καὶ Λέσβιοι λέγουσι, καὶ 'Αρίονος ἐστὶ ἀνάθημα χάλκεον οὐ μέγα ἐπὶ Ταινάρφ, ἐπὶ δελφῖνος ἐπεὼν ἄνθρωπος.

25. 'Αλυάττης δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίους πόλεμον διενείκας μετέπειτα τελευτậ, βασιλεύσας ἔτεα έπτὰ καὶ πεντήκοντα. ἀνέθηκε δὲ ἐκφυγὼν τὴν νοῦσον δεύτερος οὖτος τῆς οἰκίης ταύτης ἐς Δελφοὺς κρητῆρά τε ἀργύρεον μέγαν καὶ ὑποκρητηρίδιον σιδήρεον κολλητόν, θέης ἄξιον διὰ πάντων τῶν ἐν Δελφοῦσι ἀναθημάτων, Γλαύκου τοῦ Χίου ποίημα, δς μοῦνος δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων

σιδήρου κόλλησιν έξευρε.

26. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ ᾿Αλυάττεω ἐξεδέξατο τὴν βασιληίην Κροῖσος ὁ ᾿Αλυάττεω, ἐτέων ἐων ἡλικίην πέντε καὶ τριήκοντα: δς δὴ Ἑλλήνων πρώτοισι ἐπεθήκατο Ἐφεσίοισι. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ Ἐφέσιοι πολιορκεόμενοι ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἀνέθεσαν τὴν πόλιν τῆ ᾿Αρτέμιδι, ἐξάψαντες ἐκ τοῦ νηοῦ σχοινίον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. ἔστι δὲ μεταξὺ τῆς τε παλαιῆς πόλιος, ἡ τότε ἐπολιορκέετο, καὶ τοῦ νηοῦ ἑπτὰ στάδιοι. πρώτοισι μὲν δὴ τούτοισι

landed, went to Corinth in his singing robes, and when he came told all that had befallen him. Periander, not believing the tale, put him in close ward and kept careful watch for the coming of the sailors. When they came they were called and questioned, what news they brought of Arion, and they replied that he was safe in the parts of Italy, and that they had left him sound and well at Taras: when, behold, they were confronted with Arion, just as he was when he leapt from the ship; whereat they were amazed, and could no more deny what was proved against them. Such is the story told by the Corinthians and Lesbians. There is moreover a little bronze monument to Arion on Taenarus, the figure of a man riding upon a dolphin.

25. So Alyattes the Lydian, having finished his war with the Milesians, died after a reign of fifty-seven years. He was the second of his family to make an offering to Delphi—and this was a thank-offering for his recovery—of a great silver bowl on a stand of welded iron. This is the most notable among all the offerings at Delphi, and is the work of Glaucus the Chian, the only man of that age who

discovered how to weld iron.

26. After the death of Alyattes Croesus his son came to the throne, being then thirty-five years of age. The first Greeks whom he attacked were the Ephesians. These, being besieged by him, dedicated their city to Artemis; this they did by attaching a rope to the city wall from the temple of the goddess, standing seven furlongs away from the ancient city, which was then being besieged. These

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Croesus' reign began in 560 B.C., probably.

ἐπεχείρησε ὁ Κροῖσος, μετὰ δὲ ἐν μέρει ἐκάστοισι Ἰώνων τε καὶ Αἰολέων, ἄλλοισι ἄλλας αἰτίας ἐπιφέρων, τῶν μὲν ἐδύνατο μέζονας παρευρίσκειν, μέζονα ἐπαιτιώμενος, τοῖσι δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ φαῦλα

ἐπιφέρων.

27. 'Ως δὲ ἄρα οἱ ἐν τῆ 'Ασίη "Ελληνες κατεστράφατο ές φόρου ἀπαγωγήν, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐπενόεε νέας ποιησάμενος έπιχειρέειν τοΐσι νησιώτησι. εόντων δέ οἱ πάντων ετοίμων ες την ναυπηγίην, οὶ μέν Βίαντα λέγουσι τον Πριηνέα απικόμενον ές Σάρδις, οι δὲ Πιττακὸν τὸν Μυτιληναίον, είρομένου Κροίσου εί τι είη νεώτερον περί την Έλλάδα, εἰπόντα τάδε καταπαῦσαι τὴν ναυπηγίην " Ω βασιλεύ, νησιώται ίππον συνωνέονται μυρίην, ές Σάρδις τε καὶ ἐπὶ σὲ ἐν νόω έχουτες στρατεύεσθαι." Κροίσου δὲ ἐλπίσαντα λέγειν ἐκεῖνον ἀληθέα εἰπεῖν "Αῖ γὰρ τοῦτο θεοί ποιήσειαν έπὶ νόον νησιώτησι, έλθειν έπὶ Λυδών παίδας σύν ίπποισι." τον δε ύπολαβόντα φάναι " <sup>2</sup>Ω βασιλεύ, προθύμως μοι φαίνεαι εύξασθαι νησιώτας ίππευομένους λαβείν εν ήπείρω, οἰκότα έλπίζων. νησιώτας δὲ τί δοκέεις εὐχεσθαι άλλο ή, ἐπείτε τάχιστα ἐπύθοντό σε μέλλοντα ἐπὶ σφίσι ναυπηγέεσθαι νέας, λαβείν αρώμενοι Λυδούς εν θαλάσση, ίνα ύπερ των εν τη ήπείρω οίκημένων Έλλήνων τίσωνταί σε, τούς σύ δουλώσας έχεις;" κάρτα τε ήσθήναι Κροίσον τώ επιλόγω καί οί, προσφυέως γαρ δόξαι λέγειν, πειθόμενον παύσασθαι της ναυπηγίης. και ούτω τοίσι τὰς νήσους οἰκημένοισι Ίωσι ξεινίην συνεθήκατο.

28. Χρόνου δὲ ἐπιγινομένου καὶ κατεστραμ-

were the first whom Croesus attacked; afterwards he made war on the Ionian and Aeolian cities in turn, each on its separate indictment; he found graver charges where he could, but sometimes alleged very

paltry grounds of offence.

27. Then, when he had subdued and made tributary to himself all the Asiatic Greeks of the mainland, he planned to build ships and attack the islanders: but when his preparations for shipbuilding were ready, either Bias of Priene or Pittacus of Mytilene (the story is told of both) came to Sardis, and being asked by Croesus for news about Hellas, put an end to the shipbuilding by giving the following answer: "King, the islanders are buying ten thousand horse, with intent to march against you to Sardis." Croesus, thinking that he spoke the truth, said: "Would that the gods may put it in the minds of the island men to come on horseback against the sons of the Lydians!" Then the other answered and said: "King, I see that you earnestly pray that you may catch the islanders riding horses on the mainland, and what you expect is but natural. And the islanders, now they have heard that you are building ships to attack them therewith, think you that they pray for aught else than that they may catch Lydians on the seas, and thereby be avenged on you for having enslaved the Greeks who dwell on the mainland?" Croesus was well pleased with this conclusion, for it seemed to him that the man spoke but reasonably; so he took the advice and built no more ships. Thus it came about that he made friends of the Ionian islanders.

28. As time went on, Croesus subdued well-nigh

μένων σχεδον πάντων των έντος "Αλυος ποταμού οίκημένων πλην γάρ Κιλίκων και Λυκίων τούς άλλους πάντας ὑπ' ἐωυτῶ είχε καταστρεψάμενος ό Κροίσος. είσι δε οίδε, Αυδοί, Φρύγες, Μυσοί. Μαριανδυνοί, Χάλυβες, Παφλαγόνες, Θρήικες οί Θυνοί τε καὶ Βιθυνοί, Κάρες, Ίωνες, Δωριέες, Αίολέες, Πάμφυλοι 1 κατεστραμμένων δὲ τούτων καὶ προσεπικτωμένου Κροίσου Λυδοίσι, 29. άπικνέονται ές Σάρδις άκμαζούσας πλούτω άλλοι τε οί πάντες έκ της Έλλάδος σοφισταί, οὶ τοῦτον τον χρόνον ετύγχανον εόντες, ώς εκαστος αὐτῶν άπικνέοιτο, και δή και Σόλων άνηρ Αθηναίος, δς Αθηναίοισι νόμους κελεύσασι ποιήσας απεδήμησε έτεα δέκα, κατά θεωρίης πρόφασιν έκπλώσας, ίνα δή μή τινα των νόμων ἀναγκασθή λύσαι των έθετο. αὐτοὶ γὰρ οὐκ οἷοί τε ησαν αὐτὸ ποιησαι ορκίοισι γάρ μεγάλοισι κατείχοντο δέκα έτεα χρήσεσθαι νόμοισι τους αν σφι Σόλων θήται.

(ms)

30. Αὐτῶν δὴ ὧν τούτων καὶ τῆς θεωρίης ἐκδημήσας ὁ Σόλων εἴνεκεν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπίκετο παρὰ ᾿Αμασιν καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Σάρδις παρὰ Κροῖσον. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐξεινίζετο ἐν τοῖσι βασιληίοισι ὑπὸ τοῦ Κροίσου· μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρη τρίτη ἢ τετάρτη κελεύσαντος Κροίσου τὸν Σόλωνα θεράποντες περιῆγον κατὰ τοὺς θησαυρούς, καὶ ἐπεδείκνυσαν πάντα ἐόντα μεγάλα τε καὶ ὅλβια. θεησάμενον δέ μιν τὰ πάντα καὶ σκεψάμενον ὅς οἱ κατὰ καιρὸν ἢν, εἴρετο ὁ Κροῖσος τάδε. " Ξεῖνε ᾿Αθηναῖε, παρ' ἡμέας γὰρ περὶ σέο λόγος ἀπῖκται

<sup>1</sup> είσι . . . Πάμφυλοι and και . . . Αυδοΐσι bracketed by Stein.

all the nations west of the Halys and held them in subjection, except only the Cilicians and Lycians: the rest, Lydians, Phrygians, Mysians, Mariandynians, Chalybes, Paphlagonians, Thracians, Thynians, Bithynians, Carians, Ionians, Dorians, Aeolians, Pamphylians, were subdued and became subjects of Croesus like the Lydians, and Sardis was at the height of its wealth. 29. There came to the city all the teachers from Hellas who then lived, in this or that manner; and among them came Solon of Athens: he, having made laws for the Athenians at their request, left his home for ten years and set out on a voyage to see the world, as he said. This he did, lest he should be compelled to repeal any of the laws he had made, since the Athenians themselves could not repeal them, for they were bound by solemn oaths to abide for ten years by such laws as Solon should make.

30. For this reason, and to see the world, Solon left Athens and visited Amasis in Egypt and Croesus at Sardis: and when he had come, Croesus entertained him in his palace. Now on the third or fourth day after his coming Croesus bade his servants lead Solon round among his treasures, and they showed him all that was there, the greatness and the prosperous state of it; and when he had seen and considered all, Croesus when occasion served thus questioned him: "Our Athenian guest, we have heard much of

33

πολλός καὶ σοφίης είνεκεν 1 της σης καὶ πλάνης. ώς φιλοσοφέων γην πολλην θεωρίης είνεκεν έπελήλυθας νῦν ὧν ἐπειρέσθαι με Ίμερος ἐπηλθέ σε εί τινα ήδη πάντων είδες ολβιώτατον." δ μέν έλπίζων είναι άνθρώπων όλβιώτατος ταῦτα έπειρώτα. Σόλων δε οὐδεν ὑποθωπεύσας ἀλλά τῷ ἐόντι χρησάμενος λέγει " Ω βασιλεῦ, Τέλλον 'Αθηναίον." Γαποθωμάσας δε Κροίσος το λεχθεν είρετο επιστρεφέως "Κοίη δη κρίνεις Τέλλον είναι ολβιώτατου;" δ δὲ εἶπε "Τέλλω τοῦτο μὲν τῆς πόλιος εὖ ήκούσης παίδες ήσαν καλοί τε κάγαθοί, καί σφι είδε άπασι τέκνα έκγενόμενα καὶ πάντα παραμείναντα τούτο δὲ τοῦ βίου εὖ ήκοντι, ώς τὰ παρ' ἡμίν, τελευτή του βίου λαμπροτάτη έπεγένετο γενομένης γαρ Αθηναίοισι μάχης πρός τούς αστυγείτονας έν Ελευσίνι, Βοηθήσας καὶ τροπήν ποιήσας των πολεμίων ἀπέθανε κάλλιστα, καί μιν 'Αθηναίοι δημοσίη τε έθαψαν αὐτοῦ τῆ περ έπεσε καὶ ἐτίμησαν μεγάλως."

31. 'Ως δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Τέλλον προετρέψατο ὁ Σόλων τὸν Κροῖσον εἴπας πολλά τε καὶ ὅλβια, ἐπειρώτα τίνα δεύτερον μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἴδοι, δοκέων πάγχυ δευτερεῖα γῶν οἴσεσθαι. ὁ δ' εἶπε "Κλέοβίν τε καὶ Βίτωνα. τούτοισι γὰρ ἐοῦσι γένος 'Αργείοισι βίος τε ἀρκέων ὑπῆν, καὶ πρὸς τούτω ρώμη σώματος τοιήδε ἀεθλοφόροι τε ἀμφότεροι ὁμοίως ἦσαν, καὶ δὴ καὶ λέγεται ὅδε ὁ λόγος. ἐούσης ὁρτῆς τῆ "Ηρη τοῖσι 'Αργείοισι ἔδεε πάντως τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν ζεύγεῖ κομισθῆναι ἐς τὸ ἱρόν, οἱ δὲ σφι βόες ἐκ τοῦ ἀγροῦ οὐ παρεγίνοντο ἐν ὥρη ἐκκληιόμενοι δὲ τῆ ὥρη οἱ νεηνίαι

<sup>1</sup> Stein brackets elvekev.

you, by reason of your wisdom and your wanderings. how that you have travelled far to seek knowledge and to see the world. Now therefore I am fain to ask you, if you have ever seen a man more blest than all his fellows." So Croesus inquired, supposing himself to be blest beyond all men. But Solon spoke the truth without flattery: "Such an one. O King," he said, "I have seen—Tellus of Athens." Croesus wondered at this, and sharply asked Solon "How do you judge Tellus to be most blest?" Solon replied: "Tellus' city was prosperous, and he was the father of noble sons, and he saw children born to all of them and their state well stablished: moreover, having then as much wealth as a man may among us, he crowned his life with a most glorious death: for in a battle between the Athenians and their neighbours at Eleusis he attacked and routed the enemy and most nobly there died; and the Athenians gave him public burial where he fell and paid him great honour."

31. Now when Solon had admonished Croesus by recounting the many ways in which Tellus was blest, the king further asked him whom he placed second after Tellus, thinking that assuredly the second prize at least would be his. Solon answered: "Cleobis and Biton. These were Argives, and besides sufficient wealth they had such strength of body as I will show. Both were prizewinners; and this story too is related of them. There was a festival of Here toward among the Argives, and their mother must by all means be drawn to the temple by a yoke of oxen. But the oxen did not come in time from the fields; so the young men, being thus thwarted by lack of time, put themselves

ύποδύντες αύτοι ύπο την ζεύγλην είλκον την αμαξαν, επὶ της αμάξης δέ σφι ωχέετο ή μήτηρ. σταδίους δὲ πέντε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα διακομίσαντες απίκοντο ές τὸ ίρον, ταῦτα δέ σφι ποιήσασι καὶ ὀφθεῖσι ὑπὸ τῆς πανηγύριος τελευτή τοῦ βίου αρίστη επεγένετο, διέδεξέ τε εν τούτοισι ό θεὸς ώς ἄμεινον εἴη ἀνθρώπω τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ή ζώειν. 'Αργείοι μεν γάρ περιστάντες έμακάριζον των νεηνιέων την ρώμην, αί δε Αργείαι την μητέρα αὐτῶν, οίων τέκνων ἐκύρησε ή δὲ μήτηρ περιγαρής ἐοῦσα τῷ τε ἔργω καὶ τῆ φήμη, στάσα αντίου του αγάλματος εύχετο Κλεόβι τε και Βίτωνι τοίσι έωυτης τέκνοισι, οί μιν ετίμησαν μεγάλως, την θεον δούναι το άνθρώπω τυχείν αριστον έστί. μετά ταύτην δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν ώς έθυσάν τε καὶ εὐωχήθησαν, κατακοιμηθέντες έν αὐτῶ τῶ ἰρῶ οἱ νεηνίαι οὐκέτι ἀνέστησαν ἀλλ' έν τέλει τούτω έσχοντο. 'Αργείοι δε σφέων είκονας ποιησάμενοι ανέθεσαν ές Δελφούς ώς αριστών γενομένων."

32. Σόλων μὲν δὴ εὐδαιμονίης δευτερεῖα ἔνεμε τούτοισι, Κροῖσος δὲ σπερχθεὶς εἶπε "¾Ω ξεῖνε 'Αθηναῖε, ἡ δ' ἡμετέρη εὐδαιμονίη οὕτω τοι ἀπέρριπται ἐς τὸ μηδὲν ὥστε οὐδὲ ἰδιωτέων ἀνδρῶν ἀξίους ἡμέας ἐποίησας;" δ δὲ εἶπε "¾Ω Κροῖσε, ἐπιστάμενόν με τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἐὸν φθονερόν τε καὶ ταραχῶδες ἐπειρωτᾶς ἀνθρωπηίων πρηγμάτων πέρι. ἐν γὰρ τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῷ πολλὰ μὲν ἐστὶ ἰδεῖν τὰ μή τις ἐθέλει, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παθεῖν. ἐς γὰρ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτεα οὖρον τῆς ζόης ἀνθρώπῷ προτίθημι. οὖτοι ἐόντες ἐνιαυτοὶ ἑβδομήκοντα παρέχονται ἡμέρας διηκοσίας καὶ πεντακισχιλίας καὶ δισμυρίας, ἐμβολίμου μηνὸς μὴ γινομένου εἰ

to the yoke and drew the carriage with their mother sitting thereon: for five and forty furlongs they drew it till they came to the temple. Having done this, and been seen by the assembly, they made a most excellent end of their lives, and the god showed by these men how that it was better for a man to die than to live. For the men of Argos came round and gave the youths joy of their strength, and so likewise did the women to their mother, for the excellence of her sons. She then in her joy at what was done and said, came before the image of the goddess and prayed that her sons Cleobis and Biton, who had done such great honour to the goddess, should be given the best boon that a man may receive. After the prayer the young men sacrificed and ate of the feast; then they lay down to sleep in the temple itself and never rose up more, but here ended their lives. Then the Argives made and set up at Delphi images of them because La found in 1924 of their excellence."

32. So Solon gave to Cleobis and Biton the second prize of happiness. But Croesus said in anger, "Guest from Athens! is our prosperity, then, held by you so worthless that you match us not even with common men?" "Croesus," said Solon, "you ask me concerning the lot of man; well I know how jealous is Heaven and how it loves to trouble us. In a man's length of days he may see and suffer many things that he much mislikes. For I set the limit of man's life at seventy years; in these seventy are days twenty-five thousand and two hundred, if we count not the intercalary month.1 But if every

<sup>1</sup> The "intercalary" month is a month periodically inserted to make the series of solar and calendar years eventually correspond. But Herodotus' reckoning here would make the average length of a year 375 days .- Ly dian calendark

δὲ δὴ ἐθελήσει τοὕτερον τῶν ἐτέων μηνὶ μακρότερον γίνεσθαι, ίνα δη αί δραι συμβαίνωσι παραγινόμεναι ές τὸ δέον, μηνες μεν παρά τὰ έβδομήκοντα έτεα οι εμβόλιμοι γίνονται τοιήκοντα πέντε, ημέραι δὲ ἐκ τῶν μηνῶν τούτων χίλιαι πεντήκοντα. τουτέων τῶν ἀπασέων ἡμερέων τῶν ές τὰ έβδομήκοντα έτεα, ἐουσέων πεντήκοντα καί διηκοσιέων καὶ έξακισχιλιέων καὶ δισμυριέων, ή έτέρη αὐτέων τη έτέρη ήμέρη τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν ομοιον προσάγει πρηγμα, ούτω ών Κροίσε παν έστι άνθρωπος συμφορή. έμοι δε σύ και πλουτέειν μέγα φαίνεαι καὶ βασιλεύς πολλών είναι άνθρώπων έκείνο δὲ τὸ είρεο με, ούκω σε ἐγὼ λέγω, πρίν τελευτήσαντα καλώς τον αίωνα πύθωμαι. οὐ γάρ τι ὁ μέγα πλούσιος μᾶλλον τοῦ ἐπ' ἡμέρην έγοντος ολβιώτερος έστί, εί μή οι τύχη επίσποιτο πάντα καλά έχοντα εὖ τελευτήσαι τὸν βίον. πολλοί μεν γαρ ζάπλουτοι ανθρώπων ανόλβιοι είσί, πολλοί δε μετρίως έγοντες βίου εὐτυγέες./ ό μεν δη μέγα πλούσιος ανόλβιος δε δυοίσι προέχει τοῦ εὐτυχέος μοῦνον, οὕτος δὲ τοῦ πλουσίου καὶ ανόλβου πολλοίσι δ μεν επιθυμίην εκτελέσαι καί άτην μεγάλην προσπεσούσαν ένεικαι δυνατώτερος, δ δὲ τοισιδε προέχει ἐκείνου ἄτην μὲν καὶ ἐπιθυμίην ούκ όμοίως δυνατός έκείνω ένείκαι, ταθτα δὲ ή εὐτυχίη οἱ ἀπερύκει, ἄπηρος δὲ ἐστί, ἄνουσος, άπαθής κακών, εύπαις, εὐειδής. εἰ δὲ πρὸς τούτοισι έτι τελευτήσει τον βίον εθ, οθτος έκείνος τὸν σὺ ζητέεις, ὁ ὅλβιος κεκλησθαι ἄξιος ἐστί· πρίν δ' αν τελευτήση, έπισγείν, μηδέ καλέειν κω όλβιον άλλ' εύτυχέα. τὰ πάντα μέν νυν ταῦτα

second year be lengthened by a month so that the seasons and the calendar may rightly accord, then the intercalary months are five and thirty, over and above the seventy years: and the days of these months are one thousand and fifty; so then all the days together of the seventy years are seen to be twenty-six thousand two hundred and fifty; and one may well say that no one of all these days is like another in that which it brings. Thus then, Croesus, the whole of man is but chance. Now if I am to speak of you, I say that I see you very rich and the king of many men. But I cannot yet answer your question, before I hear that you have ended your life well. For he who is very rich is not more blest than he who has but enough for the day, unless fortune so attend him that he ends his life well, having all good things about him. Many men of great wealth are unblest, and many that have no great substance are fortunate. Now the very rich man who is yet unblest has but two advantages over the fortunate man, but the fortunate man has many advantages over the rich but unblest: for this latter is the stronger to accomplish his desire and to bear the stroke of great calamity; but these are the advantages of the fortunate man, that though he be not so strong as the other to deal with calamity and desire, yet these are kept far from him by his good fortune, and he is free from deformity, sickness, and all evil, and happy in his children and his comeliness. If then such a man besides all this shall also end his life well, then he is the man whom you seek, and is worthy to be called blest; but we must wait till he be dead, and call him not yet blest, but fortunate.

συλλαβείν ἄνθρωπον ἔοντα ἀδύνατον ἐστί, ὅσπερ χώρη οὐδεμία καταρκέει πάντα ἑωυτῆ παρέχουσα, ἀλλὰ ἄλλο μὲν ἔχει ἑτέρου δὲ ἐπιδέεται· ἡ δὲ ἄν τὰ πλεῖστα ἔχῃ, αὕτη ἀρίστη. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπου σῶμα ἐν οὐδὲν αὕταρκες ἐστί· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔχει, ἄλλου δὲ ἐνδεές ἐστι· δς δ' ἄν αὐτῶν πλεῖστα ἔχων διατελέῃ καὶ ἔπειτα τελευτήση εὐχαρίστως τὸν βίον, οὕτος παρ' ἐμοὶ τὸ οὕνομα τοῦτο ὡ βασιλεῦ δίκαιος ἐστὶ φέρεσθαι. σκοπέειν δὲ χρὴ παντὸς χρήματος τὴν τελευτήν, κῆ ἀποβήσεται· πολλοῖσι γὰρ δὴ ὑποδέξας ὅλβον ὁ θεὸς προρρίζους ἀνέτρεψε."

33. Ταθτα λέγων τῷ Κροίσῳ οὔ κως οὔτε ἐχαρίζετο, οὔτε λόγου μιν ποιησάμενος οὐδενὸς ἀποπέμπεται, κάρτα δόξας ἀμαθέα εἶναι, ὃς τὰ παρεόντα ἀγαθὰ μετεὶς τὴν τελευτὴν παντὸς

χρήματος όρᾶν ἐκέλευε.

34. Μετὰ δὲ Σόλωνα οἰχόμενον ἔλαβε ἐκ θεοῦ νέμεσις μεγάλη Κροῖσον, ὡς εἰκάσαι, ὅτι ἐνόμισε ἐωυτὸν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ὀλβιώτατον. αὐτίκα δὲ οἱ εὕδοντι ἐπέστη ὄνειρος, ὅς οἱ τὴν ἀληθείην ἔφαινε τῶν μελλόντων γενέσθαι κακῶν κατὰ τὸν παίδα. ἢσαν δὲ τῷ Κροίσῷ δύο παίδες, τῶν οὕτερος μὲν διέφθαρτο, ἢν γὰρ δὴ κωφός, ὁ δὲ ἔτερος τῶν ἡλίκων μακρῷ τὰ πάντα πρῶτος οὕνομα δὲ οἱ ἢν ᾿Ατυς. τοῦτον δὴ ὧν τὸν Ἦτυ σημαίνει τῷ Κροίσῷ ὁ ὄνειρος, ὡς ἀπολέει μιν αἰχμῆ σιδηρέη βληθέντα. ὁ δ᾽ ἐπείτε ἐξηγέρθη καὶ ἑωυτῷ λόγον ἔδωκε, καταρρωδήσας τὸν ὄνειρον ἄγεται μὲν τῷ παιδὶ γυναῖκα, ἐωθότα δὲ στρατηγέειν μιν τῶν Λυδῶν οὐδαμῆ ἔτι ἐπὶ τοιοῦτο πρῆγμα ἐξέπεμπε· ἀκόντια δὲ καὶ δοράτια καὶ τὰ

no one (who is but man) can have all these good things together, just as no land is altogether self-sufficing in what it produces: one thing it has, another it lacks, and the best land is that which has most; so too no single person is sufficient for himself: one thing he has, another he lacks; but whoever continues in the possession of most things, and at last makes a gracious end of his life, such a man, O King, I deem worthy of this title. We must look to the conclusion of every matter, and see how it shall end, for there are many to whom heaven has given a vision of blessedness, and yet afterwards brought them to utter ruin."

33. So spoke Solon: Croesus therefore gave him no largess, but sent him away as a man of no account, for he thought that man to be very foolish who disregarded present prosperity and bade him look rather

to the end of every matter.

34. But after Solon's departure, the divine anger fell heavily on Croesus: as I guess, because he supposed himself to be blest beyond all other men. Presently, as he slept, he was visited by a dream, which foretold truly to him the evil which should befall his son. He had two sons, one of whom was wholly undone, for he was deaf and dumb, but the other, whose name was Atys, was in every way far pre-eminent over all of his years. The dream then showed to Croesus that Atys should be smitten and killed by a spear of iron. So Croesus, when he woke and considered the dream with himself, was greatly affrighted by it; and first he made a marriage for his son, and moreover, whereas Atvs was wont to lead the Lydian armies, Croesus now would not suffer him to go out on any such enterprise, while

τοιαθτα πάντα τοθσι χρέωνται ες πόλεμον άνθρωποι, εκ των ανδρεώνων εκκομίσας ες τους θαλάμους συνένησε, μή τί οι κρεμάμενον τώ παιδί

έμπέση.

35. Έγοντι 1 δέ οἱ ἐν γερσὶ τοῦ παιδὸς τὸν γάμον, ἀπικνέεται ές τὰς Σάρδις ἀνηρ συμφορή έχόμενος καὶ οὐ καθαρὸς χείρας, ἐὼν Φρὺξ μὲν γενεή, γένεος δὲ τοῦ βασιληίου. παρελθών δέ ούτος ές τὰ Κροίσου οἰκία κατὰ νόμους τούς έπιγωρίους καθαρσίου έδέετο κυρήσαι, Κροίσος δέ μιν ἐκάθηρε. ἔστι δὲ παραπλησίη ή κάθαρσις τοίσι Λυδοίσι καὶ τοίσι "Ελλησι, ἐπείτε δὲ τὰ νομιζόμενα έποίησε ο Κροίσος, έπυνθάνετο οκόθεν τε καὶ τίς είη, λέγων τάδε " Ωνθρωπε, τίς τε έων καὶ κόθεν της Φρυγίης ήκων ἐπίστιός μοι ἐγένεο; τίνα τε ἀνδρών ή γυναικών ἐφόνευσας:" δ δὲ αμείβετο " Ω βασιλεύ, Γορδίεω μεν τού Μίδεω είμὶ παῖς, ὀνομάζομαι δὲ "Αδρηστος, φονεύσας δὲ άδελφεον έμεωυτου άέκων πάρειμι έξεληλαμένος τε ύπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐστερημένος πάντων." Κροίσος δέ μιν ἀμείβετο τοίσιδε "'Ανδρών τε φίλων τυγχάνεις έκγονος έων καὶ ελήλυθας ές φίλους, ένθα άμηχανήσεις χρήματος οὐδενὸς μένων έν ήμετέρου, συμφορήν τε ταύτην ώς κουφότατα φέρων κερδανέεις πλείστου,"

36. 'Ο μεν δη δίαιταν είχε εν Κροίσου. εν δε τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῷ τούτῷ εν τῷ Μυσίῷ 'Ολύμπῷ ὑὸς χρῆμα γίνεται μέγα· ὁρμώμενος δὲ οὖτος ἐκ τοῦ ὅρεος τούτου τὰ τῶν Μυσῶν ἔργα διαφθείρεσκε. πολλάκις δὲ οἱ Μυσοὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔξελθόντες

<sup>1</sup> Exortos Stein.

# BOOK I. 34-36

he took the javelins and spears and all such instruments of war from the men's apartments and piled them up in his storehouse, lest any of them should fall upon his son from where it hung.

35. Now while Croesus was busied about the marriage of his son, there came to Sardis a Phrygian of the royal house, in great distress and with hands unclean. This man came to Croesus' house, and entreated that he might be purified after the custom of the country; so Croesus purified him (the Lydians use the same manner of purification as do the Greeks), and when he had done all according to usage, he inquired of the Phrygian whence he came and who he was: "Friend," said he, "who are you, and from what place in Phrygia do you come to be my suppliant? and what man or woman have you slain?" "O King," the man answered, "I am the son of Gordias the son of Midas, and my name is Adrastus; by no will of mine, I slew my brother, and hither I am come, banished by my father and bereft of all." Croesus answered, "All of your family are my friends, and to friends you have come, among whom you shall lack nothing but abide in my house. And for your misfortune, bear it as lightly as may be and you will be the more profited."

36. So Adrastus lived in Croesus' house. About this same time there appeared on the Mysian Olympus a great monster of a boar, who would issue out from that mountain and ravage the fields of the Mysians. Often had the Mysians gone out against



<sup>1</sup> Or, perhaps, "in the women's quarters."

ποιέεσκου μεν κακον οὐδέν, ἔπασχον δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ. τέλος δὲ ἀπικόμενοι παρὰ τὸν Κροῖσον τῶν Μυσῶν ἄγγελοι ἔλεγον τάδε. " Ω βασιλεῦ. ύδς χρήμα μέγιστον άνεφάνη ήμιν έν τη χώρη, δς τὰ έργα διαφθείρει, τοῦτον προθυμεόμενοι έλεῖν οὐ δυνάμεθα. νῦν ὧν προσδεόμεθά σευ τὸν παίδα καὶ λογάδας νεηνίας καὶ κύνας συμπέμθαι ήμιν. ώς αν μιν εξέλωμεν εκ της χώρης." οι μεν δη τούτων εδέοντο, Κροΐσος δε μνημονεύων τοῦ ονείρου τὰ ἔπεα ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε. "Παιδὸς μὲν πέρι τοῦ ἐμοῦ μὴ μνησθητε ἔτι οὐ γὰρ αν ὑμῖν συμπέμψαιμι νεόγαμός τε γάρ έστι και ταθτά οι νθν μέλει. Λυδών μέντοι λογάδας καὶ τὸ κυνηγέσιον πάν συμπέμψω, καὶ διακελεύσομαι τοῖσι ἰοῦσι είναι ώς προθυμοτάτοισι συνεξελείν ύμιν τὸ θηρίον έκ της χώρης.

37. Ταῦτα ἀμείψατο ἀποχρεωμένων δὲ τούτοισι τῶν Μυσῶν, ἐπεσέρχεται ὁ τοῦ Κροίσου παῖς ἀκηκοὼς τῶν ἐδέοντο οἱ Μυσοί. οὐ φαμένου δὲ τοῦ Κροίσου τόν γε παῖδά σφι συμπέμψειν, λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ νεηνίης τάδε. "³Ω πάτερ, τὰ κάλλιστα πρότερον κοτὲ καὶ γενναιότατα ἡμῖν ἦν ἔς τε πολέμους καὶ ἐς ἄγρας φοιτέοντας εὐδοκιμέειν νῦν δὲ ἀμφοτέρων με τούτων ἀπόκληίσας ἔχεις, οὔτε τινὰ δειλίην μοι παριδὼν οὔτε ἀθυμίην. νῦν τε τέοισί με χρὴ ὅμμασι ἔς τε ἀγορὴν καὶ ἐξ ἀγορῆς φοιτέοντα φαίνεσθαι; κοῖος μέν τις τοῖσι πολιήτησι δόξω εἶναι, κοῖος δὲ τις τῆ νεογάμω γυναικί; κοίω δὲ ἐκείνη δόξει ἀνδρὶ συνοικέειν; ἐμὲ ὧν σὺ ἡ μέτες ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὴν θήρην, ἡ λόγω ἀνάπεισον ὅκως μοι ἀμείνω ἐστὶ ταῦτα οὔτω

ποιεόμενα."

him: but they never did him any harm and rather were themselves hurt thereby. At last they sent messengers to Croesus, with this message: "King, a great monster of a boar has appeared in the land, who destroys our fields; for all our attempts, we cannot kill him; now therefore, we beseech you, send with us your son, and chosen young men and dogs, that we may rid the country of him." Such was their entreaty, but Croesus remembered the prophecy of his dream and thus answered them: "Say no more about my son: I will not send him with you: he is newly married, and that is his present business. But I will send chosen men of the Lydians, and all the hunt, and I will bid those who go to use all zeal in aiding you to rid the country of this beast,"

37. So he replied, and the Mysians were satisfied with this. But the son of Croesus now came in, who had heard the request of the Mysians; and when Croesus refused to send his son with them, "Father," said the young man, "it was formerly held fairest and noblest that we princes should go constantly to war and the chase and win thereby renown; but now you have barred me from both of these, not for any sign that you have seen in me of a coward or craven spirit. With what face can I thus show myself whenever I go to and from the market-place? What will the men of the city think of me, and what my newwedded wife? With what manner of man will she think that she dwells? Nay, do you either let me go to this hunt, or show me by reason good that what you are doing is best for me."

38. 'Αμείβεται Κροίσος τοίσιδε. " Ω παί. ούτε δειλίην ούτε άλλο ούδεν άχαρι παριδών τοι ποιέω ταῦτα, ἀλλά μοι ὄψις ὀνείρου ἐν τῶ ὕπνω έπιστάσα έφη σε όλιγοχρόνιον έσεσθαι ύπο γάρ αίχμης σιδηρέης ἀπολέεσθαι. πρὸς ὧν την ὄψιν ταύτην τόν τε γάμον τοι τοῦτον ἔσπευσα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ παραλαμβανόμενα οὐκ ἀποπέμπω, φυλακὴν έγων, εί κως δυναίμην έπι της έμης σε ζόης διακλέψαι. είς γάρ μοι μοῦνος τυγχάνεις έων παίς. τον γαρ δη έτερον διεφθαρμένον την ακοήν ούκ

είναι μοι λογίζομαι."

39. 'Αμείβεται ὁ νεηνίης τοίσιδε. "Συγγνώμη μέν & πάτερ τοι, ίδοντι γε όψιν τοιαύτην, περί έμε φυλακήν έχειν το δε ου μανθάνεις άλλα λέληθέ σε τὸ ὄνειρον, ἐμέ τοι δίκαιον ἐστὶ φράζειν. φής τοι τὸ ὄνειρον ὑπὸ αίχμης σιδηρέης φάναι έμε τελευτήσειν ύδς δε κοίαι μεν είσι χείρες, κοίη δὲ αίχμη σιδηρέη την σὺ φοβέαι; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ οδόντος τοι είπε τελευτήσειν με, ή άλλου τευ ό τι τούτω έοικε, χρην δή σε ποιέειν τὰ ποιέεις νῦν δὲ ύπο αίχμης. ἐπείτε ὧν οὐ πρὸς ἄνδρας ἡμῖν γίνεται ή μάχη, μέτες με."

40. 'Αμείβεται Κροίσος "' Ω παί, έστι τη με νικάς γνώμην ἀποφαίνων περί τοῦ ἐνυπνίου. ώς ων νενικημένος ύπο σέο μεταγινώσκω, μετίημί τε

σε ίεναι επί την άγρην."

41. Είπας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κροῖσος μεταπέμπεται τον Φρύγα "Αδρηστον, απικομένω δέ οι λέγει τάδε. ""Αδρηστε, έγώ σε συμφορή πεπληγμένον άχάρι, τήν τοι ούκ ονειδίζω, εκάθηρα καὶ οἰκίοισι ύποδεξάμενος έχω, παρέχων πασαν δαπάνην. νθν ων (οφείλεις γαρ έμου προποιήσαντος χρηστά ές 38. "My son," answered Croesus, "if I do this, it is not that I have seen cowardice or aught unseemly in you; no, but the vision of a dream stood over me in my sleep, and told me that your life should be short, for you should be slain by a spear of iron. It is for that vision that I was careful to make your marriage, and send you on no enterprise that I have in hand, but keep guard over you, so that haply I may trick death of you through my lifetime. You are my only son: for that other, since his hearing is lost to him, I count no son of mine."

I count no son of mine."

39. "Father," the youth replied, "none can blame you for keeping guard over me, when you have seen such a vision; but it is my right to show you this which you do not perceive, and wherein you mistake the meaning of the dream. You say that the dream told you that I should be killed by a spear of iron; but has a boar hands? Has it that iron spear which you dread? Had the dream said I should be slain by a tusk or some other thing belonging to a boar, you had been right in acting as you act; but no, it was to be a spear. Therefore, since it is not against men that we are to fight, suffer me to go."

40. Croesus answered, "My son, your judgment concerning the dream does somewhat overpersuade me; and being so convinced by you I change my

purpose and permit you to go to the chase."

41. Having said this, Croesus sent for Adrastus the Phrygian and when he came thus addressed him: "Adrastus, when you were smitten by grievous misfortune, for which I blame you not, it was I who cleansed you, and received and still keep you in my house, defraying all your charges. Now therefore (as you owe me a return of good service for the benefits

σε χρηστοισί με ἀμείβεσθαι) φύλακα παιδός σε τοῦ ἐμοῦ χρηίζω γενέσθαι ἐς ἄγρην ὁρμωμένου, μή τινες κατ' όδὸν κλῶπες κακοῦργοι ἐπὶ δηλήσι φανέωσι ὑμῖν. πρὸς δὲ τούτω καὶ σέ τοι χρεόν ἐστι ἰέναι ἔνθα ἀπολαμπρυνέαι τοῖσι ἔργοισι πατρωιόν τε γάρ τοι ἐστὶ καὶ προσέτι ἡωμη

ὑπάρχει."

42. Αμείβεται ο "Αδρηστος "" Ω βασιλεῦ, ἄλλως μὲν ἔγωγε ᾶν οὐκ ἤια ἐς ἄεθλον τοιόνδε οὕτε γὰρ συμφορῆ τοιῆδε κεχρημένον οἰκός ἐστι ἐς ὁμήλικας εὖ πρήσσοντας ἰέναι, οὕτε τὸ βούλεσθαι πάρα, πολλαχῆ τε ᾶν ἰσχον ἐμεωντόν. νῦν δέ, ἐπείτε σὺ σπεύδεις καὶ δεῖ τοι χαρίζεσθαι (ὀφείλω γάρ σε ἀμείβεσθαι χρηστοῖσι), ποιέειν εἰμὶ ἔτοιμος ταῦτα, παῖδά τε σόν, τὸν διακελεύεαι φυλάσσειν, ἀπήμονα τοῦ φυλάσσοντος εἵνεκεν προσδόκα τοι ἀπονοστήσειν."

43. Τοιούτοισι ἐπείτε οὖτος ἀμείψατο Κροῖσον, ἤισαν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξηρτυμένοι λογάσι τε νεηνίησι καὶ κυσί. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν "Ολυμπον τὸ ὄρος ἔζήτεον τὸ θηρίον, εὐρόντες δὲ καὶ περιστάντες αὐτὸ κύκλῳ ἐσηκόντιζον. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ ξεῖνος, οὖτος δὴ ὁ καθαρθεὶς τὸν ψόνον, καλεόμενος δὲ "Αδρηστος, ἀκοντίζων τὸν ὖν τοῦ μὲν ἁμαρτάνει, τυγχάνει δὲ τοῦ Κροίσου παίδος. ὁ μὲν δὴ βληθεὶς τῷ αἰχμῷ ἐξέπλησε τοῦ ὀνείρου τὴν ψήμην, ἔθεε δὲ τις ἀγγελέων τῷ Κροίσῳ τὸ γεγονός, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὰς Σάρδις τήν τε μάχην καὶ τὸν τοῦ παιδὸς μόρον ἐσήμηνὲ οἱ.

- 44. Ὁ δὲ Κροῖσος τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ παιδὸς συντεταραγμένος μᾶλλόν τι ἐδεινολογέετο ὅτι μιν ἀπέκτεινε τὸν αὐτὸς φόνου ἐκάθηρε περιημεκτέων which I have done you) I ask you to watch over my son as he goes out to the chase. See to it that no ruffian robbers meet you on the way, to do you harm. Moreover it is but right that you too should go where you can win renown by your deeds. That is fitting for your father's son; and you are strong

enough withal."

42. "O King," Adrastus answered, "had it been otherwise, I would not have gone forth on this enterprise. One so unfortunate as I should not consort with the prosperous among his peers; nor have I the wish so to do, and for many reasons I would have held back. But now, since you so desire and I must do your pleasure (owing you as I do a requital of good service), I am ready to obey you in this; and for your son, in so far as I can protect him, look

for his coming back unharmed."

43. So when Adrastus had thus answered Croesus they went out presently equipped with a company of chosen young men and dogs. When they had come to Mount Olympus they hunted for the beast, and having found him they made a ring and threw their spears at him: then the guest called Adrastus, the man who had been cleansed of the deed of blood, missed the boar with his spear and hit the son of Croesus. So Atys was smitten by the spear and fulfilled the utterance of the dream. One ran to bring Croesus word of what had been done, and came to Sardis, where he told the king of the fight and the manner of his son's end.

44. Croesus, distraught by the death of his son, cried out the more vehemently because the slayer was one whom he himself had cleansed of a bloody

δὲ τῆ συμφορῆ δεινῶς ἐκάλεε μὲν Δία καθάρσιον, μαρτυρόμενος τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ ξείνου πεπονθῶς εἴη, ἐκάλεε δὲ ἐπίστιον τε καὶ ἐταιρήιον, τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ὀνομάζων θεόν, τὸν μὲν ἐπίστιον καλέων, διότι δὴ οἰκίοισι ὑποδεξάμενος τὸν ξεῖνον φονέα τοῦ παιδὸς ἐλάνθανε βόσκων, τὸν δὲ ἐταιρήιον, ὡς φύλακα συμπέμψας αὐτὸν εὐρήκοι πολε-

μιώτατον.

45. Παρήσαν δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ Λυδοὶ φέροντες τον νεκρόν, όπισθε δὲ είπετό οι ο φονεύς, στὰς δὲ οὖτος πρὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ παρεδίδου έωυτὸν Κροίσω προτείνων τας χείρας, ἐπικατασφάξαι μιν κελεύων τῶ νεκρῶ, λέγων τήν τε προτέρην έωυτοῦ συμφορήν, καὶ ώς ἐπ' ἐκείνη τὸν καθήραντα ἀπολωλεκώς είη, οὐδέ οἱ είη βιώσιμον. Κροΐσος δὲ τούτων ἀκούσας τόν τε "Αδρηστον κατοικτείρει, καίπερ έων έν κακώ οίκηίω τοσούτω και λέγει προς αὐτόν "Εχω ὧ ξείνε παρὰ σεῦ πᾶσαν τὴν δίκην, έπειδή σεωυτού καταδικάζεις θάνατον. είς δὲ οὐ σύ μοι τοῦδε τοῦ κακοῦ αἴτιος, εἰ μὴ ὅσον άέκων έξεργάσαο, άλλα θεών κού τις, ός μοι καὶ πάλαι προεσήμαινε τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι." Κροίσος μέν νυν έθαψε ως οίκος ήν τον έωυτου παίδα "Αδρηστος δὲ ὁ Γορδίεω τοῦ Μίδεω, ούτος δη ό φονεύς μέν τοῦ έωυτοῦ άδελφεοῦ γενόμενος φονεύς δε τοῦ καθήραντος, επείτε ήσυχίη των ανθρώπων έγενετο περί το σήμα, συγγινωσκόμενος ανθρώπων είναι των αύτος ήδεε βαρυσυμφορώτατος, ἐπικατασφάζει τῶ τύμβω έωυτόν.

46. Κροίσος δὲ ἐπὶ δύο ἔτεα ἐν πένθεϊ μεγάλφ

## BOOK I. 44-46

deed, and in his great and terrible grief at this mischance he called on Zeus by three names—Zeus the Purifier, Zeus of the Hearth, Zeus of Comrades: the first, because he would have the god know what evil his guest had wrought him; the second, because he had received the guest into his house and thus unwittingly entertained the slayer of his son; and the third, because he had found his worst foe in the man

whom he sent as a protector.

45. Soon came the Lydians, bearing the dead corpse, with the slaver following after. He then came and stood before the body and gave himself wholly into Croesus' power, holding out his hands and praying the king to slav him where he stood by the dead man: "Remember," he said, "my former mischance, and see how besides that I have undone him who purified me; indeed, it is not fit that I should live." On hearing this Croesus, though his own sorrow was so great, took pity on Adrastus and said to him, "Friend, I have from you all that justice asks, since you deem yourself worthy of death. But it is not you that I hold the cause of this evil, save in so far as you were the unwilling doer of it: rather it is the work of a god, the same who told me long ago what was to be." So Croesus buried his own son in such manner as was fitting. But Adrastus, son of Gordias who was son of Midas, this Adrastus, the slaver of his own brother and of the man who purified him, when the tomb was undisturbed by the presence of men, slew himself there by the sepulchre, seeing now clearly that he was the most ill-fated wretch of all men whom he knew.

46. Croesus, after the loss of his son, sat in deep

κατήστο του παιδός έστερημένος. μετά δὲ ή Αστυάνεος του Κυαξάρεω ήγεμονίη καταιρεθείσα ύπο Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσεω καὶ τὰ τῶν Περσέων πρήγματα αὐξανόμενα πένθεος μὲν Κροίσον ἀπέπαυσε, ενέβησε δε ές Φροντίδα, εί κως δύναιτο, πρίν μεγάλους γενέσθαι τούς Πέρσας, καταλαβείν αὐτῶν αὐξανομένην τὴν δύναμιν. μετὰ ὧν τὴν διάνοιαν ταύτην αὐτίκα ἀπεπειράτο τῶν μαντηίων τῶν τε ἐν "Ελλησι καὶ τοῦ ἐν Λιβύη, διαπέμινας άλλους άλλη, τούς μέν ές Δελφούς ίέναι, τούς δέ ές "Αβας τὰς Φωκέων, τοὺς δὲ ές Δωδώνην οί δὲ τινὲς ἐπέμποντο παρά τε 'Αμφιάρεων καὶ παρά Τροφώνιον, οἱ δὲ τῆς Μιλησίης ἐς Βραγχίδας, ταῦτα μέν νυν τὰ Ελληνικὰ μαντήια ές τὰ ἀπέπεμψε μαντευσόμενος Κροίσος. Λιβύης δὲ παρὰ "Αμμωνα ἀπέστελλε άλλους χρησομένους. διέπεμπε δὲ πειρώμενος των μαντηίων ο τι Φρονέοιεν, ως εί Φρονέοντα την άληθείην εύρεθείη, ἐπείρηται σφέα δεύτερα πέμπων εί ἐπιχειρέοι ἐπὶ Πέρσας στρατεύεσθαι.

47. Έντειλάμενος δε τοίσι Λυδοίσι τάδε άπέπεμπε ές την διάπειραν των χρηστηρίων, άπ' ής αν ήμέρης όρμηθέωσι έκ Σαρδίων, άπὸ ταύτης ήμερολογέοντας του λοιπου χρόνου έκατοστή ήμέρη χρασθαι τοίσι χρηστηρίοισι, έπειρωτώντας ο τι ποιέων τυγχάνοι ο Λυδών βασιλεύς Κροίσος ό 'Αλυάττεω' ἄσσα δ' αν ξκαστα των χρηστηρίων θεσπίση, συγγραψαμένους άναφέρειν παρ' έωυτόν. ο τι μέν νυν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χρηστηρίων ἐθέσπισε, ού λέγεται πρὸς ούδαμῶν ἐν δὲ Δελφοῖσι ὡς έσηλθον τάχιστα ές το μέγαρον οι Λυδοί χρησόμενοι τῶ θεῶ καὶ ἐπειρώτων τὸ ἐντεταλμένον, ή

Πυθίη εν εξαμέτρω τόνω λέγει τάδε.

# BOOK I. 46-47

sorrow for two years. After this time, the destruction by Cyrus son of Cambyses of the sovereignty of Astyages son of Cyaxares, and the growth of the power of the Persians, caused him to cease from his mourning; and he resolved, if he could, to forestall the increase of the Persian power before they grew to greatness. Having thus determined, he straightway made trial of the Greek and Libyan oracles, sending messengers separately to Delphi. to Abae in Phocia, and to Dodona, while others again were despatched to Amphiaraus and Trophonius, and others to Branchidae in the Milesian country. These are the Greek oracles to which Croesus sent for divination: and he bade others go to inquire of Ammon in Libva. His intent in sending was to test the knowledge of the oracles, so that, if they should be found to know the truth, he might send again and ask if he should take in hand an expedition against the Persians.

47. And when he sent to make trial of these shrines he gave the Lydians this charge: they were to keep count of the time from the day of their leaving Sardis, and on the hundredth day inquire of the oracles what Croesus, king of Lydia, son of Alyattes, was then doing; then they were to write down whatever were the oracular answers and bring them back to him. Now none relate what answer was given by the rest of the oracles. But at Delphi, no sooner had the Lydians entered the hall to inquire of the god and asked the question with which they were charged, than the Pythian priestess

uttered the following hexameter verses:

<sup>1</sup> That is, to the oracular shrines of these legendary heroes.

Οίδα δ' έγω ψαμμου τ' άριθμον καὶ μέτρα θαλάσσης,

καὶ κωφοῦ συνίημι, καὶ οὐ φωνεῦντος ἀκούω. ὀδμή μ' ἐς φρένας ἢλθε κραταιρίνοιο χελώνης ἐψομένης ἐν χαλκῷ ἄμ' ἀρνείοισι κρέεσσιν, ἢ χαλκὸς μὲν ὑπέστρωται, χαλκὸν δ' ἐπιέσται.

48. Ταῦτα οἱ Λυδοὶ θεσπισάσης τῆς Πυθίης συγγραψάμενοι οἴχοντο ἀπιόντες ἐς τὰς Σάρδις. ὡς δὲ καὶ ὡλλοι οἱ περιπεμφθέντες παρῆσαν φέροντες τοὺς χρησμούς, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κροῖσος ἔκαστα ἀναπτύσσων ἐπώρα τῶν συγγραμμάτων. τῶν μὲν δὴ οὐδὲν προσίετό μιν δ δὲ ὡς τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν ἤκουσε, αὐτίκα προσεύχετό τε καὶ προσεδέξατο, νομίσας μοῦνον εἶναι μαντήιον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, ὅτι οἱ ἐξευρήκες τὰ αὐτὸς ἐποίησε. ἐπείτε γὰρ δὴ διέπεμψε παρὰ τὰ χρηστήρια τοὺς θεοπρόπους, φυλάξας τὴν κυρίην τῶν ἡμερέων ἐμηχανᾶτο τοιάδε· ἐπινοήσας τὰ ἦν ἀμήχανον ἐξευρεῖν τε καὶ ἐπιφράσασθαι, χελώνην καὶ ἄρνα κατακόψας ὁμοῦ ἡψε αὐτὸς ἐν λέβητι χαλκέῳ, χάλκεον ἐπίθημα ἐπιθείς.

49. Τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐκ Δελφῶν οὕτω τῷ Κροίσῷ ἐχρήσθη κατὰ δὲ τὴν ᾿Αμφιάρεω τοῦ μαντηίου ὑπόκρισιν, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὅ τι τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι ἔχρησε ποιήσασι περὶ τὸ ἰρὸν τὰ νομιζόμενα (οὐ γὰρ ὧν οὐδὲ τοῦτο λέγεται), ἄλλο γε ἢ ὅτι καί τοῦτον ἐνόμισε μαντήιον ἀψευδὲς ἐκτῆσθαι.

"Grains of sand I reckon and measure the spaces of ocean,

Hear when dumb men speak, and mark the speech of the silent.

What is it now that I smell? 'tis a tortoise mightily armoured

Sodden in vessel of bronze, with a lamb's flesh mingled together:

Bronze thereunder is laid and a mantle of bronze is upon it."

48. Having written down this inspired utterance of the Pythian priestess, the Lydians went away back to Sardis. When the others as well who had been sent to divers places came bringing their oracles, Croesus then unfolded and surveyed all the writings. Some of them in no wise satisfied him. But when he heard the Delphian message, he acknowledged it with worship and welcome, considering that Delphi was the only true place of divination, because it had discovered what he himself had done. For after sending his envoys to the oracles, he bethought him of a device which no conjecture could discover, and carried it out on the appointed day: namely, he cut up a tortoise and a lamb, and then himself boiled them in a caldron of bronze covered with a lid of the same.

49. Such then was the answer from Delphi delivered to Croesus. As to the reply which the Lydians received from Amphiaraus when they had followed the due custom of the temple, I cannot say what it was, for nothing is recorded of it, saving that Croesus held that from this oracle

too he had obtained a true answer.

50. Μετά δὲ ταῦτα θυσίησι μεγάλησι τὸν ἐν Δελφοίσι θεὸν ίλάσκετο· κτήνεά τε γὰρ τὰ θύσιμα πάντα τρισχίλια έθυσε, κλίνας τε έπιχρύσους καὶ ἐπαργύρους καὶ φιάλας γρυσέας καὶ είματα πορφύρεα και κιθώνας, νήσας πυρήν μεγάλην, κατέκαιε, έλπίζων του θεου μαλλόν τι τούτοισι ανακτήσεσθαι. Λυδοίσι τε πασι προείπε θύειν πάντα τινα αὐτῶν τούτω ὅ τι ἔγοι ἔκαστος. ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς θυσίης ἐγένετο, καταχεάμενος χρυσὸν άπλετον ημιπλίνθια έξ αὐτοῦ ἐξήλαυνε, ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ μακρότερα ποιέων έξαπάλαιστα, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ Βραγύτερα τριπάλαιστα, ύψος δὲ παλαιστιαία. άριθμον δὲ ἐπτακαίδεκα καὶ ἐκατόν, καὶ τούτων ἀπέφθου χρυσοῦ τέσσερα, τρίτον ἡμιτάλαντον έκαστον έλκοντα, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἡμιπλίνθια λευκοῦ γρυσού, σταθμον διτάλαντα. ἐποιέετο δὲ καὶ λέοντος εἰκόνα χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου ἕλκουσαν σταθμὸν τάλαντα δέκα, ούτος ὁ λέων, ἐπείτε κατεκαίετο ό ἐν Δελφοίσι νηός, κατέπεσε ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμιπλινθίων (ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτοισι ἵδρυτο), καὶ νῦν κεῖται ἐν τῶ Κορινθίων θησαυρώ, ἔλκων σταθμον ἔβδομον ήμιτάλαντον άπετάκη γάρ αὐτοῦ τέταρτον ήμιτάλαντον.

51. Ἐπιτελέσας δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ταῦτα ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Δελφούς, καὶ τάδε ἄλλα ἄμα τοῖσι, κρητῆρας δύο μεγάθεϊ μεγάλους, χρύσεον καὶ ἀργύρεον, τῶν ὁ μὲν χρύσεος ἔκειτο ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐσιόντι ἐς τὸν νηόν, ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπ' ἀριστερά. μετεκινήθησαν δὲ καὶ οὖτοι ὑπὸ τὸν νηὸν κατακαέντα, καὶ ὁ μὲν χρύσεος κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κλαζομενίων θησαυρῷ, ἔλκων σταθμὸν εἴνατον ἡμιτάλαντον καὶ ἔτι δυώδεκα μνέας, ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπὶ τοῦ προνηίου τῆς

50. After this, he strove to win the favour of the Delphian god with great sacrifices. He offered up three thousand beasts from each kind fit for sacrifice. and he burnt on a great pyre couches covered with gold and silver, golden goblets, and purple cloaks and tunies; by these means he hoped the better to win the aid of the god, to whom he also commanded that every Lydian should sacrifice what he could. When the sacrifice was over, he melted down a vast store of gold and made of it ingots of which the longer sides were of six and the shorter of three palms' length, and the height was one palm. These were an hundred and seventeen in number. Four of them were of refined gold, each weighing two talents and a half; the rest were of gold with silver alloy, each of two talents' weight. He bade also to be made a figure of a lion of refined gold, weighing ten talents. When the temple of Delphi was burnt, this lion fell from the ingots which were the base whereon it stood; and now it lies in the treasury of the Corinthians, but weighs only six talents and a half, for the fire melted away three and a half talents.

51. When these offerings were fully made, Croesus sent them to Delphi, with other gifts besides, namely, two very great bowls, one of gold and one of silver. The golden bowl stood to the right, the silvern to the left, of the temple entrance. These too were removed about the time of the temple's burning, and now the golden bowl, which weighs eight talents and a half, and twelve minae, lies in the treasury of the Clazomenians, and the silver bowl at the corner of the forecourt of the temple. This

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> μνα = about 15 oz. Troy weight.

γωνίης, γωρέων αμφορέας έξακοσίους επικίρναται γαρ ύπο Δελφών θεοφανίοισι. φασί δέ μιν Δελφοί Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σαμίου έργον είναι, καὶ έγω δοκέω. ού γάρ τὸ συντυγὸν φαίνεταί μοι έργον είναι. και πίθους τε άργυρέους τέσσερας απέπεμψε, οί έν τῶ Κορινθίων θησαυρῶ έστασι, καὶ περιρραντήρια δύο ἀνέθηκε, χρύσεόν τε καὶ ἀργύρεον, τῶν τῶ χρυσέω ἐπιγέγραπται Λακεδαιμονίων φαμένων είναι ἀνάθημα, οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο Κροίσου, ἐπέγραψε δὲ τῶν τις Δελφῶν Λακεδαιμονίοισι βουλόμενος χαρίζεσθαι, τοῦ ἐπιστάμενος τὸ οὖνομα οὐκ ἐπιμνήσομαι. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν παίς, δι' ού της χειρός ρέει το ΰδωρ, Λακεδαιμονίων έστί, οὐ μέντοι τῶν γε περιρραντηρίων οὐδέτερον. άλλα τε αναθήματα ούκ ἐπίσημα πολλά ἀπέπεμψε άμα τούτοισι ὁ Κροίσος, καὶ γεύματα αργύρεα κυκλοτερέα, και δή και γυναικός είδωλον γρύσεον τρίπηχυ, τὸ Δελφοί της άρτοκόπου της Κροίσου είκονα λέγουσι είναι. προς δε καὶ τῆς έωυτου γυναικός τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς δειρῆς ἀνέθηκε ὁ Κροίσος καὶ τὰς ζώνας.

52. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπέπεμψε, τῷ δὲ ᾿Αμφιάρεῳ, πυθόμενος αὐτοῦ τήν τε ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν πάθην, ἀνέθηκε σάκος τε χρύσεον πᾶν ὁμοίως καὶ αἰχμὴν στερεὴν πᾶσαν χρυσέην, τὸ ξυστὸν τῆσι λόγχησι ἐὸν ὁμοίως χρύσεον τὰ ἔτι καὶ ἀμφότερα ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν κείμενα ἐν Θήβησι καὶ Θηβέων

έν τῷ νηῷ τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου ᾿Απόλλωνος.

53. Τοῖσι δὲ ἄγειν μέλλουσι τῶν Λυδῶν ταῦτα τὰ δῶρα ἐς τὰ ἱρὰ ἐνετέλλετο ὁ Κροῖσος ἐπειρωτᾶν τὰ χρηστήρια εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας Κροῖσος καὶ εἴ τινα στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν προσθέοιτο φίλον.

wed?

bowl holds six hundred nine-gallon measures: for the Delphians use it for a mixing-bowl at the feast of the Divine Appearance.1 It is said by the Delphians to be the work of Theodorus of Samos, and I believe them, for it seems to me to be of no common workmanship. Moreover, Croesus sent four silver casks, which stand in the treasury of the Corinthians, and dedicated two sprinkling-vessels, one of gold, one of silver. The golden vessel bears the inscription "Given by the Lacedaemonians," who claim it as But they are wrong, for this, too, their offering. is Croesus' gift. The inscription was made by a certain Delphian, whose name I know but will not reveal, out of his desire to please the Lacedaemonians. The figure of a boy, through whose hand the water runs, is indeed a Lacedaemonian gift: but they did not give either of the sprinkling-vessels. Along with these Croesus sent, besides many other offerings of no great mark, certain round basins of silver, and a golden female figure three cubits high, which the Delphians assert to be the statue of the woman who was Croesus' baker. Moreover he dedicated his own wife's necklaces and girdles.

52. Such were the gifts which he sent to Delphi. To Amphiaraus, having learnt of his valour and his fate, he dedicated a shield made entirely of gold and a spear all of solid gold, point and shaft alike. Both of these lay till my time at Thebes, in the Theban

temple of Ismenian Apollo.

53. The Lydians who were to bring these gifts to the temples were charged by Croesus to inquire of the oracles, "Shall Croesus send an army against the Persians: and shall he take to himself any allied

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Theophania was a festival at Delphi, at which the statues of gods were shown.

ώς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὰ ἀπεπέμφθησαν οἱ Λυδοὶ ἀνέθεσαν τὰ ἀναθήματα, ἐχρέωντο τοῖσι χρηστηρίοισι λέγοντες "Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βασιλεύς, νομίσας τάδε μαντήια εἶναι μοῦνα ἐν ἀνθρώποισι, ὑμῖν τε ἄξια δῶρα ἔδωκε τῶν ἐξευρημάτων, καὶ νῦν ὑμέας ἐπειρωτᾳ εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας καὶ εἴ τινα στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν προσθέοιτο σύμμαχον." οῖ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτων, τῶν δὲ μαντηίων ἀμφοτέρων ἐς τἀυτὸ αὶ γνῶμαι συνέδραμον, προλέγουσαι Κροίσω, ἡν στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, μεγάλην ἀρχὴν μιν καταλύσειν τοὺς δὲ Ἑλλήνων δυνατωτάτους συνεβούλευόν οἱ ἐξευρόντα φίλους προσθέσθαι.

- 54. Ἐπείτε δὲ ἀνενειχθέντα τὰ θεοπρόπια ἐπύθετο ὁ Κροῖσος, ὑπερήσθη τε τοῖσι χρηστηρίοισι, πάγχυ τε ἐλπίσας καταλύσειν τὴν Κύρου βασιληίην, πέμψας αὐτις ἐς Πυθὼ Δελφοὺς δωρέεται, πυθόμενος αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, κατ' ἄνδρα δύο στατῆρσι ἔκαστον χρυσοῦ. Δελφοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ἔδοσαν Κροίσφ καὶ Λυδοῖσι προμαντηίην καὶ ἀτελείην καὶ προεδρίην, καὶ ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένφ αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι Δελφὸν ἐς τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον.
- 55. Δωρησάμενος δὲ τοὺς Δελφοὺς ὁ Κροῖσος ἐχρηστηριάζετο τὸ τρίτου ἐπείτε γὰρ δὴ παρέλαβε τοῦ μαντηίου ἀληθείην, ἐνεφορέετο αὐτοῦ. ἐπειρώτα δὲ τάδε χρηστηριαζόμενος, εἴ οἱ πολυ-

## BOOK I. 53-55

host?" When the Lydians came to the places whither they were sent, they made present of the offerings, and inquired of the oracles, in these words: "Croesus, king of Lydia and other nations, seeing that he deems that here are the only true places of divination among men, endows you with such gifts as your wisdom merits. And now he would ask you, if he shall send an army against the Persians, and if he shall take to himself any allied host." Such was their inquiry; and the judgment given to Croesus by each of the two oracles was the same, to wit, that if he should send an army against the Persians he would destroy a great empire. And they counselled him to discover the mightiest of the Greeks and make them his friends.

54. When the divine answers had been brought back and Croesus learnt of them, he was greatly pleased with the oracles. So, being fully persuaded that he would destroy the kingdom of Cyrus, he sent once again to Pytho and endowed the Delphians with two gold staters 1 apiece, according to his knowledge of their number. The Delphians, in return, gave Croesus and all Lydians the right of first consulting the oracle, freedom from all charges, the chief seats at festivals, and perpetual right of Delphian citizenship to whosoever should wish.

55. Then Croesus after his gifts to the Delphians made a third inquiry of the oracle, for he would use it to the full, having received true answers from it; and the question which he asked in his inquest was whether his sovereignty should be of long

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The stater was the common gold coin of the Greek world. The value of Croesus' stater was probably about twenty-three shillings of our money.

χρόνιος ἔσται ή μουναρχίη. ή δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρῷ τάδε,

'Αλλ' ὅταν ἡμίονος βασιλεὺς Μήδοισι γένηται, καὶ τότε, Λυδὲ ποδαβρέ, πολυψήφιδα παρ' Έρμον

φεύγειν μηδε μένειν μηδ' αίδεῖσθαι κακὸς είναι.

56. Τούτοισι έλθοῦσι τοῖσι ἔπεσι ὁ Κροῖσος πολλόν τι μάλιστα πάντων ήσθη, έλπίζων ημίονον οὐδαμὰ ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς βασιλεύσειν Μήδων, οὐδ' ὧν αὐτὸς οὐδὲ οἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ παύσεσθαι κοτὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς. μετά δὲ ταῦτα ἐφρόντιζε ἱστορέων τοὺς αν Έλλήνων δυνατωτάτους έόντας προσκτήσαιτο φίλους, ίστορέων δὲ εύρισκε Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ 'Αθηναίους προέχοντας τοὺς μὲν τοῦ Δωρικοῦ γένεος τούς δὲ τοῦ Ἰωνικοῦ. ταῦτα γὰρ ἡν τὰ προκεκριμένα, ἐόντα τὸ ἀρχαῖον τὸ μὲν Πελασγικὸν τὸ δὲ Έλληνικον έθνος. καὶ το μεν οὐδαμή κω έξεχώρησε, τὸ δὲ πολυπλάνητον κάρτα. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ Δευκαλίωνος βασιλέος οἴκεε γην την Φθιώτιν, έπὶ δὲ Δώρου τοῦ Ελληνος την ὑπὸ την Όσσαν τε καὶ τὸν "Ολυμπον χώρην, καλεομένην δὲ Ίστιαιώτιν εκ δε της Ιστιαιώτιδος ώς εξανέστη ύπο Καδμείων, οίκεε έν Πίνδω Μακεδνον καλεόμενον. ένθεῦτεν δὲ αὖτις ἐς τὴν Δρυοπίδα μετέβη, καὶ ἐκ της Δρυοπίδος ούτω ές Πελοπόννησον έλθον Δωρικου ἐκλήθη.

duration. To this the Pythian priestess answered as follows:

"Lydian, beware of the day when a mule is lord of the Medians:

Then with thy delicate feet by the stone-strewn channel of Hermus

Flee for thy life, nor abide, nor blush for the name of a craven."

56. When he heard these verses Croesus was pleased with them above all, for he thought that a mule would never be king of the Medians in place of a man, and so that he and his posterity would never lose his empire. Then he sought very carefully to discover who were the mightiest of the Greeks whom he should make his friends. He found by inquiry that the chief peoples were the Lacedaemonians among those of Doric, and the Athenians among those of Ionic stock. These races, Ionian and Dorian, were the foremost in ancient time, the first a Pelasgian and the second an Hellenic people. The Pelasgian stock has never yet left its habitation, the Hellenic has wandered often and afar. For in the days of king Deucalion 1 it inhabited the land of Phthia, then in the time of Dorus son of Hellen the country called Histiaean, under Ossa and Olympus; driven by the Cadmeans from this Histiaean country it settled about Pindus in the parts called Macednian; thence again it migrated to Dryopia, and at last came from Dryopia into Peloponnesus, where it took the name of Dorian.2

<sup>2</sup> The localities mentioned in the story of the migration into the Peloponnese are all in northern Greece.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Deucalion and Pyrrha were the survivors of the Deluge as known to Greek legend.

57. "Ηντινα δὲ γλώσσαν ἵεσαν οἱ Πελασγοί. ούκ έχω άτρεκέως είπειν. εί δὲ χρεόν ἐστι τεκμαιρόμενον λέγειν τοίσι νῦν ἔτι ἐοῦσι Πελασγῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Τυρσηνῶν Κρηστῶνα πόλιν οἰκεόντων, οι όμουροι κοτέ ήσαν τοίσι νθν Δωριεθσι καλεομένοισι (οἴκεον δὲ τηνικαῦτα γῆν τὴν νῦν Θεσσαλιώτιν καλεομένην), και τών Πλακίην τε καὶ Σκυλάκην Πελασγών οἰκησάντων ἐν Ἑλλησπόντω, οἱ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο ᾿Αθηναίοισι, καὶ ὅσα άλλα Πελασγικά ἐόντα πολίσματα τὸ οὔνομα μετέβαλε εί τούτοισι τεκμαιρόμενον δεί λέγειν. ήσαν οί Πελασγοί βάρβαρον γλώσσαν ίέντες. εί τοίνυν ήν και πάν τοιούτο τὸ Πελασγικόν, τὸ Αττικον έθνος έδν Πελασγικον άμα τη μεταβολή τη ές Έλληνας και την γλώσσαν μετέμαθε, και γαρ δη ούτε οί Κρηστωνιήται οὐδαμοίσι των νύν σφέας περιοικεύντων είσι ομόγλωσσοι ούτε οί Πλακιηνοί, σφίσι δὲ ὁμόγλωσσοι· δηλοῦσί τε ὅτι τὸν ἡνείκαντο γλώσσης χαρακτήρα μεταβαίνοντες ές ταθτα τὰ γωρία, τοθτον έγουσι έν φυλακή.

58. Το δε Έλληνικου γλώσση μεν επείτε εγένετο αίεί κοτε τη αὐτη διαχράται, ώς εμοί καταφαίνεται εἶναι ἀποσχισθεν μέντοι ἀπό τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ εἰν ἀσθενές, ἀπὸ σμικροῦ τεο τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁρμώμενον αὔξηται εἰς πληθος τῶν εθνέων, Πελασγῶν μάλιστα προσκεχωρηκότων αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλων εθνέων βαρβάρων συχνῶν. πρόσθε δὲ ὧν ἔμοιγε δοκέει οὐδε τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος, εἰν

βάρβαρον, οὐδαμὰ μεγάλως αὐξηθήναι.

59. Τούτων δη ων των εθνέων το μεν 'Αττικον κατεχόμενον τε και διεσπασμένον επυνθάνετο ο

57. What language the Pelasgians spoke I cannot accurately say. But if one may judge by those that still remain of the Pelasgians who dwell above the Tyrrheni 1 in the city of Creston-who were once neighbours of the people now called Dorians, and at that time inhabited the country which now is called Thessalian—and of the Pelasgians who inhabited Placia and Scylace on the Hellespont, who came to dwell among the Athenians, and by other towns too which were once Pelasgian and afterwards took a different name :- if (I say) one may judge by these, the Pelasgians spoke a language which was not Greek. If then all the Pelasgian stock so spoke, then the Attic nation, being of Pelasgian blood, must have changed its language too at the time when it became part of the Hellenes. For the people of Creston and Placia have a language of their own in common, which is not the language of their neighbours; and it is plain that they still preserve the fashion of speech which they brought with them in their migration into the places where they dwell.

58. But the Hellenic stock, as to me seems clear, has ever used the same language since its beginning; yet being, when separated from the Pelasgians, but few in number, they have grown from a small beginning to comprise a multitude of nations, chiefly because the Pelasgians and many other foreign peoples united themselves with them. Before that, as I think, the Pelasgic stock nowhere increased greatly in number while it was of foreign speech.

59. Now, of these two peoples, Croesus learned that the Attic was held in subjection and divided

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> If these are the Etruscans, then Creston may = Cortona: but the whole matter is doubtful.

Κροίσος ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου τοῦ Ἱπποκράτεος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τυραννεύοντος Αθηναίων. Ίπποκράτει γαρ εόντι ίδιώτη και θεωρέοντι τα 'Ολύμπια τέρας ἐνένετο μένα θύσαντος γάρ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἱρὰ οἱ λέβητες ἐπεστεῶτες καὶ κρεῶν τε έοντες έμπλεοι καὶ ύδατος άνευ πυρός έζεσαν Χίλων δε ό Λακεδαιμόνιος καὶ ὑπερέβαλον. παρατυγών καὶ θεησάμενος τὸ τέρας συνεβούλευε Ίπποκράτει πρώτα μεν γυναίκα μη ἄγεσθαι τέκνοποιον ές τὰ οἰκία, εἰ δὲ τυγχάνει ἔχων, δεύτερα την γυναϊκα έκπέμπειν, καὶ εἴ τίς οἱ τυγγάνει έων παίς, τούτον ἀπείπασθαι. ούκων ταύτα παραινέσαντος Χίλωνος πείθεσθαι θέλειν τον Ίπποκράτεα. γενέσθαι οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Πεισίστρατον τοῦτον, δς στασιαζόντων των παράλων και των έκ τοῦ πεδίου 'Αθηναίων, καὶ τῶν μὲν προεστεῶτος Μεγακλέος τοῦ Αλκμέωνος, τῶν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Αυκούργου 'Αριστολαίδεω, καταφρονήσας την τυραννίδα ήγειρε τρίτην στάσιν συλλέξας δὲ στασιώτας καὶ τῷ λόγω τῶν ὑπερακρίων προστάς μηχανάται τοιάδε. τρωματίσας έωυτόν τε καί ήμιόνους ήλασε ές την άγορην το ζεύγος ώς έκπεφευγώς τους έχθρούς, οί μιν έλαύνοντα ές άγρον ήθέλησαν ἀπολέσαι δήθεν, έδέετο τε τοῦ δήμου φυλακής τινος πρός αὐτοῦ κυρήσαι, πρότερον εύδοκιμήσας έν τη προς Μεγαρέας γενομένη στρατηγίη, Νίσαιάν τε έλων καὶ άλλα άποδεξάμενος μεγάλα έργα. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ τῶν ᾿Αθηναίων έξαπατηθείς έδωκε οι των άστων καταλέξας άνδρας τούτους οί δορυφόροι μέν ούκ έγένοντο Πεισιστράτου, κορυνηφόροι δέ Εύλων γαρ κορύνας έχοντες είποντό οι όπισθε. συνεπαναστάντες δέ into factions by Pisistratus son of Hippocrates, who at that time was sovereign over the Athenians. This Hippocrates was but a private man when a great marvel happened to him as he was at Olympia to see the games: when he had offered the sacrifice, the vessels, standing there full of meat and water, boiled without fire till they overflowed. Chilon the Lacedaemonian, who chanced to be there and saw this marvel, counselled Hippocrates not to take into his house a childbearing wife, if so might be: but if he had one already, then at least to send her away, and if he had a son, to disown him. Hippocrates refused to follow the counsel of Chilon, and presently there was born to him this Pisistratus aforesaid. In course of time there was a feud between the Athenians of the coast under Megacles son of Alcmeon and the Athenians of the plain under Lycurgus son of Aristolaïdes. Pisistratus then, having an eye to the sovereign power, raised' up a third faction. He collected partisans and pretended to champion the hillmen; and this was his plan. Wounding himself and his mules, he drove his carriage into the market place with a tale that he had escaped from his enemies, who would have slain him (so he said) as he was driving into the country. So he besought the people that he might have a guard from them: and indeed he had won himself reputation in his command of the army against the Megarians, when he had taken Nisaea and performed other great exploits. Thus deceived, the Athenian people gave him a chosen guard of citizens, of whom Pisistratus made not spearmen but clubmen: for the retinue that followed him bore wooden clubs. These

οὖτοι ἄμα Πεισιστράτφ ἔσχον τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Πεισίστρατος ἦρχε ᾿Αθηναίων, οὔτε τιμὰς τὰς ἐούσας συνταράξας οὔτε θέσμια μεταλλάξας, ἐπί τε τοῖσι κατεστεῶσι ἔνεμε τὴν πόλιν

κοσμέων καλώς τε καὶ εὖ.

60. Μετά δὲ οὐ πολλον χρόνον τώυτο φρονήσαντες οί τε του Μεγακλέος στασιώται και οι του Λυκούργου έξελαύνουσί μιν. ούτω μέν Πεισίστρατος έσχε τὸ πρώτον 'Αθήνας, καὶ τὴν τυραννίδα οὔκω κάρτα ἐρριζωμένην ἔχων ἀπέβαλε. οῖ δε εξελάσαντες Πεισίστρατον αυτις εκ νέης επ' άλλήλοισι έστασίασαν. περιελαυνόμενος δέ τή στάσι ὁ Μεγακλέης ἐπεκηρυκεύετο Πεισιστράτω, , εί βούλοιτό οἱ τὴν θυγατέρα ἔχειν γυναῖκα ἐπὶ τῆ τυραννίδι. ἐνδεξαμένου δὲ τὸν λόγον καὶ ὁμολογήσαντος έπὶ τούτοισι Πεισιστράτου, μηχανώνται δη έπὶ τη κατόδω πρηγμα εὐηθέστατου, ώς έγω ευρίσκω, μακρώ, έπεί γε άπεκρίθη έκ παλαιτέρου τοῦ βαρβάρου έθνεος τὸ Ελληνικὸν έὸν καὶ δεξιώτερον καὶ εὐηθείης ηλιθίου ἀπηλλαγμένον μάλλον, εί και τότε γε ούτοι έν 'Αθηναίοισι τοίσι πρώτοισι λεγομένοισι είναι Έλλήνων σοφίην μηχανώνται τοιάδε. Εν τῷ δήμω τῷ Παιανιέι ἦν γυνή τη ούνομα ην Φύη, μέγαθος άπο τεσσέρων πηγέων απολείπουσα τρείς δακτύλους καὶ άλλως εύειδής ταύτην την γυναίκα σκευάσαντες πανοπλίη, ές άρμα ἐσβιβάσαντες καὶ προδέξαντες σχήμα οίον τι έμελλε εύπρεπέστατον φανέεσθαι έχουσα, ήλαυνον ές τὸ ἄστυ, προδρόμους κήρυκας προπέμψαντες οι τὰ έντεταλμένα ηγόρευον άπικόμενοι ές τὸ ἄστυ, λέγοντες τοιάδε "Ω 'Αθηναΐοι, δέκεσθε ἀγαθῷ νόφ Πεισίστρατον, τὸν

with Pisistratus rose and took the Acropolis; and Pisistratus ruled the Athenians, disturbing in no way the order of offices nor changing the laws, but governing the city according to its established constitution and ordering all things fairly and well.

60. But after no long time the faction of Megacles and Lycurgus made common cause and drove him out. Thus did Pisistratus first win Athens, and thus did he lose his sovereignty, which was not vet firmly rooted. Presently his enemies who had driven him out began once more to be at feud together. Megacles then, being buffeted about by faction, sent a message to Pisistratus offering him his daughter to wife and the sovereign power besides. This offer being accepted by Pisistratus, who agreed on these terms with Megacles, they devised a plan to bring Pisistratus back, which, to my mind, was so exceeding foolish that it is strange (seeing that from old times the Hellenic has ever been distinguished from the foreign stock by its greater cleverness and its freedom from silly foolishness) that these men should devise such a plan to deceive Athenians, said to be the cunningest of the Greeks. There was in the Paeanian deme 1 a woman called Phya, three fingers short of four cubits in stature, and for the rest fair to look upon. This woman they equipped in full armour, and put her in a chariot, giving her all such appurtenances as would make the seemliest show, and so drove into the city; heralds ran before them, and when they came into the town made proclamation as they were charged, bidding the Athenians "to give a hearty welcome to Pisistratus, whom Athene

<sup>1</sup> Local division of Attica.

αὐτὴ ἡ ᾿Αθηναίη τιμήσασα ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα κατάγει ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῆς ἀκρόπολιν." οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα διαφοιτέοντες ἔλεγον αὐτίκα δὲ ἔς τε τοὺς δήμους φάτις ἀπίκετο ὡς ᾿Αθηναίη Πεισίστρατον κατάγει, καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄστεῖ πειθόμενοι τὴν γυναῖκα εἶναι αὐτὴν τὴν θεὸν προσεύχοντό τε τὴν ἄν-

θρωπον καὶ εδέκοντο Πεισίστρατον.

61. Απολαβών δέ την τυραννίδα τρόπω τώ είρημένω ο Πεισίστρατος κατά την ομολογίην την πρός Μεγακλέα γενομένην γαμέει τοῦ Μεγακλέος την θυγατέρα. οία δὲ παίδων τέ οἱ ὑπαργόντων νεηνιέων και λεγομένων έναγέων είναι των 'Αλκμεωνιδέων, οὐ βουλόμενός οἱ γενέσθαι ἐκ τῆς νεογάμου γυναικός τέκνα ἐμίσγετό οἱ οὐ κατὰ νόμον. τὰ μέν νυν πρώτα ἔκρυπτε ταῦτα ή γυνή, μετά δὲ εἴτε ἱστορεύση εἴτε καὶ οὖ φράζει τῆ έωυτης μητρί, η δε τω ανδρί. οργή δε ώς είχε καταλλάσσετο την έχθρην τοίσι στασιώτησι. μαθών δὲ ὁ Πεισίστρατος τὰ ποιεύμενα ἐπ' ἐωυτώ άπαλλάσσετο έκ της χώρης τὸ παράπαν, ἀπικόμενος δε ες Έρετριαν εβουλεύετο αμα τοισι παισί. Ίππίεω δὲ γνώμη νικήσαντος ἀνακτᾶσθαι ὁπίσω την τυραννίδα, ένθαθτα ήγειρον δωτίνας έκ των πολίων αίτινές σφι προαιδέοντό κού τι. πολλών δὲ μεγάλα παρασχόντων χρήματα, Θηβαίοι ὑπερεβάλοντο τη δόσι των χρημάτων. μετα δέ, οὐ πολλώ λόγω είπειν, χρόνος διέφυ και πάντα σφι έξήρτυτο ές την κάτοδον και γαρ 'Αργείοι μισθωτοί ἀπίκοντο ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, καὶ Νάξιός σφι άνηρ ἀπιγμένος ἐθελοντής, τῶ οὔνομα ἦν Λύγδαμις, προθυμίην πλείστην παρείχετο, κομίσας καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἄνδρας.

## BOOK I. 60-61

herself honoured beyond all men and was bringing back to her own citadel." So the heralds went about and spoke thus: immediately it was reported in the demes that Athene was bringing Pisistratus back, and the townsfolk, persuaded that the woman was indeed the goddess, worshipped this human creature and welcomed Pisistratus.

61. Having won back his sovereignty in the manner which I have shown, Pisistratus married Megacles' daughter according to his agreement with Megacles. But as he had already young sons, and the Alcmeonid family were said to be under a curse, he had no wish that his newly wed wife should bear him children, and therefore had wrongful intercourse with her. At first the woman hid the matter: presently she told her mother (whether being asked or not, I know not) and the mother told her husband. Megacles was very angry that Pisistratus should do him dishonour: and in his wrath he made up his quarrel with the other faction. Pisistratus, learning what was afoot, went by himself altogether away from the country, and came to Euboea, where he took counsel with his sons. The counsel of Hippias prevailing, that they should recover the sovereignty, they set to collecting gifts from all cities which owed them some requital. Many of these gave great sums, the Thebans more than any, and in course of time, not to make a long story, all was ready for their return: for they brought Argive mercenaries from Peloponnesus, and there came also of his own free will a man of Naxos called Lygdamis, who was most zealous in their cause and brought them money and men.

62. Έξ Ἐρετρίης δὲ ὁρμηθέντες διὰ ἐνδεκάτου έτεος απίκοντο οπίσω, καὶ πρώτον της Αττικής ἴσχουσι Μαραθώνα. ἐν δὲ τούτω τῷ χώρω σφι στρατοπεδευομένοισι οί τε έκ του άστεος στασιώται ἀπίκοντο ἄλλοι τε έκ των δήμων προσέρρεον, τοίσι ή τυραννίς πρὸ έλευθερίης ην άσπαστότερον, ούτοι μεν δη συνηλίζοντο, Αθηναίων δὲ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος, ἔως μὲν Πεισίστρατος τὰ γρήματα ήγειρε, καὶ μεταῦτις ώς ἔσγε Μαραθώνα, λόγον οὐδένα είχον ἐπείτε δὲ ἐπύθοντο ἐκ τοῦ Μαραθώνος αὐτὸν πορεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ, ούτω δη βοηθέουσι ἐπ' αὐτόν, καὶ οὐτοί τε πανστρατιή ήισαν έπὶ τοὺς κατιόντας, καὶ οί άμφὶ Πεισίστρατον, ώς όρμηθέντες έκ Μαραθώνος ήισαν έπὶ τὸ άστυ, ές τώυτὸ συνιόντες άπικνέονται ἐπὶ Παλληνίδος 'Αθηναίης ἱρόν, καὶ ἀντία έθεντο τὰ ὅπλα. ἐνθαῦτα θείη πομπῆ χρεώμενος παρίσταται Πεισιστράτω 'Αμφίλυτος ο 'Ακαρνάν χρησμολόγος ἀνήρ, ὅς οἱ προσιών χρα ἐν ἐξαμέτρω τόνω τάδε λέγων

"Ερριπται δ' ό βόλος, τὸ δὲ δίκτυον ἐκπεπέτασται, θύννοι δ' οἰμήσουσι σεληναίης διὰ νυκτός."

63. 'Ο μὲν δή οἱ ἐνθεάζων χρῷ τάδε, Πεισίστρατος δὲ συλλαβὼν τὸ χρηστήριον καὶ φὰς δέκεσθαι τὸ χρησθὲν ἐπῆγε την στρατιήν. 'Αθηναῖοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος πρὸς ἄριστον τετραμμένοι ἡσαν δὴ τηνικαῦτα, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἄριστον μετεξέτεροι αὐτῶν οῖ μὲν πρὸς κύβους οῖ δὲ πρὸς ὕπνον. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Πεισίστρατον ἐσπεσόντες τοὺς 'Αθηναίους τράπουσι. φευγόντων δὲ τούτων βουλὴν ἐνθαῦτα σοφωτάτην Πεισίστρατος ἐπιτε-

62. So after ten years they set out from Eretria and returned home. The first place in Attica which they took and held was Marathon: and while encamped there they were joined by their partisans from the city, and by others who flocked to them from the country demes-men who loved the rule of one more than freedom. These, then, assembled; but the Athenians in the city, who, while Pisistratus was collecting money and afterwards when he had taken Marathon, made no account of it, did now, when they learnt that he was marching from Marathon against Athens, set out to attack him. They came out with all their force to meet the returning exiles. Pisistratus' men, in their march from Marathon towards the city, encountered the enemy when they had reached the temple of Pallenian Athene, and encamped face to face with them. There (by the providence of heaven) Pisistratus met Amphilytus the Acarnanian, a diviner, who came to him and prophesied as follows in hexameter verses:

"Now hath the cast been thrown and the net of the fisher is outspread:

All in the moonlight clear shall the tunny-fish come for the taking."

63. So spoke Amphilytus, being inspired; Pisistratus understood him, and, saying that he received the prophecy, led his army against the enemy. The Athenians of the city had at this time gone to their breakfast, and after breakfast some betook themselves to dicing and some to sleep: they were attacked by Pisistratus' men and put to flight. So they fled, and Pisistratus devised a very subtle plan to keep

χυάται, ὅκως μήτε άλισθεῖεν ἔτι οἱ ᾿Αθηναῖοι διεσκεδασμένοι τε εἶεν ἀναβιβάσας τοὺς παῖδας ἐπὶ ἵππους προέπεμπε, οἱ δὲ καταλαμβάνοντες τοὺς φεύγοντας ἔλεγον τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου, θαρσέειν τε κελεύοντες καὶ ἀπιέναι

έκαστον έπὶ τὰ έωυτοῦ.

64. Πειθομένων δὲ τῶν ᾿Αθηναίων, οὕτω δὴ Πεισίστρατος τὸ τρίτον σχών 'Αθήνας ἐρρίζωσε την τυρρανίδα έπικούροισί τε πολλοίσι και γρημάτων συνόδοισι, των μέν αὐτόθεν των δὲ ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος ποταμού συνιόντων, όμήρους τε τών παραμεινάντων 'Αθηναίων καὶ μη αὐτίκα φυγόντων παίδας λαβών καὶ καταστήσας ές Νάξον (καί γάρ ταύτην ὁ Πεισίστρατος κατεστρέψατο πολέμφ και ἐπέτρεψε Λυγδάμι), πρός τε ἔτι τούτοισι την νήσον Δήλον καθήρας έκ των λογίων. καθήρας δε ώδε επ' όσον έποψις τοῦ ίροῦ είνε. έκ τούτου του χώρου παντός έξορύξας τους νεκρούς μετεφόρεε ές άλλον χώρον της Δήλου. καὶ Πεισίστρατος μεν ετυράννευε 'Αθηνέων, 'Αθηναίων δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐν τῆ μάχη ἐπεπτώκεσαν, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν μετ' 'Αλκμεωνιδέων ἔφευγον ἐκ τῆς οἰκηίης.

65. Τοὺς μέν νυν 'Αθηναίους τοιαῦτα τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ἐπυνθάνετο ὁ Κροῖσος κατέχοντα, τοὺς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐκ κακῶν τε μεγάλων πεφευγότας καὶ ἐόντας ἤδη τῷ πολέμω κατυπερτέρους Τεγεητέων. ἐπὶ γὰρ Λέοντος βασιλεύοντος καὶ Ἡγησικλέος ἐν Σπάρτη τοὺς ἄλλους πολέμους εὐτυχέοντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς Τεγεήτας μούνους προσέπταιον. τὸ δὲ ἔτι πρότερον τούτων καὶ κακονομώτατοι ἦσαν σχεδὸν πάντων 'Ελλήνων κατά τε σφέας αὐτοὺς καὶ ξείνοισι ἀπρόσμι-

them scattered and prevent their assembling again: he mounted his sons and bade them ride forward: they overtook the fugitives and spoke to them as they were charged by Pisistratus, bidding them take

heart and depart each man to his home.

64. This the Athenians did; and by this means Pisistratus gained Athens for the third time, where, that his sovereignty might be well rooted, he made himself a strong guard and collected revenue both from Athens and from the district of the river Strymon, and took as hostages the sons of the Athenians who remained and did not at once leave the city. and placed these in Naxos. (He had conquered Naxos too and given it in charge to Lygdamis.) Moreover, he purified the island of Delos according to the bidding of the oracles, and this is how he did it: he removed all the dead that were buried in ground within sight of the temple and carried them to another part of Delos. So Pisistratus was sovereign of Athens; and as for the Athenians, some had fallen in the battle, and some, with the Alcmeonids, were exiles from their native land.

65. Croesus learnt, then, that such at this time was the plight of the Athenians: the Lacedaemonians, as he heard, had escaped from great calamities, and had by this time got the upper hand of the men of Tegea in their war; for in the kingship of Leon and Hegesicles at Sparta, the Lacedaemonians were victorious in their other wars, but against Tegea alone they met with no success. And not only so, but before this they were the worst governed of well nigh all the Greeks, having little intercourse among themselves or with strangers.

κτοι μετέβαλον δε ώδε ές εὐνομίην. Λυκούργου των Σπαρτιητέων δοκίμου ανδρός ελθόντος ες Δελφούς έπι τὸ χρηστήριον, ώς έσήιε ές τὸ μέγαρον, εὐθὺς ἡ Πυθίη λέγει τάδε.

" "Ηκεις & Λυκόοργε έμον ποτί πίονα νηόν Ζηνὶ φίλος καὶ πᾶσιν 'Ολύμπια δώματ' ἔγουσι. δίζω ή σε θεον μαντεύσομαι ή ανθρωπον. άλλ' έτι καὶ μάλλον θεὸν έλπομαι, ὁ Λυκόοργε."

οι μέν δή τινες πρός τούτοισι λέγουσι καλ φράσαι αὐτῷ τὴν Πυθίην τὸν νῦν κατεστεῶτα κόσμον Σπαρτιήτησι ώς δ' αὐτοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, Λυκουργον επιτροπεύσαντα Λεωβώτεω, άδελφιδέου μεν έωυτοῦ βασιλεύοντος δε Σπαρτιητέων, έκ Κρήτης ἀγαγέσθαι ταῦτα. ὡς γὰρ ἐπετρόπευσε τάγιστα, μετέστησε τὰ νόμιμα πάντα, καὶ έφύλαξε ταῦτα μη παραβαίνειν μετά δὲ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον έγοντα, ένωμοτίας και τριηκάδας και συσσίτια, πρός τε τούτοισι τοὺς ἐφόρους καὶ γέροντας έστησε Λυκούργος.

66. Οὕτω μεν μεταβαλόντες εὐνομήθησαν, τῷ δε Λυκούργφ τελευτήσαντι ίρον είσάμενοι σέβονται μεγάλως. οία δὲ ἔν τε χώρη ἀγαθῆ καὶ πλήθεϊ οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον αὐτίκα καὶ εὐθηνήθησαν, καὶ δή σφι οὐκέτι ἀπέχρα ἡσυχίην άγειν, άλλα καταφρονήσαντες Αρκάδων κρέσσονες είναι έχρηστηριάζοντο έν Δελφοίσι έπλ πάση τη 'Αρκάδων χώρη. ή δὲ Πυθίη σφι χρά τάδ€.

# BOOK I. 65-66

Thus then they changed their laws for the better:— Lycurgus, a notable Spartan, visited the oracle at Delphi, and when he entered the temple hall, straightway the priestess gave him this response:

"Dear to Zeus thou hast come to my well-stored temple, Lycurgus,

Dear to Zeus and to all who dwell in the courts of Olympus.

Art thou a man or a god? 'Tis a god I deem thee, Lycurgus.''

Some say that the priestess moreover declared to him the whole governance of Sparta which is now established; but the Lacedaemonians themselves relate that it was from Crete that Lycurgus brought these changes, he being then guardian of Leobotes his nephew, king of Sparta. As soon as he became guardian he changed all the laws of the country and was careful that none should transgress his ordinances, and afterwards it was Lycurgus who established all that related to war, the sworn companies, and the bands of thirty, and the common meals: and besides these, the ephors, and the council of elders.

66. So they changed their bad laws for good ones, and when Lycurgus died they built him a shrine and now greatly revere him. Then, since their land was good and their men were many, very soon they began to flourish and prosper. Nor were they satisfied to remain at peace: but being assured that they were stronger than the Arcadians, they inquired of the oracle at Delphi, with their minds set on the whole of Arcadia. The Pythian priestess gave them this reply:

" 'Αρκαδίην μ' αἰτεῖς· μέγα μ' αἰτεῖς· οὔ τοι δώσω. πολλοὶ ἐν 'Αρκαδίη βαλανηφάγοι ἄνδρες ἔασιν, οἴ σ' ἀποκωλύσουσιν. ἐγὼ δέ τοι οὔτι μεγαίρω· δώσω τοι Τεγέην ποσσίκροτον ὀρχήσασθαι καὶ καλὸν πεδίον σχοίνω διαμετρήσασθαι."

ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ᾿Αρκάδων μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπείχοντο, οἱ δὲ πέδας φερόμενοι ἐπὶ Τεγεήτας ἐστρατεύοντο, χρησμῷ κιβδήλῳ πίσυνοι, ὡς δὴ ἐξανδραποδιούμενοι τοὺς Τεγεήτας. ἐσσωθέντες δὲ τῆ συμβολῆ, ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἐζωγρήθησαν, πέδας τε ἔχοντες τὰς ἐφέροντο αὐτοὶ καὶ σχοίνῳ διαμετρησάμενοι τὸ πεδίον τὸ Τεγεητέων ἐργάζοντο. αἱ δὲ πέδαι αὖται ἐν τῆσι ἐδεδέατο ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἤσαν σόαι ἐν Τεγέη, περὶ τὸν νηὸν τὴς ᾿Αλέης ᾿Αθηναίης κρεμάμεναι.

67. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὸν πρότερον πόλεμον συνεχέως αἰεὶ κακῶς ἀέθλεον πρὸς τοὺς Τεγεήτας, κατὰ δὲ τὸν κατὰ Κροῖσον χρόνον καὶ τὴν 'Αναξανδρίδεώ τε καὶ 'Αρίστωνος βασιληίην ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἤδη οἱ Σπαρτιῆται κατυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγεγόνεσαν, τρόπῳ τοιῷδε γενόμενοι. ἐπειδὴ αἰεὶ τῷ πολέμῳ ἐσσοῦντο ὑπὸ Τεγεητέων, πέμψαντες θεοπρόπους ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρώτων τίνα ἄν θεῶν ἱλασάμενοι κατύπερθε τῷ πολέμῳ Τεγεητέων γενοίατο. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι ἔχρησε τὰ 'Ορέστεω τοῦ 'Αγαμέμνονος ὀστέα ἐπαγαγομένους. ὡς δὲ

"Askest Arcadia from me? 'Tis a boon too great for the giving.

Many Arcadians there are, stout heroes, eaters of

These shall hinder thee sore. Yet 'tis not I that begrudge thee:

Lands Tegeaean I'll give thee, to smite with feet in the dancing.

Also the fertile plain with line I'll give thee to measure."

When this was brought back to the ears of the Lacedaemonians, they let the rest of the Arcadians be, and marched against the men of Tegea carrying fetters with them; for they trusted in the quibbling oracle and thought they would enslave the Tegeans. But they were worsted in the encounter, and those of them who were taken captive were made to till the Tegean plain, wearing the fetters which they themselves had brought and measuring the land with a line. These fetters, in which they were bound, were still in my time kept safe at Tegea, where they were hung round the temple of Athene Alea.

67. In the former war, then, the Lacedaemonians were unceasingly defeated in their contest with Tegea; but in the time of Croesus, and the kingship of Anaxandrides and Ariston at Sparta, the Spartans had now gained the upper hand; and this is how it came about. Being always worsted by the Tegeatae, they sent inquirers to Delphi and asked what god they should propitiate so as to gain the mastery over Tegea in war. The Pythian priestess declared that they must bring home the bones of Orestes son of Agamemnon. Being unable to discover Orestes'

<sup>1</sup> That is, mapping the land out for cultivation.

ανευρείν οὐκ οἶοί τε ἐγίνοντο τὴν θήκην τοῦ 'Ορέστεω, ἔπεμπον αὖτις τὴν ἐς θεὸν ἐπειρησομένους τὸν χῶρον ἐν τῷ κέοιτο 'Ορέστης. εἰρωτῶσι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι θεοπρόποισι λέγει ἡ Πυθίη τάδε.

"Εστι τις 'Αρκαδίης Τεγέη λευρῷ ἐνὶ χώρῳ, ἔνθ' ἄνεμοι πνείουσι δύω κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, καὶ τύπος ἀντίτυπος, καὶ πῆμ' ἐπὶ πήματι κεῦται.

ἔνθ' 'Αγαμεμνονίδην κατέχει φυσίζοος αἰα, τὸν σὰ κομισσάμενος Τεγέης ἐπιτάρροθος ἔσση."

ώς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἀπείχον τῆς ἐξευρέσιος οὐδὲν ἔλασσον, πάντα διζήμενοι, ἐς οὖ δὴ Λίχης τῶν ἀγαθοεργῶν καλεομένων Σπαρτιητέων ἀνεῦρε. οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοεργοὶ εἰσὶ τῶν ἀστῶν, ἐξιόντες ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων αἰεὶ οἱ πρεσβύτατοι, πέντε ἔτεος ἑκάστου τοὺς δεῖ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, τὸν ἂν ἐξίωσι ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων, Σπαρτιητέων τῷ κοινῷ διαπεμπομένους μὴ ἐλινύειν ἄλλους ἄλλη.

68. Τούτων ὧν τῶν ἀνδρῶν Λίχης ἀνεῦρε ἐν Τεγέη καὶ συντυχίη χρησάμενος καὶ σοφίη. ἐούσης γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐπιμιξίης πρὸς τοὺς Τεγεήτας, ἐλθῶν ἐς χαλκήιον ἐθηεῖτο σίδηρον ἐξελαυνόμενον, καὶ ἐν θώματι ἦν ὁρέων τὸ ποιεόμενον. μαθὼν δέ μιν ὁ χαλκεὺς ἀποθωμάζοντα εἶπε παυσάμενος τοῦ ἔργου " Η κου ἄν, ὡ ξεῖνε Λάκων, εἴ περ εἶδες τό περ ἐγώ, κάρτα ἃν ἐθώ-

tomb, they sent their messengers again to the god <sup>1</sup> to ask of the place where Orestes lay: and the priestess said in answer to their question:

"There is a place, Tegeē, in the level plain of Arcadia,

Where by stark stress driven twain winds are ever a-blowing.

Shock makes answer to shock, and anguish is laid upon anguish.

There in the nourishing earth Agamemnon's son lieth buried:

Bring him, and so thou shalt be the lord of the land of thy foemen."

When the Lacedaemonians heard this too, they were no nearer finding what they sought, though they made search everywhere, till at last Lichas, one of the Spartans who are called Benefactors, discovered it. These Benefactors are the Spartan citizens who pass out of the ranks of the knights, the five oldest in each year; for the year in which they pass out from the knights they are sent on divers errands by the Spartan state, and must use all despatch.

68. Lichas, then, one of these men, by good luck and eleverness found the tomb at Tegea. At that time there was free intercourse with Tegea; so, entering a smithy, he watched the forging of iron and marvelled at the work which he saw. When the smith perceived that he was much astonished, he ceased from working, and said, "Laconian, you wonder at the working of iron, but had you seen what

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  την ε's θεόν, explained as = την ε's θεόν όδόν. την ε΄νθεον (= the inspired one: after επειρησομένους) would be an easy correction. But all MSS, have ε's θεόν.

μαζες, ὅκου νῦν οὕτω τυγχάνεις θῶμα ποιεύμενος την έργασίην τοῦ σιδήρου, έγω γαρ έν τηδε θέλων τη αύλη φρέαρ ποιήσασθαι, δρύσσων ἐπέτυχον σορώ έπταπήχει ύπο δε απιστίης μη μεν γενέσθαι μηδαμά μέζονας άνθρώπους των νύν ανοιξα αὐτην καὶ είδον τὸν νεκρὸν μήκει ἴσον έόντα τη σορώ μετρήσας δε συνέγωσα υπίσω." ο μεν δή οι έλεγε τά περ οπώπεε, ο δε έννώσας τα λεγόμενα συνεβάλλετο τὸν 'Ορέστεα κατὰ τὸ θεοπρόπιον τούτον είναι, τήδε συμβαλλόμενος. τοῦ γαλκέος δύο δρέων φύσας τοὺς ἀνέμους εὕρισκε έόντας, τον δε άκμονα και την σφυραν τόν τε τύπον και τον άντίτυπον, τον δε έξελαυνόμενον σίδηρον τὸ πημα ἐπὶ πήματι κείμενον, κατά τοιόνδε τι εἰκάζων, ώς ἐπὶ κακῷ ἀνθρώπου σίδηρος άνεύρηται. συμβαλόμενος δε ταῦτα καὶ ἀπελθών ές Σπάρτην έφραζε Λακεδαιμονίοισι παν το πρηγμα. οὶ δὲ ἐκ λόγου πλαστοῦ ἐπενείκαντές οἰ αίτίην εδίωξαν. δ δε άπικόμενος ές Τεγέην καί φράζων την έωυτοῦ συμφορήν πρὸς τὸν χαλκέα έμισθούτο παρ' οὐκ ἐκδιδόντος τὴν αὐλήν χρόνω δε ώς ἀνέγνωσε, ενοικίσθη, ἀνορύξας δε τον τάφον καὶ τὰ ὀστέα συλλέξας οίχετο φέρων ἐς Σπάρτην. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου, ὅκως πειρώατο ἀλλήλων, πολλώ κατυπέρτεροι τώ πολέμω έγίνοντο οί Λακεδαιμόνιοι ήδη δέ σφι και ή πολλή της Πελοποννήσου ήν κατεστραμμένη.

69. Ταῦτα δὴ ὧν πάντα πυνθανόμενος ὁ Κροίσος ἔπεμπε ἐς Σπάρτην ἀγγέλους δῶρά τε φέροντας καὶ δεησομένους συμμαχίης, ἐντειλάμενός τε τὰ λέγειν χρῆν. οἱ δὲ ἐλθόντες ἔλεγον "Επεμψε ἡμέας Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων

I have seen you would have indeed had somewhat to marvel at. For I was making me a well in this courtyard, when in my digging I chanced upon a coffin seven cubits long. As I could not believe that there had ever been men taller than those of our time, I opened the coffin, and found within it the corpse as long as itself; I measured it, and buried it in earth again." So the smith told what he had seen; Lichas marked what he said, and argued from the oracle that this must be Orestes, reasoning that the two bellows which he saw were the winds, the anvil and hammer the shock and counter-shock, and the forged iron the anguish laid upon anguish. What led him so to guess was that the discovery of iron has been to men's hurt. Thus he reasoned, and returning to Sparta told all the matter to the Lacedaemonians. They made pretence of bringing a charge against him and banishing him; so he went to Tegea, where he told the smith of his misfortune, and tried to hire the courtvard from him. The smith would not consent, but at last Lichas over-persuaded him, and taking up his abode there, opened the tomb and collected the bones and went away with them to Sparta. Ever after this time the Lacedaemonians got much the better of the men of Tegea in all their battles; and they had already subdued the greater part of the Peloponnesus.

69. Croesus, then, being made aware of all this sent messengers to Sparta with gifts, to ask an alliance in words with which he charged them. They came, and said: "Croesus, King of Lydia and other

Βασιλεύς, λέγων τάδε. 3 Λακεδαιμόνιοι, χρήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν Ελληνα φίλον προσθέσθαι. ύμέας γάρ πυνθάνομαι προεστάναι της Έλλάδος, ύμέας ων κατά το χρηστήριον προσκαλέσμαι φίλος τε θέλων γενέσθαι και σύμμαχος άνευ τε δόλου και ἀπάτης." Κροίσος μεν δη ταύτα δι' άγγέλων ἐπεκηρυκεύετο, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ άκηκοότες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ θεοπρόπιον τὸ Κροίσω γενόμενον ήσθησάν τε τη ἀπίξι των Λυδων καὶ ἐποιήσαντο δρκια ξεινίης πέρι καὶ συμμαχίης καὶ γὰρ τινές αὐτούς εὐεργεσίαι είχον ἐκ Κροίσου πρότερον έτι γεγονυίαι. πέμψαντες γάρ οι Λακεδαιμόνιοι ές Σάρδις χρυσον ωνέοντο, ές άγαλμα βουλόμενοι χρήσασθαι τούτο τὸ νύν τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐν Θόρνακι ίδρυται 'Απόλλωνος. Κροίσος δέ σφι ώνεο-

μένοισι έδωκε δωτίνην.

70. Τούτων τε ων είνεκεν οι Λακεδαιμόνιοι την συμμαχίην εδέξαντο, καὶ ὅτι ἐκ πάντων σφέας προκρίνας Έλλήνων αίρέετο φίλους. και τοῦτο μέν αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἔτοιμοι ἐπαγγείλαντι, τοῦτο δὲ ποιησάμενοι κρητήρα χάλκεον ζωδίων τε έξωθεν πλήσαντες περί το χείλος και μεγάθει τριηκοσίους άμφορέας χωρέοντα ήγον, δώρον βουλόμενοι άντιδοθναι Κροίσω. ούτος ὁ κρητήρ οὐκ ἀπίκετο ές Σάρδις δι' αίτίας διφασίας λεγομένας τάσδε οί μέν Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι ώς επείτε αγόμενος ές τὰς Σάρδις ὁ κρητήρ ἐγίνετο κατὰ τὴν Σαμίην, πυθόμενοι Σάμιοι ἀπελοίατο αὐτὸν νηυσί μακρήσι έπιπλώσαντες αὐτοὶ δὲ Σάμιοι λέγουσι ώς ἐπείτε ύστερησαν οἱ άγοντες των Λακεδαιμονίων τὸν κρητήρα, ἐπυνθάνοντο δὲ Σάρδις τε καὶ Κροίσον ήλωκέναι, ἀπέδοντο τὸν κρητήρα ἐν Σάμω, ἰδιώτας

nations, has sent us with this message: 'Lacedaemonians! the god has declared that I should make the Greek my friend; now, therefore, as I learn that you are the leaders of Hellas, I do so invite you, as the oracle bids; I would fain be your friend and ally, without deceit or guile." Thus Croesus proposed by the mouth of his messengers: and the Lacedaemonians, who had already heard of the oracle given to Croesus, welcomed the coming of the Lydians and swore to be his friends and allies; and indeed they were bound by certain benefits which they had before received from the king. For the Lacedaemonians had sent to Sardis to buy gold, with intent to use it for the statue of Apollo which now stands on Thornax<sup>1</sup> in Laconia; and Croesus, when they would buy it, made a free gift of it to them.

70. For this cause, and because he had chosen them as his friends before all other Greeks, the Lacedaemonians accepted the alliance. So they declared themselves ready to serve him when he should require, and moreover they made a bowl of bronze, graven outside round the rim with figures, and large enough to hold twenty-seven hundred gallons, and brought it with the intent to make a gift of requital to Croesus. This bowl never came to Sardis, and for this two reasons are given: the Lacedaemonians say that when the bowl was near Samos on its way to Sardis, the Samians descended upon them in warships and carried it off; but the Samians themselves say that the Lacedaemonians who were bringing the bowl, being too late, and learning that Sardis and Croesus were taken, sold it in Samos to certain private

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A mountain north-east of Sparta, overlooking the Eurotas valley.

δὲ ἄνδρας πριαμένους ἀναθεῖναί μιν ἐς τὸ "Ηραιον. τάχα δὲ ἂν καὶ οἱ ἀποδόμενοι λέγοιεν ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Σπάρτην ὡς ἀπαιρεθείησαν ὑπὸ Σαμίων. κατὰ

μέν νυν τὸν κρητήρα οὕτω ἔσχε.

71. Κροίσος δε άμαρτων του χρησμου εποιέετο στρατηίην ές Καππαδοκίην, έλπίσας καταιρήσειν Κῦρόν τε καὶ τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν. παρασκευαζομένου δὲ Κροίσου στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας. των τις Λυδών νομιζόμενος καὶ πρόσθε είναι σοφός, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς γνώμης καὶ τὸ κάρτα ούνομα έν Αυδοίσι έχων, συνεβούλευσε Κροίσω τάδε ούνομά οἱ ἢν Σάνδανις. " Ω βασιλεύ, ἐπ' άνδρας τοιούτους στρατεύεσθαι παρασκευάζεαι. οί σκυτίνας μεν άναξυρίδας σκυτίνην δε την άλλην έσθητα φορέουσι, σιτέονται δε ούκ όσα εθέλουσι άλλ' όσα έχουσι, χώρην έχοντες τρηχέαν. πρός δὲ οὐκ οἴνω διαχρέωνται ἀλλὰ ύδροποτέουσι, οὐ σῦκα δὲ ἔγουσι τρώγειν, οὐκ ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν. τοῦτο μὲν δή, εἰ νικήσεις, τί σφέας ἀπαιρήσεαι, τοῖσί γε μη ἔστι μηδέν; τοῦτο δέ, ην νικηθης, μάθε όσα άγαθα άποβαλέεις γευσάμενοι γάρ των ήμετέρων άγαθων περιέξονται ούδε άπωστοί έσονται. έγω μέν νυν θεοίσι έχω χάριν, οί ούκ έπὶ νόον ποιέουσι Πέρσησι στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Αυδούς." ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Κροῖσον. Πέρσησι γάρ, πρίν Λυδούς καταστρέψασθαι, ήν ούτε άβρον ούτε άγαθον ούδέν.

72. Οἱ δὲ Καππαδόκαι ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Σύριοι ὀνομάζονται: ἦσαν δὲ οἱ Σύριοι οὖτοι τὸ μὲν πρότερον ἡ Πέρσας ἄρξαι Μήδων κατήκοοι, τότε δὲ Κύρου. ὁ γὰο οὖρος ἦν τῆς τε Μηδικῆς ἀρχῆς men, who set it up in the the temple of Here. And it may be that the sellers of the bowl, when they returned to Sparta, said that they had been robbed of it by the Samians. Such are the tales about the bowl.

71. Croesus, mistaking the meaning of the oracle, invaded Cappadocia, thinking to destroy Cyrus and the Persian power. But while he was preparing to march against the Persians, a certain Lydian, who was already held to be a wise man, and from the advice which he now gave won great renown among the Lydians, thus counselled him (his name was Sandanis): "O King, you are making ready to march against men who wear breeches of leather and their other garments of the same, and whose fare is not what they desire but what they have; for their land is stony. Further they use no wine, but are waterdrinkers, nor have they figs to eat, nor aught else that is good. Now if you conquer them, of what will you deprive them, seeing that they have nothing? But if on the other hand you are conquered, then see how many good things you will lose; for once they have tasted of our blessings they will cling so close to them that nothing will thrust them away. For myself, then, I thank the gods that they do not put it in the hearts of the Persians to march against the Lydians." Thus spoke Sandanis; for the Persians, before they subdued the Lydians, had no luxury and no comforts; but he did not move Croesus.

72. Now the Cappadocians are called by the Greeks Syrians, and these Syrians before the Persian rule were subjects of the Medes, and, at this time, of Cyrus. For the boundary of the Median

καὶ τῆς Λυδικῆς ὁ "Αλυς ποταμός, δς ῥέει ἐξ 'Αρμενίου ὅρεος διὰ Κιλίκων, μετὰ δὲ Ματιηνοὺς μὲν ἐν δεξιῆ ἔχει ῥέων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἑτέρου Φρύγας ταραμειβόμενος δὲ τούτους καὶ ῥέων ἄνω πρὸς Βορέην ἄνεμον ἔνθεν μὲν Συρίους Καππαδόκας ἀπέργει, ἐξ εὐωνύμου δὲ Παφλαγόνας. οὕτω ὁ "Αλυς ποταμὸς ἀποτάμνει σχεδὸν πάντα τῆς 'Ασίης τὰ κάτω ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς ἀντίον Κύπρου ἐς τὸν Εὕξεινον πόντον. ἔστι δὲ αὐχὴν οὖτος τῆς χώρης ταύτης ἀπάσης μῆκος ὁδοῦ εὐζώνως

ανδρί πέντε ήμέραι αναισιμούνται.

73. Έστρατεύετο δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ἐπὶ τὴν Καππαδοκίην τῶνδε είνεκα, καὶ γης ἱμέρω προσκτήσασθαι πρός την έωυτου μοίραν βουλόμενος, και μάλιστα τῶ χρηστηρίω πίσυνος ἐων καὶ τίσασθαι θέλων ύπερ 'Αστυάγεος Κύρον. 'Αστυάγεα γὰρ τὸν Κυαξάρεω, ἐόντα Κροίσου μὲν γαμβρὸν Μήδων δὲ βασιλέα, Κύρος ὁ Καμβύσεω καταστρεψάμενος είγε, γενόμενον γαμβρον Κροίσφ ώδε. Σκυθέων τῶν νομάδων εἴλη ἀνδρῶν στασιάσασα ὑπεξήλθε ές γην την Μηδικήν έτυράννευε δέ τον γρόνον τοῦτον Μήδων Κυαξαρης ὁ Φραόρτεω τοῦ Δηιόκεω, δς τούς Σκύθας τούτους το μέν πρώτον περιείπε εὖ ώς ἐόντας ίκετας ὥστε δὲ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεόμενος αὐτούς, παίδάς σφι παρέδωκε τὴν γλῶσσάν τε έκμαθεῖν καὶ τὴν τέχνην τῶν τόξων. χρόνου δὲ γενομένου, και αίει φοιτεόντων των Σκυθέων ἐπ΄ άγρην καὶ αἰεί τι φερόντων, καί κοτε συνήνεικε έλειν σφεας μηδέν νοστήσαντας δε αύτους κεινήσι

 $<sup>^1</sup>$   $\tau \eta s$  'A $\sigma i \eta s$   $\tau \dot{\alpha}$   $\kappa d \tau \alpha$  means here and elsewhere in Hdt. the western part of Asia, west of the Halys (Kizil Irmak). The

and Lydian empires was the river Halys; which flows from the Armenian mountains first through Cilicia and afterwards between the Matieni on the right and the Phrygians on the other hand; then passing these and flowing still northwards it separates the Cappadocian Syrians on the right from the Paphlagonians on the left. Thus the Halys river cuts off wellnigh the whole of the lower part of Asia, from the Cyprian to the Euxine sea. Here is the narrowest neck of all this land; the length of the journey across is five days, for a man going unburdened <sup>1</sup>

73. The reasons of Croesus' expedition against Cappadocia were these: he desired to gain territory in addition to his own share, and (these were the chief causes) he trusted the oracle, and wished to avenge Astyages on Cyrus; for Cyrus, son of Cambyses, had subdued Astyages and held him in subjection. Now Astyages, king of Media, son of Cyaxares, was Croesus' brother-in-law: and this is how he came to be so. A tribe of wandering Scythians separated itself from the rest, and escaped into Median territory. This was then ruled by Cyaxares, son of Phraortes, son of Deioces. Cyaxares at first treated the Scythians kindly, as being suppliants for his mercy; and as he held them in high regard he entrusted boys to their charge to be taught their language and the craft of archery. As time went on, it chanced that the Scythians, who were wont to go hunting and ever to bring something back, once had taken nothing, and when they returned

width from sea to sea of the  $\alpha \nu \chi h \nu$  is obviously much underestimated by Hdt., as also by later writers; the actual distance at the narrowest part is about 280 miles as the crow flies; much more than a five days' march.

χεροὶ ὁ Κυαξάρης (ἢν γάρ, ὡς διέδεξε, ὀργὴν ἄκρος) τρηχέως κάρτα περιέσπε ἀεικείη. οὶ δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς Κυαξάρεω παθόντες, ὥστε ἀνάξια σφέων αὐτῶν πεπονθότες, ἐβούλευσαν τῶν παρὰ σφίσι διδασκομένων παίδων ἔνα κατακόψαι, σκευάσαντες δὲ αὐτὸν ὥσπερ ἐώθεσαν καὶ τὰ θηρία σκευάζειν, Κυαξάρη δοῦναι φέροντες ὡς ἄγρην δῆθεν, δόντες δὲ τὴν ταχίστην κομίζεσθαι παρὰ ᾿Αλυάττεα τὸν Σαδυάττεω ἐς Σάρδις. ταῦτα καὶ ἐγένετο· καὶ γὰρ Κυαξάρης καὶ οἱ παρεόντες δαιτυμόνες τῶν κρεῶν τούτων ἐπάσαντο, καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι ταῦτα ποιήσαντες ᾿Αλυάττεω ἰκέται ἐγένοντο.

74. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Αλυάττης έξεδίδου τους Σκύθας έξαιτέουτι Κυαξάρη, πόλεμος τοίσι Λυδοίσι καὶ τοίσι Μήδοισι έγεγόνεε έπ' έτεα πέντε, έν τοίσι πολλάκις μέν οι Μήδοι τούς Λυδούς ἐνίκησαν, πολλάκις δὲ οἱ Λυδοὶ τούς Μήδους, έν δὲ καὶ νυκτομαχίην τινὰ ἐποιήσαντο. διαφέρουσι δέ σφι έπὶ ἴσης τὸν πόλεμον τῶ ἔκτω έτει συμβολής γενομένης συνήνεικε ώστε τής μάχης συνεστεώσης την ημέρην έξαπίνης νύκτα γενέσθαι. την δε μεταλλαγήν ταύτην της ημέρης Θαλής ὁ Μιλήσιος τοίσι Ίωσι προηγόρευσε ἔσεσθαι, ούρον προθέμενος ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦτον ἐν τῷ δή καὶ ἐγένετο ή μεταβολή, οί δὲ Λυδοί τε καὶ οί Μήδοι ἐπείτε είδον νύκτα ἀντὶ ἡμέρης γενομένην, της μάχης τε έπαύσαντο καὶ μαλλόν τι έσπευσαν καὶ άμφότεροι εἰρήνην έωυτοῖσι γενέσθαι.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> All evidence, historical and astronomical, fixes the date of this eclipse as May 28, 585 s.c. There was another eclipse of the sun in Alyattes' reign, on Sept. 30, 610; but it appears

empty-handed, Cyaxares (being, as hereby appeared, prone to anger) treated them very roughly and despitefully. The Scythians, deeming themselves wronged by the usage they had from Cyaxares, plotted to take one of the boys who were their pupils and cut him in pieces, then, dressing the flesh as they were wont to dress the animals which they killed, to bring and give it to Cyaxares as if it were the spoils of the chase; and after that, to make their way with all speed to Alvattes son of Sadvattes at Sardis. All this they did. Cyaxares and the guests who feasted with him ate of the boy's flesh, and the Scythians, having done as they planned, fled to Alvattes for protection.

in 548 B.C.

74. After this, seeing that Alyattes would not give up the Scythians to Cyaxares at his demand, there was war between the Lydians and the Medes for five years; each won many victories over the other, and once they fought a battle by night. They were still warring with equal success, when it chanced, at an encounter which happened in the sixth year, that during the battle the day was turned to night. Thales of Miletus had foretold this loss of daylight to the Ionians, fixing it within the year in which the change did indeed happen.1 So when the Lydians and Medes saw the day turned to night they ceased from fighting, and both were the more zealous to make that this latter was not total in Asia Minor; and Pliny's mention of the phenomenon places it in the 170th year from the foundation of Rome. Thales died at an advanced age

ἐκτραπόμενος ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων ρεέθρων, καὶ αὖτις παραμειβόμενος τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἐσβάλλοι ὅστε ἐπείτε καὶ ἐσχίσθη τάχιστα ὁ ποταμός, ἀμφοτέρη διαβατὸς ἐγένετο. οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸ παράπαν λέγουσι καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ρέεθρον ἀποξηρανθῆναι. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐ προσίεμαι κῶς γὰρ ὀπίσω πορευόμενοι διέβησαν αὐτόν;

76. Κροίσος δὲ ἐπείτε διαβάς σὺν τῷ στρατῷ. απίκετο της Καππαδοκίης ές την Πτερίην καλεομένην (ή δὲ Πτερίη ἐστὶ τῆς χώρης ταύτης τὸ 1 ίσγυρότατον, κατά Σινώπην πόλιν την έν Εύξείνω πόντω μάλιστά κη κειμένη), ενθαύτα εστρατοπεδεύετο φθείρων των Συρίων τούς κλήρους καὶ είλε μεν των Πτερίων την πόλιν καὶ ηνδραποδίσατο, είλε δὲ τὰς περιοικίδας αὐτης πάσας. Συρίους τε ούδεν εόντας αίτίους αναστάτους έποίησε. Κύρος δὲ ἀγείρας τὸν έωυτοῦ στρατὸν καί παραλαβών τούς μεταξύ οἰκέοντας πάντας ηντιούτο Κροίσω. πρίν δε εξελαύνειν όρμησαι τὸν στρατόν, πέμψας κήρυκας ἐς τοὺς Ἰωνας ἐπειράτο σφέας ἀπὸ Κροίσου ἀπιστάναι. "Ιωνες μέν νυν ούκ ἐπείθοντο. Κύρος δὲ ώς ἀπίκετο καὶ άντεστρατοπεδεύσατο Κροίσω, ένθαθτα έν τή Πτερίη χώρη ἐπειρώντο κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν ἀλλήμάχης δε καρτερής γενομένης και πεσόντων άμφοτέρων πολλών, τέλος οὐδέτεροι νικήσαντες διέστησαν νυκτός ἐπελθούσης. καὶ τὰ μὲν στρατόπεδα άμφότερα ούτω ήγωνίσατο.

77. Κροΐσος δὲ μεμφθεὶς κατὰ τὸ πλήθος τὸ ἐωυτοῦ στράτευμα (ἦν γάρ οἱ ὁ συμβαλὼν στρατὸς πολλὸν ἐλάσσων ἡ ὁ Κύρου), τοῦτο μεμφθείς, ὡς camp, and, again passing it, should issue into its former bed, so that, as soon as the river was thus divided into two, both channels could be forded. Some even say that the ancient channel was altogether dried up. But I do not believe this; for how then did they pass the river when they were returning?

76. Croesus then passing over with his army came to the part of Cappadocia called Pteria (it is the strongest part of this country and lies nearest to the city of Sinope on the Euxine sea), where he encamped, and laid waste the farms of the Syrians; and he took and enslaved the city of the Pterians, and took also all the places about it, and drove the Syrians from their homes, though they had done him no harm. Cyrus, mustering his army, and gathering to him all those who dwelt upon his way, went to meet Croesus. But before beginning his march he sent heralds to the Ionians to try to draw them away from Croesus. The Ionians would not be persuaded; but when Cyrus had come, and encamped face to face with Croesus, the armies made trial of each other's strength with might and main in the Pterian country. The battle was stubborn; many on both sides fell, and when they were parted at nightfall neither had the advantage. With such fortune did the two armies contend

77. Croesus was not content with the number of his force, for his army which had fought was by far smaller than that of Cyrus; therefore, seeing that on

τη ύστεραίη οὐκ ἐπειρατο ἐπιων ὁ Κύρος, ἀπήλαυνε ές τὰς Σάρδις, ἐν νόω ἔχων παρακαλέσας μέν Αίγυπτίους κατά τὸ ὅρκιον (ἐποιήσατο γὰρ καὶ πρὸς "Αμασιν βασιλεύοντα Αἰγύπτου συμμαχίην πρότερον ή περ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους), μεταπεμινάμενος δὲ καὶ Βαβυλωνίους (καὶ γὰρ πρός τούτους αὐτῶ ἐπεποίητο συμμαγίη, ἐτυράννευε δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον τῶν Βαβυλωνίων Λαβύνητος), ἐπαγγείλας δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοισι παρείναι ές χρόνον ρητόν, άλίσας τε δή τούτους και την έωυτοῦ συλλέξας στρατιήν ἐνένωτο, τὸν χειμώνα παρείς, άμα τῷ ἔαρι στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας. καὶ δ μὲν ταῦτα φρονέων, ὡς ἀπίκετο ές τὰς Σάρδις, ἔπεμπε κήρυκας κατὰ τὰς συμμαχίας προερέοντας ές πέμπτον μήνα συλλέγεσθαι ές Σάρδις του δε παρεόντα και μαχεσάμενου στρατον Πέρσησι, δς ην αυτού ξεινικός, πάντα άπεις διεσκέδασε οὐδαμὰ ἐλπίσας μή κοτε άρα άγωνισάμενος ούτω παραπλησίως Κύρος ελάση έπι Σάρδις.

78. Ταῦτα ἐπιλεγομένω Κροίσω τὸ προάστειον πῶν ὀφίων ἐνεπλήσθη· φανέντων δὲ αὐτῶν, οἱ ἵπποι μετιέντες τὰς νομὰς νέμεσθαι φοιτέοντες κατήσθιον. ἰδόντι δὲ τοῦτο Κροίσω, ισπερ καὶ ἢν, ἔδοξε τέρας εἶναι· αὐτίκα δὲ ἔπεμπε θεοπρόπους ἐς τῶν ἐξηγητέων Τελμησσέων. ἀπικομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι θεοπρόποισι καὶ μαθοῦσι πρὸς Τελμησσέων τὸ θέλει σημαίνειν τὸ τέρας, οὐκ ἐξεγένετο Κροίσω ἀπαγγεῖλαι· πρὶν γὰρ ἡ ὀπίσω

# BOOK I. 77-78

the day after the battle Cyrus essayed no second attack, he marched away to Sardis, intending to invite help from the Egyptians in fulfilment of their pledge (for before making an alliance with the Lacedaemonians he had made one also with Amasis king of Egypt). and to send for the Babylonians also (for with these too he had made an alliance, Labynetus being at this time their sovereign), and to summon the Lacedaemonians to join him at a fixed time. It was in his mind to muster all these forces and assemble his own army, then to wait till the winter was over and march against the Persians at the beginning of spring. With such intent, as soon as he returned to Sardis. he sent heralds to all his allies, summoning them to assemble at Sardis in five months' time; and as for the soldiers whom he had with him, who had fought with the Persians, all of them who were not of his nation he disbanded, never thinking that after so equal an issue of the contest Cyrus would march against Sardis.

78. Thus Croesus reasoned. Meantime it chanced that snakes began to swarm in the outer part of the city; and when they appeared the horses would ever leave their accustomed pasture and devour them. When Croesus saw this he thought it to be a portent, and so it was. Forthwith he sent to the abodes of the Telmessian interpreters, to inquire concerning it; but though his messengers came and learnt from the Telmessians what the portent should signify, they could never bring back word to Croesus, for he was

¹ These were a caste of priests of Apollo at Telmessus or Telmissus in Lycia. τῶν ἐξηγητέων Τελμησσέων is contrary to Greek usage, ἐξηγ. being a substantive: Stein suggests that the true reading may be Τελμησσέων τῶν ἐξηγητέων.

σφέας ἀναπλώσαι ἐς τὰς Σάρδις ἥλω ὁ Κροῖσος. Τελμησσέες μέντοι τάδε ἔγνωσαν, στρατὸν ἀλλόθροον προσδόκιμον εἶναι Κροίσω ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην, ἀπικόμενον δὲ τοῦτον καταστρέψεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους, λέγοντες ὄφιν εἶναι γῆς παῖδα, ἵππον δὲ πολέμιον τε καὶ ἐπήλυδα. Τελμησσέες μέν νυν ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο Κροίσω ἤδη ἡλωκότι, οὐδέν κω εἶδότες τῶν ἦν περὶ Σάρδις τε καὶ αὐτὸν

Κροίσον.

79. Κύρος δὲ αὐτίκα ἀπελαύνοντος Κροίσου μετά την μάχην την γενομένην έν τη Πτερίη, μαθών ώς ἀπελάσας μέλλοι Κροίσος διασκεδάν τὸν στρατόν, βουλευόμενος εύρισκε πρηγμά οί είναι έλαύνειν ως δύναιτο τάχιστα έπὶ τὰς Σάρδις, πρίν ή τὸ δεύτερον άλισθήναι τῶν Λυδῶν τὴν δύναμιν. ώς δέ οι ταθτα έδοξε, και εποίεε κατά τάχος ελάσας γὰρ τὸν στρατὸν ές τὴν Λυδίην αύτος άγγελος Κροίσω έληλύθεε. ένθαῦτα Κροίσος ές απορίην πολλην απιγμένος, ώς οι παρά δόξαν ἔσχε τὰ πρήγματα η ώς αὐτὸς κατεδόκεε, όμως τους Λυδούς έξηγε ές μάχην. ην δέ τουτον τον χρόνον έθνος οὐδεν εν τη 'Ασίη οὕτε ἀνδρηιότερον ούτε άλκιμώτερον του Λυδίου. ή δε μάχη σφέων ην άπ' ίππων, δόρατά τε έφόρεον μεγάλα, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἢσαν ἱππεύεσθαι ἀγαθοί.

80. Ές τὸ πεδίον δὲ συνελθόντων τοῦτο τὸ πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος ἐστὶ τοῦ Σαρδιηνοῦ, ἐὸν μέγα τε καὶ ψιλόν (διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ποταμοὶ ῥέοντες καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ "Τλλος συρρηγνῦσι ἐς τὸν μέγιστον, καλεόμενον δὲ "Ερμον, δς ἐξ ὅρεος ἱροῦ μητρὸς Δινδυμήνης ῥέων ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς θάλασσαν κατὰ Φωκαίην πόλιν), ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κῦρος ὡς εἶδε τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐς

a prisoner before they could make their voyage back to Sardis. Howbeit, this was the judgment of the Telmessians—that Croesus must expect a foreign army to attack his country, and that when it came it would subdue the dwellers in the land: for the snake, they said, was the child of the earth, but the horse was a foe and a foreigner. Such was the answer which the Telmessians gave Croesus, knowing as yet nothing of the fate of Sardis and the king himself; but when they gave it Croesus was already taken.

79. When Croesus marched away after the battle in the Pterian country, Cyrus, learning that Croesus had gone with intent to disband his army, took counsel and perceived thereby that it was his business to march with all speed against Sardis, before the power of the Lydians could again be assembled. So he resolved and so he did speedily; he marched his army into Lydia and so himself came to bring the news of it to Croesus. All had turned out contrariwise to Croesus' expectation, and he was in a great quandary; nevertheless, he led out the Lydians to battle. Now at this time there was no nation in Asia more valiant or warlike than the Lydian. It was their custom to fight on horseback, carrying long spears, and they were skilled in the management of horses.

80. So the armies met in the plain, wide and bare, which is before the city of Sardis: the Hyllus and other rivers flow across it and rush violently together into the greatest of them, which is called Hermus (this flows from the mountain sacred to the Mother Dindymene 1 and issues into the sea near the city of Phocaea). Here when Cyrus saw the Lydians arraying

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Identified with the Phrygian and Lydian goddess Cybele.

μάνην τασσομένους, καταρρωδήσας την ίππον έποίησε Αρπάγου υποθεμένου ανδρός Μήδου τοιόνδε όσαι τῶ στρατῶ τῶ έωυτοῦ είποντο σιτοφόροι τε καὶ σκευοφόροι κάμηλοι, ταύτας πάσας άλίσας και ἀπελών τὰ ἄχθεα ἄνδρας ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἀνέβησε ἱππάδα στολην ἐνεσταλμένους. σκευάσας δὲ αὐτοὺς προσέταξε τῆς ἄλλης στρατιής προϊέναι πρός την Κροίσου ίππον, τη δέ καμήλω έπεσθαι του πεζου στρατου εκέλευσε. όπισθε δὲ τοῦ πεζοῦ ἐπέταξε τὴν πᾶσαν ἵππον. ώς δέ οἱ πάντες διετετάγατο, παραίνεσε τῶν μὲν άλλων Λυδών μη φειδομένους κτείνειν πάντα τον έμποδών γινόμενον, Κροίσον δε αύτον μη κτείνειν, μηδέ ην συλλαμβανόμενος αμύνηται. ταθτα μέν παραίνεσε, τὰς δὲ καμήλους ἔταξε ἀντία τῆς ἵππου τωνδε είνεκεν κάμηλον ίππος φοβέεται, καί ούκ ανέχεται ούτε την ίδεην αὐτοῦ ορέων ούτε την όδμην όσφραινόμενος, αύτου δη ών τούτου είνεκεν ἐσεσόφιστο, ίνα τῷ Κροίσω ἄχρηστον ή το ίππικου, τῷ δή τι καὶ ἐπεῖχε ἐλλάμψεσθαι ὁ Λυδός, ώς δὲ καὶ συνήισαν ές την μάχην, ένθαῦτα ώς ὤσφραντο τάχιστα τῶν καμήλων οί ίπποι καὶ είδον αὐτάς, ὁπίσω ἀνέστρεφον, διέφθαρτό τε τῷ Κροίσφ ἡ ἐλπίς. οὐ μέντοι οί γε Λυδοί τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δειλοὶ ἦσαν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔμαθον τὸ γινόμενον, αποθορόντες από των ίππων πεζοί τοίσι Πέρσησι συνέβαλλον. χρόνω δὲ πεσόντων άμφοτέρων πολλών ἐτράποντο οἱ Λυδοί, κατειληθέντες δὲ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐπολιορκέοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Περσέων.

81. Τοίσι μὲν δη κατεστήκεε πολιορκίη. Κροίσος δὲ δοκέων οἱ χρόνον ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἔσεσθαι την

their battle, he was afraid of their horse, and therefore did as I will show by the counsel of one Harpagus, a Mede. Assembling all the camels that followed his army bearing food and baggage, he took off their burdens and set men upon them equipped like cavalrymen; having so equipped them he ordered them to advance before his army against Croesus' horse; he charged the infantry to follow the camels, and set all his horse behind the infantry. When they were all arrayed, he commanded them to kill all other Lydians who came in their way, and spare none, but not to kill Croesus himself, even if he should defend himself against capture. Such was his command. The reason of his posting the camels to face the cavalry was this: horses fear camels and can endure neither the sight nor the smell of them; this then was the intent of his device, that Croesus' cavalry, on which the Lydian relied for the winning of some glory, might be of no use. So when battle was joined, as soon as the horses smelt and saw the camels they turned to flight, and all Croesus' hope was lost. Nevertheless the Lydians were no cowards; when they saw what was happening they leaped from their horses and fought the Persians on foot. Many of both armies fell; at length the Lydians were routed and driven within their city wall, where they were besieged by the Persians.

81. So then they were beleaguered. But Croesus, supposing that the siege would last a long time, sent

πολιορκίην ἔπεμπε ἐκ. τοῦ τείχεος ἄλλους ἀγγέλους ἐς τὰς συμμαχίας: οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρότεροι διεπέμποντο ἐς πέμπτον μῆνα προερέοντες συλλέγεσθαι ἐς Σάρδις, τούτους δὲ ἐξέπεμπε τὴν ταχίστην δέεσθαι βοηθέειν ὡς πολιορκεομένου

Κροίσου.

82. Ές τε δη ών τὰς ἄλλας ἔπεμπε συμμαγίας καί δη καί ές Λακεδαίμονα. τοίσι δε καί αὐτοίσι τοίσι Σπαρτιήτησι κατ' αυτον τούτον τον χρόνον συνεπεπτώκεε έρις έουσα προς Αργείους περί γώρου καλεομένου Θυρέης τὰς γὰρ Θυρέας ταύτας ξούσας της 'Αργολίδος μοίρης ἀποταμόμενοι έσχον οι Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ην δε και η μέχρι Μαλέων ή προς έσπέρην 'Αργείων, ή τε έν τη ήπείρω γώρη και ή Κυθηρίη νήσος και αι λοιπαι τών νήσων. Βοηθησάντων δὲ Αργείων τη σφετέρη άποταμνομένη, ενθαύτα συνέβησαν ες λόγους συνελθόντες ώστε τριηκοσίους έκατέρων μαχέσασθαι, οκότεροι δ' αν περιγένωνται, τούτων είναι τὸν χώρον τὸ δὲ πλήθος τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι έκάτερον ές την έωυτου μηδέ παραμένειν άγωνιζομένων, τωνδε είνεκεν ίνα μη παρεόντων τών στρατοπέδων δρώντες οἱ ἔτεροι ἐσσουμένους τούς σφετέρους έπαμύνοιεν. συνθέμενοι ταθτα άπαλλάσσουτο, λογάδες δε έκατέρων ύπολειφθέντες συνέβαλον. μαχομένων δὲ σφέων καὶ γινομένων Ισοπαλέων ύπελείποντο ές ανδρών έξακοσίων τρείς, 'Αργείων μεν 'Αλκήνωρ τε καὶ Χρομίος, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ 'Οθρυάδης' ὑπελείφθησαν δε ούτοι νυκτός επελθούσης. οι μεν δή δύο των 'Αργείων ώς νενικηκότες έθεον ές τὸ "Αργος, ὁ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων 'Οθρυάδης messengers again from the city to his allies; whereas the former envoys had been sent to summon them to muster at Sardis in five months' time, these were to announce that Croesus was besieged and to entreat help with all speed.

82. So he sent to the Lacedaemonians as well as the rest of the allies. Now at this very time the Spartans themselves had a feud on hand with the Argives, in respect of the country called Thyrea; for this was a part of the Argive territory which the Lacedaemonians had cut off and occupied. (All the land towards the west, as far as Malea, belonged then to the Argives, and not the mainland only, but the island of Cythera and the other islands.) The Argives came out to save their territory from being cut off; then after debate the two armies agreed that three hundred of each side should fight, and whichever party won should possess the land. The rest of each army was to go away to its own country and not be present at the battle; for it was feared that if the armies remained on the field, the men of either party would render help to their comrades if they saw them losing. Having thus agreed, the armies drew off, and picked men of each side were left and fought. Neither could gain advantage in the battle; at last, of six hundred there were left only three, Alcenor and Chromios of the Argives, Othrvades of the Lacedaemonians: these three were left alive at nightfall. Then the two Argives, deeming themselves victors, ran to Argos; but Othryades, the Lacedaemonian,

σκυλεύσας τους 'Αργείων νεκρούς καὶ προσφορήσας τὰ ὅπλα πρὸς τὸ ἐωυτοῦ στρατόπεδον ἐν τῆ τάξι είγε έωυτόν, ημέρη δε δευτέρη παρησαν πυνθανόμενοι αμφότεροι. τέως μεν δη αυτοί έκάτεροι έφασαν νικάν, λέγοντες οι μεν ώς έωυτων πλεύνες περιγεγόνασι, οί δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀποφαίνοντες πεφευγότας, τὸν δὲ σφέτερον παραμείναντα και σκυλεύσαντα τους έκείνων νεκρούς τέλος δέ έκ της έριδος συμπεσόντες έμάχοντο, πεσόντων δὲ καὶ ἀμφοτέρων πολλών ἐνίκων Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Αργείοι μέν νυν άπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου κατακειράμενοι τὰς κεφαλάς, πρότερον ἐπάναγκες κομώντες, εποιήσαντο νόμον τε καί κατάρην μή πρότερου θρέψειν κόμην 'Αργείων μηδένα, μηδέ τας γυναϊκάς σφι χρυσοφορήσειν, πρίν Θυρέας άνασώσωνται. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τὰ ἐναντία τούτων έθεντο νόμον οὐ γὰρ κομῶντες πρὸ τούτου άπὸ τούτου κομάν. τὸν δὲ ἕνα λέγουσι τὸν περιλειφθέντα των τριηκοσίων 'Οθρυάδην, αἰσχυνόμενον απονοστέειν ές Σπάρτην των οί συλλοχιτέων διεφθαρμένων, αὐτοῦ μιν ἐν τῆσι Θυρέησι καταχρήσασθαι έωυτόν.

83. Τοιούτων δὲ τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτησι ἐνεστεώτων πρηγμάτων ἦκε ὁ Σαρδιηνὸς κῆρυξ δεόμενος Κροίσω βοηθέειν πολιορκεομένω, οὶ δὲ ὅμως, ἐπείτε ἐπύθοντο τοῦ κήρυκος, ὁρμέατο βοηθέειν. καί σφι ἤδη παρεσκευασμένοισι καὶ νεῶν ἐουσέων ἐτοίμων ἦλθε ἄλλη ἀγγελίη, ὡς ἡλώκοι τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Λυδῶν καὶ ἔχοιτο Κροῖσος ζωγρηθείς, οὕτω δὴ οὖτοι μὲν συμφορὴν ποιησάμενοι μεγάλην

ἐπέπαυντο.

84. Σάρδιες δὲ ηλωσαν ώδε. ἐπειδὴ τεσσερεσ-

spoiled the Argive dead, bore the armour to his own army's camp and remained in his place. On the next day both armies came to learn the issue. For a while both claimed the victory, the Argives pleading that more of their men had survived, the Lacedaemonians showing that the Argives had fled, while their man had stood his ground and despoiled the enemy dead. At last the dispute so ended that they joined battle and fought; many of both sides fell, but the Lacedaemonians had the victory. Ever after this the Argives, who before had worn their hair long by fixed custom, shaved their heads, and made a law, with a curse added thereto, that no Argive should grow his hair, and no Argive woman should wear gold, till they should recover Thyreae; and the Lacedaemonians made a contrary law, that ever after they should wear their hair long; for till now they had not so worn it. Othrvades, the one survivor of the three hundred, was ashamed, it is said, to return to Sparta after all the men of his company had been slain, and killed himself on the spot at Thyreae,

83. All this had befallen the Spartans when the Sardian herald came to entreat their help for Croesus, now besieged; yet for all that, when they heard the herald they prepared to send help; but when they were already equipped and their ships ready, there came a second message which told that the fortress of the Lydians was taken and Croesus held a prisoner. Then indeed, though greatly grieved, they ceased from their enterprise.

84. Now this is how Sardis was taken. When

καιδεκάτη έγένετο ήμέρη πολιορκεομένω Κροίσω, Κύρος τη στρατιή τη έωυτου διαπέμψας ίππέας προείπε τω πρώτω ἐπιβάντι τοῦ τείχεος δώρα δώσειν. μετά δὲ τοῦτο πειρησαμένης τῆς στρατιής ώς οὐ προεχώρεε, ἐνθαῦτα τῶν ἄλλων πεπαυμένων άνηρ Μάρδος έπειρατο προσβαίνων, τώ ούνομα ην Υροιάδης, κατά τούτο της άκροπόλιος τη οὐδεὶς ἐτέτακτο φύλακος οὐ γὰρ ην δεινον κατά τούτο μη άλώ κοτέ. ἀπότομός τε γαρ έστι ταύτη ή ακρόπολις και άμαγος τη ούδε Μήλης ο πρότερον βασιλεύς Σαρδίων μούνη ού περιήνεικε τον λέοντα τόν οι ή παλλακή έτεκε, Τελμησσέων δικασάντων ώς περιενειχθέντος του λέοντος το τείχος έσονται Σάρδιες ανάλωτοι. ὁ δὲ Μήλης κατὰ τὸ ἄλλο τείχος περιενείκας, τη ην επίμαχον το χωρίον 1 της άκροπόλιος, κατηλόγησε τοῦτο ώς ἐὸν ἄμαχόν τε καὶ ἀπότομον ἔστι δὲ πρὸς τοῦ Τμώλου τετραμμένον της πόλιος. ὁ ὧν δη Υροιάδης ούτος ὁ Μάρδος ίδων τη προτεραίη των τινα Λυδών κατά τούτο της άκροπόλιος καταβάντα ἐπὶ κυνέην άνωθεν κατακυλισθείσαν καὶ ἀνελόμενον, ἐφράσθη καὶ ές θυμὸν εβάλετο τότε δε δη αὐτός τε αναβεβήκεε και κατ' αὐτὸν ἄλλοι Περσέων ἀνέβαινον προσβάντων δε συχνών ούτω δη Σάρδιές τε ήλώκεσαν καὶ πάν τὸ ἄστυ ἐπορθέετο.

85. Κατ' αὐτὸν δὲ Κροῖσον τάδε ἐγίνετο. ἢν οἱ παῖς, τοῦ καὶ πρότερον ἐπεμνήσθην, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐπιεικής, ἄφωνος δέ. ἐν τἢ ὧν παρελθούση εὐεστοῖ ὁ Κροῖσος τὸ πᾶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπεποιήκες, ἄλλα τε ἐπιφραζόμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Δελφοὺς

# BOOK I. 84-85

Croesus had been besieged for fourteen days, Cyrus sent horsemen about in his army to promise rewards to him who should first mount the wall. After this the army made an assault, but with no success. Then, all the rest being at a stand, a certain Mardian 1 called Hyroeades essayed to mount by a part of the citadel where no guard had been set; for here the height on which the citadel stood was sheer and hardly to be assaulted, and none feared that it could be taken by an attack made here. This was the only place where Meles the former king of Sardis had not carried the lion which his concubine had borne him, the Telmessians having declared that if this lion were carried round the walls Sardis could never be taken. Meles then carried the lion round the rest of the wall of the acropolis where it could be assaulted, but neglected this place, because the height was sheer and defied attack. It is on the side of the city which faces towards Tmolus. So then it chanced that on the day before this Mardian, Hyroeades, had seen one of the Lydians descend by this part of the citadel after a helmet that had fallen down, and fetch it; he took note of this and considered it, and now he himself climbed up, and other Persians after him. Many ascended, and thus was Sardis taken and all the city like to be sacked.

85. I will now tell what befell Croesus himself. He had a son, of whom I have already spoken, a likely youth enough save that he was dumb. Now in his past days of prosperity Croesus had done all that he could for his son; and besides resorting to other plans he had sent to Delphi to inquire of the

<sup>1</sup> The Mardi were a nomad Persian tribe.

περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπεπόμφεε χρησομένους. ή δὲ Πυθίη οἱ εἶπε τάδε.

Λυδε γένος, πολλών βασιλεῦ, μέγα νήπιε Κροΐσε,

μή βούλου πολύευκτον ίὴν ἀνὰ δώματ' ἀκούειν παιδὸς φθεγγομένου. τὸ δέ σοι πολὺ λώιον ἀμφίς

ἔμμεναι αὐδήσει γὰρ ἐν ἤματι πρῶτον ἀνόλβφ.

άλισκομένου δὴ τοῦ τείχεος, ἤιε γὰρ τῶν τις Περσέων ἀλλογνώσας Κροῖσον ὡς ἀποκτενέων, Κροῖσος μέν νυν ὁρέων ἐπιόντα ὑπὸ τῆς παρεούσης συμφορῆς παρημελήκες, οὐδέ τί οἱ διέφερε πληγέντι ἀποθανεῖν ὁ δὲ παῖς οὖτος ὁ ἄφωνος ὡς εἶδε ἐπιόντα τὸν Πέρσην, ὑπὸ δέους τε καὶ κακοῦ ἔρρηξε φωνήν, εἶπε δὲ ""Ωνθρώπε, μὴ κτεῖνε Κροῖσον." οὖτος μὲν δὴ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἐφθέγξατο, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἤδη ἐφώνεε τὸν πάντα χρόνον τῆς ζόης.

86. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι τάς τε δὴ Σάρδις ἔσχον καὶ αὐτὸν Κροῖσον ἔζώγρησαν, ἄρξαντα ἔτεα τεσσερεσκαίδεκα καὶ τεσσερεσκαίδεκα ἡμέρας πολιορκηθέντα, κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριόν τε καταπαύσαντα τὴν ἐωυτοῦ μεγάλην ἀρχήν. λαβόντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Πέρσαι ἡγαγον παρὰ Κῦρον. ὁ δὲ συννήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην ἀνεβίβασε ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὸν Κροῖσόν τε ἐν πέδησι δεδεμένον καὶ δὶς ἐπτὰ Λυδῶν παρὰ αὐτὸν παῖδας, ἐν νόῷ ἔχων εἴτε δὴ ἀκροθίνια ταῦτα καταγιεῖν θεῶν ὅτεῷ δή, εἴτε καὶ εὐχὴν ἐπιτελέσαι θέλων, εἴτε καὶ πυθόμενος τὸν Κροῖσον εἶναι θεοσεβέα τοῦδε εἴνεκεν ἀνεβίβασε ἐπὶ τὴν πυρήν, βουλόμενος εἰδέναι εἴ τίς μιν δαιμόνων ρύσεται τοῦ μὴ ζῶντα κατακαυθηναι. τὸν μὲν δὴ

oracle concerning him. The Pythian priestess thus answered him:

"Lydian, of many the lord, thou know'st not the boon that thou askest.

Wish not nor pray that the voice of thy son may be heard in the palace;

Better it were for thee that dumb he abide as aforetime:

Luckless that day shall be when first thou hearest him speaking."

So at the taking of the fortress a certain Persian, not knowing who Croesus was, came at him with intent to kill him. Croesus saw him coming, but by stress of misfortune he was past caring, and would as soon be smitten to death as not; but this dumb son, seeing the Persian coming, in his fear and his grief broke into speech and cried, "Man, do not kill Croesus!" This was the first word he uttered; and after that for all the days of his life he had power

of speech.

86. So the Persians took Sardis and made Croesus himself prisoner, he having reigned fourteen years and been besieged fourteen days, and, as the oracle foretold, brought his own great empire to an end. Having then taken him they led him to Cyrus. Cyrus had a great pyre built, on which he set Croesus, bound in chains, and twice seven Lydian boys beside him: either his intent was to sacrifice these firstfruits to some one of his gods, or he desired to fulfil a vow, or it may be that, learning that Croesus was a godfearing man, he set him for this cause on the pyre, because he would fain know if any deity would save him from being burnt alive. It is related

ποιέειν ταθτα· τω δε Κροίσω έστεωτι έπὶ της πυρής ἐσελθεῖν, καίπερ ἐν κακῶ ἐόντι τοσούτω. τὸ τοῦ Σόλωνος ώς οἱ εἴη σὺν θεῶ εἰρημένον, τὸ μηδένα είναι των ζωόντων όλβιον. ως δε άρα μιν προσστήναι τούτο, ανενεικάμενόν τε καί αναστενάξαντα έκ πολλής ήσυχίης ές τρίς ονομάσαι "Σόλων." καὶ τὸν Κύρον ἀκούσαντα κελεύσαι τούς έρμηνέας έπειρέσθαι τον Κροίσον τίνα τούτον έπικαλέοιτο, και τούς προσελθόντας έπειρωταν. Κροίσον δὲ τέως μὲν σιγὴν ἔχειν εἰρωτώμενον, μετά δὲ ὡς ἡναγκάζετο, εἰπεῖν "Τὸν ἄν ἐγὼ πᾶσι τυράννοισι προετίμησα μεγάλων χρημάτων ές λόγους έλθειν." ώς δέ σφι άσημα έφραζε, πάλιν έπειρώτων τὰ λεγόμενα. λιπαρεόντων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ όχλον παρεχόντων, έλεγε δη ώς ήλθε άρχην ό Σόλων έων Αθηναίος, και θεησάμενος πάντα τὸν έωυτοῦ ὅλβον ἀποφλαυρίσειε οία δὴ εἴπας, ώς τε αὐτῷ πάντα ἀποβεβήκοι τῆ περ ἐκείνος είπε, οὐδέν τι μάλλον ές έωυτον λέγων ή ούκ ές άπαν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς παρὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι ὀλβίους δοκέοντας είναι. τὸν μὲν Κροῖσον ταθτα ἀπηγέεσθαι, της δὲ πυρης ήδη άμμένης καίεσθαι τὰ περιέσχατα. καὶ τὸν Κῦρον ἀκούσαντα των έρμηνέων τὰ Κροίσος εἶπε, μεταγνόντα τε καὶ ἐννώσαντα ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐων άλλον άνθρωπον, γενόμενον έωυτοῦ εὐδαιμονίη ούκ ελάσσω, ζώντα πυρί διδοίη, πρός τε τούτοισι δείσαντα την τίσιν καὶ έπιλεξάμενον ώς οὐδεν είη τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι ἀσφαλέως ἔχον, κελεύειν σβεννύναι την ταγίστην τὸ καιόμενον πῦρ 1 καὶ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> πῦρ is bracketed by Stein.

### BOOK I. 86

then that he did this; but Croesus, as he stood on the pyre, remembered even in his evil plight how divinely inspired was that saying of Solon, that no living man was blest. When this came to his mind, having till now spoken no word, he sighed deeply and groaned, and thrice uttered the name of Solon. Cyrus heard it, and bade his interpreters ask Croesus who was this on whom he called; they came near and asked him; Croesus at first would say nothing in answer, but presently, being compelled, he said, "It is one with whom I would have given much wealth that all sovereigns should hold converse." This was a dark saying to them, and again they questioned him of the words which he spoke. As they were instant, and troubled him, he told them then how Solon, an Athenian, had first come, and how he had seen all his royal state and made light of it (saying thus and thus), and how all had happened to Croesus as Solon said, though he spoke with less regard to Croesus than to mankind in general and chiefly those who deemed themselves blest. While Croesus thus told his story, the pyre had already been kindled and the outer parts of it were burning. Then Cyrus, when he heard from the interpreters what Croesus said, repented of his purpose. He bethought him that he, being also a man, was burning alive another man who had once been as fortunate as himself; moreover, he feared the retribution, and it came to his mind that there was no stability in human affairs: wherefore he gave command to quench the burning

καταβιβάζειν Κροίσον τε καὶ τοὺς μετὰ Κροίσου. καὶ τοὺς πειρωμένους οὐ δύνασθαι ἔτι τοῦ πυρὸς

ἐπικρατήσαι.

87. Ένθαῦτα λέγεται ὑπὸ Λυδῶν Κροῖσον μαθόντα την Κύρου μετάγνωσιν, ώς ώρα πάντα μέν ἄνδρα σβεννύντα τὸ πῦρ, δυναμένους δὲ οὐκέτι καταλαβείν, ἐπιβώσασθαι τὸν ᾿Απόλλωνα έπικαλεόμενον, εί τί οἱ κεχαρισμένον έξ αὐτοῦ έδωρήθη, παραστήναι καὶ ρύσασθαι αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ παρεόντος κακού. τον μεν δακρύοντα επικαλέεσθαι τον θεόν, έκ δε αίθρίης τε και νηνεμίης συνδραμείν έξαπίνης νέφεα και χειμώνά τε καταρραγήναι καὶ ὖσαι ὕδατι λαβροτάτω, κατασβεσθηναί τε την πυρήν. ούτω δη μαθόντα τὸν Κύρον ώς είη ὁ Κροίσος καὶ θεοφιλής καὶ άνηρ άγαθός, καταβιβάσαντα αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πυρῆς εἰρέσθαι τάδε. "Κροῖσε, τίς σε ἀνθρώπων ανέγνωσε έπὶ γην την έμην στρατευσάμενον πολέμιον άντι φίλου έμοι καταστήναι:" δ δε είπε " Ω βασιλεύ, έγω ταύτα ἔπρηξα τη ση μέν εύδαιμονίη, τη έμεωυτού δὲ κακοδαιμονίη, αἴτιος δὲ τούτων ἐγένετο ὁ Ἑλλήνων θεὸς ἐπαείρας ἐμὲ στρατεύεσθαι. οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτω ἀνόητος ἐστὶ όστις πόλεμον προ είρήνης αίρεεται έν μεν γάρ τη οί παίδες τους πατέρας θάπτουσι, εν δε τω οί πατέρες τους παίδας. άλλα ταυτα δαίμοσί κου φίλον ην ούτω γενέσθαι."

88. Ο μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε, Κῦρος δὲ αὐτὸν λύσας κατεῖσέ τε ἐγγὺς ἑωυτοῦ καὶ κάρτα ἐν πολλŷ προμηθίη εἰχε, ἀπεθώμαζέ τε ὁρέων καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ περὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐόντες πάντες. ὁ δὲ συννοίη ἐχόμενος ἥσυχος ἦν· μετὰ δὲ ἐπιστραφείς τε καὶ

fire with all speed and bring Croesus and those with him down from the pyre. But his servants could not for all their endeavour now master the fire.

87. Then (so the Lydians relate), when Croesus was aware of Cyrus' repentance and saw all men striving to quench the fire but no longer able to check it, he cried aloud to Apollo, praying that if the god had ever been pleased with any gift of his offering he would now come to his aid and save him from present destruction. Thus with weeping he invoked the god: and suddenly in a clear and windless sky clouds gathered and a storm burst and there was a most violent rain, so that the pyre was quenched. Then indeed Cyrus perceived that Croesus was a good man and one beloved of the gods; and bringing him down from the pyre, he questioned him, saving, "What man persuaded you, Croesus, to attack my country with an army, and be my enemy instead of my friend?" "O King," said Croesus, "it was I who did it, and brought thereby good fortune to you and ill to myself: but the cause of all was the god of the Greeks, in that he encouraged me to send my army. No man is so foolish as to desire war more than peace: for in peace sons bury their fathers, but in war fathers bury their sons. But I must believe that heaven willed all this so to be."

88. So said Croesus. Then Cyrus loosed him and set him near to himself and took much thought for him, and both he and all that were with him were astonished when they looked upon Croesus. He for his part was silent, deep in thought. Presently he

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ιδόμενος τοὺς Πέρσας τὸ τῶν Λυδῶν ἄστυ κεραίζοντας εἰπε "Ω βασιλεῦ, κότερον λέγειν πρὸς σὲ τὰ νοέων τυγχάνω ἢ σιγᾶν ἐν τῷ παρεόντι χρή;" Κῦρος δέ μιν θαρσέοντα ἐκέλευε λέγειν ὅ τι βούλοιτο. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν εἰρώτα λέγων "Οὖτος ὁ πολλὸς ὅμιλος τί ταῦτα πολλŷ σπουδŷ ἐργάζεται; ὁ δὲ εἶπε "Πόλιν τε τὴν σὴν διαρπάζει καὶ χρήματα τὰ σὰ διαφορέει." Κροῖσος δὲ ἀμείβετο "Οὕτε πόλιν τὴν ἐμὴν οὔτε χρήματα τὰ ἐμὰ διαρπάζει οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐμοὶ ἔτι τούτων μέτα·

άλλα φέρουσί τε καὶ ἄγουσι τὰ σά."

89. Κύρφ δὲ ἐπιμελὲς ἐγένετο τὰ Κροΐσος εἶπε. μεταστησάμενος δε τους άλλους, είρετο Κροίσον ο τι οι ένορωη έν τοίσι ποιευμένοισι. ο δε είπε " Έπείτε με θεοί έδωκαν δούλον σοί, δικαιώ, εί τι ένορέω πλέον, σημαίνειν σοί. Πέρσαι φύσιν εόντες ύβρισταί είσι αχρήματοι. ην ων σύ τούτους περιίδης διαρπάσαντας καὶ κατασχόντας γρήματα μεγάλα, τάδε τοι έξ αὐτῶν ἐπίδοξα γενέσθαι δς αν αὐτων πλείστα κατάσχη, τοῦτον προσδέκεσθαί τοι ἐπαναστησόμενον. νῦν ὧν ποίησον ώδε, εί τοι αρέσκει τα ένω λένω κάτισον των δορυφόρων έπὶ πάσησι τῆσι πύλησι φυλάκους, οι λεγόντων προς τους εκφέροντας τα χρήματα απαιρεύμενοι ώς σφέα αναγκαίως έγει δεκατευθήναι τω Διί. και σύ τέ σφι οὐκ ἀπεχθήσεαι Βίη ἀπαιρεόμενος τὰ χρήματα, καὶ ἐκείνοι συγγνόντες ποιέειν σε δίκαια έκόντες προήσουσι."

90. Ταθτα ἀκούων ὁ Κθρος ὑπερήδετο, ὡς οἱ ἐδόκεε εὐ ὑποτίθεσθαι· αἰνέσας δὲ πολλά, καὶ ἐντειλάμενος τοῖσι δορυφόροισι τὰ Κροίσος ὑπεθήκατο ἐπιτελέειν, εἶπε πρὸς Κροίσον τάδε.

turned and said (for he saw the Persians sacking the city of the Lydians), "O King, am I to say to you now what is in my mind, or keep silence?" Cyrus bidding him to say boldly what he would, Croesus asked, "Yonder multitude, what is this whereon they are so busily engaged?" "They are plundering," said Cyrus, "your city and carrying off your possessions." "Nay," Croesus answered, "not my city, nor my possessions; for I have no longer any share of all this; it is your wealth that they are ravishing."

89. Cyrus thought upon what Croesus said, and bidding the rest withdraw he asked Croesus what fault he saw in what was being done. "Since the gods," replied the Lydian, " have given me to be your slave, it is right that if I have any clearer sight of wrong done I should declare it to you. The Persians are violent men by nature, and poor withal; if then you suffer them to seize and hold great possessions, you may expect that he who has won most will rise in revolt against you. Now therefore do this, if what I say finds favour with you. Set men of your guard to watch all the gates; let them take the spoil from those who are carrying it out, and say that it must be paid as tithe to Zeus. Thus shall you not be hated by them for taking their wealth by force, and they for their part will acknowledge that you act justly, and will give up the spoil willingly."

90. When Cyrus heard this he was exceedingly pleased, for he deemed the counsel good; and praising him greatly, and bidding his guards to act as Croesus

"Κροίσε, αναρτημένου σεῦ ανδρός βασιλέος χρηστὰ ἔργα καὶ ἔπεα ποιέειν, αἰτέο δόσιν ήντινα βούλεαί τοι γενέσθαι παραυτίκα." δ δε είπε " Ω δέσποτα, εάσας με γαριεί μάλιστα τὸν θεὸν των Ελλήνων, του έγω ετίμησα θεών μάλιστα, έπειρέσθαι πέμψαντα τάσδε τὰς πέδας, εἰ έξαπατάν τούς εὖ ποιεῦντας νόμος ἐστί οί." Κῦρος δὲ εἴρετο ὅ τι οἱ τοῦτο ἐπηγορέων παραιτέοιτο. Κροίσος δέ οἱ ἐπαλιλλόγησε πῶσαν τὴν ἐωυτοῦ διάνοιαν καὶ τῶν χρηστηρίων τὰς ὑποκρίσιας καὶ μάλιστα τὰ ἀναθήματα, καὶ ώς ἐπαερθεὶς τῷ μαντηίω έστρατεύσατο έπι Πέρσας λέγων δέ ταθτα κατέβαινε αθτις παραιτεόμενος έπεθναί οί τῶ θεῶ τοῦτο ὀνειδίσαι. Κῦρος δὲ γελάσας εἶπε "Καὶ τούτου τεύξεαι παρ' έμεῦ, Κροῖσε, καὶ άλλου παντός τοῦ αν εκάστοτε δέη." ώς δὲ ταῦτα ήκουσε ο Κροίσος, πέμπων των Αυδών ές Δελφούς ένετέλλετο τιθέντας τὰς πέδας ἐπὶ τοῦ νηοῦ τὸν ούδου είρωταν εί ού τι έπαισχύνεται τοίσι μαντηίοισι έπαείρας Κροίσον στρατεύεσθαι έπλ Πέρσας ώς καταπαύσοντα την Κύρου δύναμιν, άπ' ής οι άκροθίνια τοιαύτα γενέσθαι, δεικνύντας τὰς πέδας ταῦτα τε ἐπειρωτᾶν, καὶ εἰ ἀχαρίστοισι νόμος είναι τοίσι Ελληνικοίσι θεοίσι.

91. 'Απικομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ λέγουσι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα τὴν Πυθίην λέγεται εἰπεῖν τάδε. "Τὴν πεπρωμένην μοῖραν ἀδύνατα ἐστὶ ἀποφυγεῖν καὶ θεῷ· Κροῖσος δὲ πέμπτου γονέος άμαρτάδα ἔξέπλησε, δς ἐὼν δορυφόρος 'Ηρακλειδέων, δόλῳ γυναικηίῳ ἐπισπόμενος ἐφόνευσε τὸν δεσπότεα καὶ ἔσχε τὴν ἐκείνου τιμὴν οὐδέν οἱ προσήκουσαν. προθυμεομένου δὲ Λοξίεω ὅκως ἃν κατὰ τοὺς

had counselled, he said: "Croesus, now that you, a king, are resolved to act and to speak aright, ask me now for whatever boon you desire forthwith." "Master," said Croesus, "you will best please me if you suffer me to send these my chains to that god of the Greeks whom I chiefly honoured, and to ask him if it be his custom to deceive those who serve him well." Cyrus then asking him what was the meaning of this request, Croesus repeated to him the tale of all his own intent, and the answers of the oracles, and more especially his offerings, and how it was the oracle that had heartened him to attack the Persians; and so saving he once more instantly entreated that he might be suffered to reproach the god for this. At this Cyrus smiled, and replied, "This I will grant you, Croesus, and what other boon soever you may at any time ask me." When Croesus heard this, he sent men of the Lydians to Delphi, charging them to lay his chains on the threshold of the temple, and to ask if the god were not ashamed that he had persuaded Croesus to attack the Persians, telling him that he would destroy Cyrus' power; of which power (they should say, showing the chains) these were the firstfruits. Thus they should inquire; and further, if it were the manner of the Greek gods to be thankless.

91. When the Lydians came, and spoke as they were charged, the priestess (it is said) thus replied: "None may escape his destined lot, not even a god. Croesus hath paid for the sin of his ancestor of the fifth generation: who, being of the guard of the Heraclidae, was led by the guile of a woman to slay his master, and took to himself the royal state of that master, whereto he had no right. And it was the desire of Loxias that the evil hap of Sardis should

παίδας του Κροίσου γένοιτο το Σαρδίων πάθος καί μη κατ' αὐτὸν Κροῖσον, οὐκ οἶόν τε ἐγίνετο παραγαγείν μοίρας. όσον δὲ ἐνέδωκαν αὐται, ήνυσέ τε καὶ έχαρίσατό οί τρία γάρ έτεα έπανε-Βάλετο την Σαρδίων άλωσιν, και τούτο ἐπιστάσθω Κροίσος ώς ύστερον τοίσι έτεσι τούτοισι άλούς της πεπρωμένης. δεύτερα δὲ τούτων καιομένω αὐτῶ ἐπήρκεσε. κατὰ δὲ τὸ μαντήιον τὸ γενόμενον ούκ ορθώς Κροίσος μέμφεται. προηγόρευε γάρ οί Λοξίης, ην στρατεύηται έπὶ Πέρσας, μεγάλην άργην αὐτὸν καταλύσειν. τὸν δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα χρήν εὖ μέλλοντα βουλεύεσθαι ἐπειρέσθαι πέμ-Ψαντα κότερα την έωυτοῦ η την Κύρου λέγοι άργήν. οὐ συλλαβών δὲ τὸ ἡηθὲν οὐδ' ἐπανειρόμενος έωυτον αίτιον αποφαινέτω τω και το τελευταίον χρηστηριαζομένω είπε Λοξίης περί ήμιόνου, οὐδὲ τοῦτο συνέλαβε. ἡν γὰρ δὴ ὁ Κῦρος ούτος ημίονος έκ γὰρ δυών οὐκ ὁμοεθνέων έγεγόνεε, μητρός άμείνονος, πατρός δε ύποδεεστέρου. ή μεν γάρ ήν Μηδίς καὶ 'Αστυάγεος θυγάτηρ τοῦ Μήδων βασιλέος, δ δὲ Πέρσης τε ην καὶ άρχόμενος ύπ' εκείνοισι και ένερθε εων τοίσι απασι δεσποίνη τη έωυτου συνοίκες." ταυτα μέν ή Πυθίη ύπεκρίνατο τοίσι Λυδοίσι, οί δε ανήνεικαν ές Σάρδις καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν Κροίσω. δ δὲ άκούσας συνέγνω έωυτοῦ είναι την άμαρτάδα και ου του θεού. κατά μεν δή την Κροίσου τε άρχην και Ίωνίης την πρώτην καταστροφήν ἔσχε οῦτω.

92. Κροίσω δὲ ἐστὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐν τῆ Ἑλλάδι πολλὰ καὶ οὐ τὰ εἰρημένα μοῦνα. ἐν μὲν

fall in the lifetime of Croesus' sons, not his own, but he could not turn the Fates from their purpose; yet did he accomplish his will and favour Croesus in so far as they would yield to him: for he delayed the taking of Sardis for three years, and this let Croesus know, that though he be now taken it is by so many years later than the destined hour. And further, Loxias saved Croesus from the burning. But as to the oracle that was given him, Croesus doth not right to complain concerning it. For Loxias declared to him that if he should lead an army against the Persians he would destroy a great empire. Therefore it behoved him, if he would take right counsel, to send and ask whether the god spoke of Croesus' or of Cyrus' empire. But he understood not that which was spoken, nor made further inquiry: wherefore now let him blame himself. Nay, when he asked that last question of the oracle and Loxias gave him that answer concerning the mule, even that Croesus understood not. For that mule was in truth Cyrus; who was the son of two persons not of the same nation, of whom the mother was the nobler and the father of lesser estate; for she was a Median, daughter of Astvages king of the Medians: but he was a Persian and under the rule of the Medians, and was wedded, albeit in all regards lower than she, to one that should be his sovereign lady." Such was the answer of the priestess to the Lydians; they carried it to Sardis and told it to Croesus; and when he heard it, he confessed that the sin was not the god's, but his own. And this is the story of Croesus' rule, and of the first overthrow of Ionia.

92. Now there are many offerings of Croesus in Hellas, and not only those whereof I have spoken.

γαρ Θήβησι τησι Βοιωτών τρίπους χρύσεος, τον ανέθηκε τω 'Απόλλωνι τω Ίσμηνίω, εν δε 'Εφέσω αί τε βόες αι χρύσεαι και τών κιόνων αι πολλαί, έν δὲ Προνηίης της ἐν Δελφοίσι ἀσπὶς χρυσέη μεγάλη. ταθτα μεν και έτι ές έμε ην περιεόντα, τὰ δ' ἐξαπόλωλε τῶν ἀναθημάτων τὰ δ' ἐν Βραγχίδησι τήσι Μιλησίων αναθήματα Κροίσω, ώς έγω πυνθάνομαι, ίσα τε σταθμον καὶ όμοια τοίσι ἐν Δελφοίσι 1... τὰ μέν νυν ἔς τε Δελφούς καὶ ἐς τοῦ ᾿Αμφιάρεω ἀνέθηκε οἰκηιά τε ἐόντα καὶ τών πατρωίων χρημάτων άπαρχήν τὰ δὲ άλλα αναθήματα έξ ανδρός εγένετο οὐσίης εχθροῦ, ος οί πρίν ή βασιλεύσαι άντιστασιώτης κατεστήκες, συσπεύδων Πανταλέοντι γενέσθαι την Λυδών άργήν, ὁ δὲ Πανταλέων ἡν Αλυάττεω μὲν παίς, Κροίσου δὲ ἀδελφεὸς οὐκ ὁμομήτριος Κροίσος μέν γὰρ ἐκ Καείρης ἡν γυναικὸς 'Αλυάττη, Πανταλέων δὲ ἐξ Ἱάδος. ἐπείτε δὲ δόντος τοῦ πατρός ἐκράτησε τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ Κροίσος, τὸν ανθρωπον του αντιπρήσσοντα έπὶ κυάφου έλκων διέφθειρε, την δε οὐσίην αὐτοῦ ἔτι πρότερον κατιρώσας τότε τρόπω τῷ εἰρημένω ἀνέθηκε ές τὰ εἴρηται. καὶ περὶ μὲν ἀναθημάτων τοσαῦτα ειρήσθω.

93. Θώματα δὲ γῆ ἡ Λυδίη ἐς συγγραφὴν οὐ μάλα ἔχει, οἶά τε καὶ ἄλλη χώρη, πάρεξ τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Τμώλου καταφερομένου ψήγματος. ἐν δὲ ἔργον πολλὸν μέγιστον παρέχεται χωρὶς τῶν τε Αἰγυπτίων ἔργων καὶ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἔστι αὐτόθι ᾿Αλυάττεω τοῦ Κροίσου πατρὸς σῆμα, τοῦ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The sentence is incomplete, lacking a predicate.

There is a golden tripod at Thebes in Boeotia, which he dedicated to Apollo of Ismenus; at Ephesus 1 there are the oxen of gold and the greater part of the pillars; and in the temple of Proneïa at Delphi, a golden shield.2 All these yet remained till my lifetime; but some other of the offerings have perished. And the offerings of Croesus at Branchidae of the Milesians, as I have heard, are equal in weight and like to those at Delphi. Those which he dedicated at Delphi and the shrine of Amphiaraus were his own, the firstfruits of the wealth inherited from his father; the rest came from the estate of an enemy who had headed a faction against Croesus before he became king, and conspired to win the throne of Lydia for Pantaleon. This Pantaleon was a son of Alvattes, and half-brother of Croesus: Croesus was Alvattes' son by a Carian and Pantaleon by an Ionian mother. So when Croesus gained the sovereignty by his father's gift, he put the man who had conspired against him to death by drawing him across a carding-comb, and first confiscated his estate, then dedicated it as and where I have said. This is all that I shall say of Croesus' offerings.

93. There are not in Lydia many marvellous things for me to tell of, if it be compared with other countries, except the gold dust that comes down from Tmolus. But there is one building to be seen there which is more notable than any, saving those of Egypt and Babylon. There is in Lydia the tomb of Alvattes the father of Croesus, the base

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The temple at Ephesus was founded probably in Alyattes' reign, and not completed till the period of the Graeco-Persian War.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The temple of Athene Proneïa (= before the shrine) was situated outside the temple of Apollo.

ή κρηπίς μεν έστι λίθων μεγάλων, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο σήμα χώμα γής. Εξεργάσαντο δέ μιν οἱ ἀγοραίοι άνθρωποι καὶ οἱ χειρώνακτες καὶ αἱ ἐνεργαζόμενοι παιδίσκαι. ούροι δὲ πέντε ἐόντες ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ήσαν έπὶ τοῦ σήματος ἄνω, καί σφι γράμματα ένεκεκόλαπτο τὰ έκαστοι έξεργάσαντο, καὶ έφαίνετο μετρεόμενον τὸ τῶν παιδισκέων ἔργον ἐὸν μέγιστον, του γάρ δη Λυδών δήμου αι θυγατέρες πορνεύονται πάσαι, συλλέγουσαι σφίσι φερνάς, ές δ αν συνοικήσωσι τούτο ποιέουσαι εκδιδούσι δὲ αὐταὶ έωυτάς. ἡ μὲν δὴ περίοδος τοῦ σήματος είσι στάδιοι έξ και δύο πλέθρα, το δε ευρος έστι πλέθρα τρία καὶ δέκα. λίμνη δὲ ἔχεται τοῦ σήματος μεγάλη, την λέγουσι Λυδοί ἀείναον είναι. καλέεται δὲ αύτη Γυγαίη. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτο έστί.

94. Αυδοί δὲ νόμοισι μὲν παραπλησίοισι γρέωνται καὶ "Ελληνες, χωρίς ή ὅτι τὰ θήλεα τέκνα καταπορνεύουσι, πρώτοι δὲ ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ίδμεν νόμισμα χρυσού καὶ άργύρου κοψάμενοι έχρήσαντο, πρώτοι δέ και κάπηλοι έγένοντο. φασί δὲ αὐτοί Λυδοί καὶ τὰς παιγνίας τὰς νῦν σφίσι τε καὶ "Ελλησι κατεστεώσας έωυτων έξεύρημα γενέσθαι άμα δὲ ταύτας τε έξευρεθήναι παρά σφίσι λέγουσι και Τυρσηνίην αποικίσαι, ώδε περί αὐτῶν λέγοντες. ἐπὶ "Ατυος τοῦ Μάνεω βασιλέος σιτοδείην ισχυρήν ανά την Λυδίην πάσαν γενέσθαι, καὶ τούς Λυδούς τέως μεν διάγειν λιπαρέοντας, μετά δὲ ώς οὐ παύεσθαι, ἄκεα δίζησθαι, ἄλλον δὲ ἄλλο ἐπιμηχανᾶσθαι αὐτῶν. έξευρεθήναι δη ών τότε και τών κύβων και τών άστραγάλων καὶ της σφαίρης καὶ τῶν ἀλλέων

whereof is made of great stones and the rest of it of mounded earth. It was built by the men of the market and the artificers and the prostitutes. There remained till my time five corner-stones set on the top of the tomb, and on these was graven the record of the work done by each kind: and measurement showed that the prostitutes' share of the work was the greatest. All the daughters of the common people of Lydia ply the trade of prostitutes, to collect dowries, till they can get themselves husbands; and they offer themselves in marriage. Now this tomb has a circumference of six furlongs and a third, and its breadth is above two furlongs; and there is a great lake hard by the tomb, which, say the Lydians, is fed by ever-flowing springs; it is called the Gygaean lake. Such then is this tomb.

94. The customs of the Lydians are like those of the Greeks, save that they make prostitutes of their female children. They were the first men (known to us) who coined and used gold and silver currency; and they were the first to sell by retail. And, according to what they themselves say, the pastimes now in use among them and the Greeks were invented by the Lydians: these, they say, were invented among them at the time when they colonised Tyrrhenia. This is their story: In the reign of Atys son of Manes there was great scarcity of food in all Lydia. For a while the Lydians bore this with what patience they could; presently, when there was no abatement of the famine, they sought for remedies, and divers plans were devised by divers men. Then it was that they invented the games of dice and knuckle-bones and

πασέων παιγνιέων τὰ εἴδεα, πλην πεσσών τούτων γαρ ων την έξεύρεσιν ούκ οίκηιοθνται Λυδοί. ποιέειν δε ώδε προς τον λιμον έξευροντας, την μεν έτέρην των ήμερέων παίζειν πάσαν, ίνα δη μη ζητέοιεν σιτία, την δε έτέρην σιτέεσθαι παυομένους των παιγνιέων. τοιούτω τρόπω διάγειν ἐπ' ἔτεα δυῶν δέοντα εἰκοσι. ἐπείτε δὲ οὐκ ἀνιέναι τὸ κακὸν άλλ' ἔτι ἐπὶ μᾶλλον βιάζεσθαι, οὕτω δη τον βασιλέα αὐτῶν δύο μοίρας διελόντα Λυδῶν πάντων κληρώσαι την μέν έπι μόνη την δέ έπι έξόδω έκ της χώρης, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τη μένειν αὐτοῦ λαγχανούση των μοιρέων έωυτον τον βασιλέα προστάσσειν, έπὶ δὲ τῆ ἀπαλλασσομένη τὸν έωυτοῦ παίδα, τῶ οὕνομα είναι Τυρσηνόν. λαχόντας δε αὐτῶν τοὺς ετέρους εξιέναι εκ της γώρης καταβήναι ές Σμύρνην καὶ μηχανήσασθαι πλοία, ές τὰ έσθεμένους τὰ πάντα ὅσα σφι ἢν χρηστὰ ἐπίπλοα, ἀποπλέειν κατά βίου τε καὶ γης ζήτησιν, ές δ έθνεα πολλά παραμειδιαμένους άπικέσθαι ές 'Ομβρικούς, ένθα σφέας ἐνιδρύσασθαι πόλιας καὶ ολκέειν το μέχρι τοῦδε. αντί δὲ Λυδών μετονομασθήναι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέος τοῦ παιδός, ὅς σφεας ανήγαγε, έπι τούτου την έπωνυμίην ποιευμένους ονομασθήναι Τυρσηνούς.

Λυδοί μεν δή ύπο Πέρσησι έδεδουλωντο.

95. Ἐπιδίζηται δὲ δη τό ἐνθεῦτεν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος τόν τε Κῦρον ὅστις ἐὼν την Κροίσου ἀρχην κατεῖλε, καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ὅτεῳ τρόπῳ ἡγήσαντο τῆς ᾿Ασίης. ὡς ὧν Περσέων μετεξέτεροι λέγουσι, οἱ μη βουλόμενοι σεμνοῦν τὰ περὶ Κῦρον ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐόντα λέγειν λόγον, κατὰ ταῦτα γράψω,

ball, and all other forms of pastime, except only draughts, which the Lydians do not claim to have discovered. Then, using their discovery to lighten the famine, they would play for the whole of every other day, that they might not have to seek for food, and the next day they ceased from their play and ate. This was their manner of life for eighteen years. But the famine did not cease to plague them, and rather afflicted them yet more grievously. At last their king divided the people into two portions, and made them draw lots, so that the one part should remain and the other leave the country; he himself was to be the head of those who drew the lot to remain there, and his son, whose name was Tyrrhenus, of those who departed. Then one part of them, having drawn the lot, left the country and came down to Smyrna and built ships, whereon they set all their goods that could be carried on shipboard, and sailed away to seek a livelihood and a country; till at last, after sojourning with many nations in turn, they came to the Ombrici, where they founded cities and have dwelt ever since. They no longer called themselves Lydians, but Tyrrhenians, after the name of the king's son who had led them thither.

The Lydians, then, were enslaved by the

Persians.

95. But it is next the business of my history to inquire who this Cyrus was who brought down the power of Croesus, and how the Persians came to be rulers of Asia. I mean then to be guided in what I write by some of the Persians who desire not to make a fine tale of the story of Cyrus but to tell

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In northern and central Italy; the Umbria of Roman history perpetuates the name.

ἐπιστάμενος περὶ Κύρου καὶ τριφασίας ἄλλας

λόγων όδους φήναι.

'Ασσυρίων ἀρχόντων τῆς ἄνω 'Ασίης ἐπ' ἔτεα εἴκοσι καὶ πεντακόσια, πρῶτοι ἀπ' αὐτῶν Μῆ-δοι ἤρξαντο ἀπίστασθαι, καί κως οὕτοι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίης μαχεσάμενοι τοῖσι 'Ασσυρίοισι ἐγένοντο ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, καὶ ἀπωσάμενοι τὴν δουλοσύνην ἐλευθερώθησαν. μετὰ δὲ τούτους καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνεα ἐποίεε τὼυτὸ τοῖσι Μήδοισι.

τα αλλα εθνεα εποιεε τωυτο τοισι Νιηοοισι.

96. Έόντων δὲ αὐτονόμων πάντων ἀνὰ τὴν ήπειρον, ώδε αὐτις ές τυραννίδα περιήλθον. άνηρ έν τοίσι Μήδοισι έγένετο σοφός τῷ οὔνομα ἡν Δηιόκης, παίς δ' ήν Φραόρτεω. ούτος ὁ Δηιόκης έρασθείς τυραννίδος έποίες τοιάδε, κατοικημένων των Μήδων κατά κώμας, έν τη έωυτου έων καί πρότερον δόκιμος καὶ μᾶλλόν τι καὶ προθυμότερον δικαιοσύνην ἐπιθέμενος ἤσκεε καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι ἐούσης ἀνομίης πολλής ἀνὰ πᾶσαν την Μηδικήν έποίεε, ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι τῶ δικαίω τὸ ἄδικον πολέμιον έστί. οι δ' έκ της αὐτης κώμης Μήδοι όρωντες αὐτοῦ τοὺς τρόπους δικαστήν μιν έωυτων αίρέοντο. δ δὲ δή, οἶα μνώμενος ἀρχήν, ἰθύς τε καὶ δίκαιος ήν, ποιέων τε ταῦτα ἔπαινον είχε οὐκ όλίγον πρὸς τῶν πολιητέων, οὕτω ὥστε πυνθανόμενοι οί έν τήσι άλλησι κώμησι ώς Δηιόκης είη άνηρ μούνος κατά το δρθον δικάζων, πρότερον περιπίπτοντες αδίκοισι γνώμησι, τότε επείτε ήκουσαν ἄσμενοι ἐφοίτων παρὰ τὸν Δηιόκεα καὶ αὐτοὶ δικασόμενοι, τέλος δὲ οὐδενὶ ἄλλω έπετράποντο.

97. Πλεύνος δὲ αἰεὶ γινομένου τοῦ ἐπιφοιτέοντος, οἶα πυνθανομένων τὰς δίκας ἀποβαίνειν

the truth, though there are no less than three other

accounts of Cyrus which I could give.

When the Assyrians had ruled Upper Asia for five hundred and twenty years 1 their subjects began to revolt from them: first of all, the Medes. These, it would seem, proved their valour in fighting for freedom against the Assyrians; they cast off their slavery and won freedom. Afterwards the other subject nations too did the same as the Medes.

96. All of those on the mainland were now free men; but they came once more to be ruled by monarchs as I will now relate. There was among the Medians a clever man called Deioces: he was the son of Phraortes. Deioces was enamoured of sovereignty. and thus he set about gaining it. Being already a notable man in his own township (one of the many townships into which Media was parcelled), he began to profess and practise justice more constantly and zealously than ever, and this he did although there was much lawlessness in all the land of Media, and though he knew that injustice is ever the foe of justice. Then the Medes of the same township, seeing his dealings, chose him to be their judge, and he (for he coveted sovereign power) was honest and just. By so acting he won no small praise from his fellow townsmen, insomuch that when the men of the other townships learned that Deioces alone gave righteous judgments (they having before suffered from unjust decisions) they, then, on hearing this, came often and gladly to plead before Deioces; and at last they would submit to no arbitrament but his.

97. The number of those who came grew ever greater, for they heard that each case ended as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> From 1229 to 709 B.C., as Deioces' reign began in 709.

κατά το έου, γυούς ο Δηιόκης ές έωυτου πάν ανακείμενον ούτε κατίζειν έτι ήθελε ένθα περ πρότερον προκατίζων έδίκαζε, ουτ' έφη δικάν έτι ου γάρ οι λυσιτελέειν των έωυτου έξημεληκότα τοίσι πέλας δι' ήμέρης δικάζειν, ἐούσης ὧν άρπαγής καὶ ἀνομίης ἔτι πολλω μάλλον ἀνὰ τὰς κώμας ή πρότερον ήν, συνελέγθησαν οι Μήδοι ές τώυτο καὶ εδίδοσαν σφίσι λόγον, λέγοντες περί τῶν κατηκόντων. ὡς δ' ἐγὼ δοκέω, μάλιστα έλεγον οἱ τοῦ Δηιόκεω φίλοι "Οὐ γὰρ δὴ τρόπω τῶ παρεόντι χρεώμενοι δυνατοί είμεν οἰκέειν τὴν χώρην, φέρε στήσωμεν ήμέων αὐτῶν βασιλέα. και ούτω ή τε χώρη εὐνομήσεται και αὐτοί προς έργα τρεψόμεθα, οὐδε ὑπ' ἀνομίης ἀνάστατοι έσομεθα." ταθτά κη λέγοντες πείθουσι έωυτους Βασιλεύεσθαι.

98. Αὐτίκα δὲ προβαλλομένων ὅντινα στήσονται βασιλέα, ὁ Δηιόκης ην πολλὸς ὑπὸ παντὸς άνδρὸς καὶ προβαλλόμενος καὶ αἰνεόμενος, ές δ τούτον καταινέουσι βασιλέα σφίσι είναι. δ δ' έκέλευε αὐτοὺς οἰκία τε έωυτῶ ἄξια τῆς βασιληίης οίκοδομήσαι καὶ κρατύναι αὐτὸν δορυφόροισι ποιεύσι δή ταύτα οι Μήδοι οικοδομέουσι τε γάρ αὐτῷ οἰκία μεγάλα τε καὶ ἰσχυρά, ἵνα αὐτὸς έφρασε της χώρης, και δορυφόρους αυτώ έπιτράπουσι έκ πάντων Μήδων καταλέξασθαι. δ δὲ ὡς ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, τοὺς Μήδους ἢνάγκασε εν πόλισμα ποιήσασθαι καὶ τοῦτο περιστέλλοντας των άλλων ήσσον ἐπιμέλεσθαι. πειθομένων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τῶν Μήδων οἰκοδομέει τείχεα μεγάλα τε καὶ καρτερά ταῦτα τὰ νῦν 'Αγβάτανα κέκληται, έτερου έτέρω κύκλω ένεστεωτα. μεμηaccorded with the truth. The Deioces, seeing that all was now entrusted to him, would not sit in his former seat of judgment, and said he would give no more decisions; for it was of no advantage to him (he said) to leave his own business and spend all the day judging the cases of his neighbours. This caused robbery and lawlessness to increase greatly in the townships; and the Medes gathering together conferred about their present affairs, and said (here, as I suppose, the chief speakers were Deioces' friends), "Since we cannot with our present manner of life dwell peacefully in the country, come, let us set up a king for ourselves; thus will the country be well governed, and we ourselves shall betake ourselves to our business, and cease to be undone by lawlessness." By such words they persuaded themselves to be ruled by a king.

98. The question was forthwith propounded: Whom should they make king? Then every man was loud in putting Deioces forward and praising Deioces, till they agreed that he should be their king. He bade them build him houses worthy of his royal power, and arm him with a bodyguard: the Medes did so; they built him great and strong houses at what places soever in the country he showed them, and suffered him to choose a bodyguard out of all their people. But having obtained the power, he constrained the Medes to make him one stronghold and to fortify this more strongly than all the rest. This too the Medes did for him: so he built the great and mighty circles of walls within walls which are now called Agbatana. This fortress is so planned that each

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Modern Hamadân, probably : but see Rawlinson's note.

χάνηται δὲ ούτω τοῦτο τὸ τεῖχος ὥστε ὁ ἔτερος τοῦ ἐτέρου κύκλος τοῖσι προμαχεῶσι μούνοισι έστι ύψηλότερος. τὸ μέν κού τι καὶ τὸ χωρίον συμμαχέει κολωνός έων ώστε τοιούτο είναι, τὸ δὲ καὶ μᾶλλόν τι ἐπετηδεύθη. κύκλων δ' ἐόντων τῶν συναπάντων έπτά, ἐν δὴ τῶ τελευταίω τὰ Βασιλήια ένεστι καὶ οἱ θησαυροί. τὸ δ' αὐτῶν μέγιστον έστὶ τεῖχος κατὰ τὸν 'Αθηνέων κύκλον μάλιστά κη τὸ μέγαθος. τοῦ μὲν δὴ πρώτου κύκλου οἱ προμαχεώνες εἰσὶ λευκοί, τοῦ δὲ δευτέρου μέλανες, τρίτου δὲ κύκλου φοινίκεοι, τετάρτου δὲ κυάνεοι, πέμπτου δὲ σανδαράκινοι. οὕτω τῶν πέντε κύκλων οι προμαχεώνες ήνθισμένοι είσι φαρμάκοισι δύο δὲ οἱ τελευταίοι εἰσὶ ὁ μὲν καταργυρωμένους δ δε κατακεχρυσωμένους έχων τούς προμαχεώνας.

99. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὁ Δηιόκης ἐωυτῷ τε ἐτείχεε καὶ περὶ τὰ ἑωυτοῦ οἰκία, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον δῆμον πέριξ ἐκέλευε τὸ τεῖχος οἰκέειν. οἰκοδομηθέντων δὲ πάντων κόσμον τόνδε Δηιόκης πρῶτος ἐστὶ ὁ καταστησάμενος, μήτε ἐσιέναι παρὰ βασιλέα μηδένα, δι' ἀγγέλων δὲ πάντα χρᾶσθαι, ὁρᾶσθαι τε βασιλέα ὑπὸ μηδενός, πρός τε τούτοισι ἔτι γελᾶν τε καὶ ἀντίον πτύειν καὶ ἄπασι εἶναι τοῦτό γε αἰσχρόν. ταῦτα δὲ περὶ ἑωυτὸν ἐσέμνυνε τῶνδε εἶνεκεν, ὅκως ᾶν μὴ ὁρῶντες οἱ ὁμήλικες, ἐόντες σύντροφοί τε ἐκείνῳ καὶ οἰκίης οὐ φλαυροτέρης οὐδὲ ἐς ἀνδραγαθίην λειπόμενοι, λυπεοίατο καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοιεν, ἀλλ' ἐτεροῦός σφι δοκέοι εἶναι

μη όρωσι.

100. Ἐπείτε δὲ ταῦτα διεκόσμησε καὶ ἐκράτυνε ἐωυτὸν τῆ τυραννίδι, ἦν τὸ δίκαιον φυλάσσων circle of walls is higher than the next outer circle by no more than the height of its battlements; to which end the site itself, being on a hill in the plain, somewhat helps, but chiefly it was accomplished by art. There are seven circles in all; within the innermost circle are the king's dwellings and the treasuries; and the longest wall is about the length of the wall that surrounds the city of Athens. The battlements of the first circle are white, of the second black, of the third circle purple, of the fourth blue, and of the fifth orange: thus the battlements of five circles are painted with colours; and the battlements of the last two circles are coated, these with silver and those

with gold.

99. Deioces built these walls for himself and around his own palace; the people were to dwell without the wall. And when all was built, it was Deioces first who established the rule that no one should come into the presence of the king, but all should be dealt with by the means of messengers; that the king should be seen by no man; and moreover that it should be in particular a disgrace for any to laugh or to spit in his presence. He was careful to hedge himself with all this state in order that the men of his own age (who had been bred up with him and were as nobly born as he and his equals in manly excellence), instead of seeing him and being thereby vexed and haply moved to plot against him, might by reason of not seeing him deem him to be changed from what he had been.2

100. Having ordered all these matters and strongly armed himself with sovereign power, he was a hard

2 Or, perhaps, different from themselves.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> About eight miles, according to a scholiast's note on Thuoyd. ii. 13; but this is disputed.

χαλεπός καὶ τάς τε δίκας γράφοντες ἔσω παρ' ἐκείνον ἐσπέμπεσκον, καὶ ἐκείνος διακρίνων τὰς ἐσφερομένας ἐκπέμπεσκε. ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ τὰς δίκας ἐποίες, τάδε δὲ ἄλλα ἐκεκοσμέατό οἱ εἴ τινα πυνθάνοιτο ὑβρίζοντα, τοῦτον ὅκως μεταπέμψαιτο κατ' ἀξίην ἐκάστου ἀδικήματος ἐδικαίευ, καί οἱ κατάσκοποί τε καὶ κατήκοοι ἢσαν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώρην τῆς ἦρχε.

101. Δηιόκης μέν νυν τὸ Μηδικὸν ἔθνος συνέστρεψε μοῦνον καὶ τούτου ἦρξε· ἔστι δὲ Μήδων τοσάδε γένεα, Βοῦσαι Παρητακηνοὶ Στρούχατες ᾿Αριζαντοὶ Βούδιοι Μάγοι. γένεα μὲν δὴ Μήδων

έστι τοσάδε.

102. Δηιόκεω δὲ παῖς γίνεται Φραόρτης, δς τελευτήσαντος Δηιόκεω, βασιλεύσαντος τρία καί πεντήκοντα έτεα, παρεδέξατο την άρχην, παραδεξάμενος δε οὐκ ἀπεχρατο μούνων Μήδων ἄρχειν, άλλα στρατευσάμενος έπὶ τους Πέρσας πρώτοισί τε τούτοισι ἐπεθήκατο καὶ πρώτους Μήδων ὑπηκόους ἐποίησε. μετὰ δὲ ἔχων δύο ταῦτα ἔθνεα καὶ ἀμφότερα ἰσχυρά, κατεστρέφετο την Ασίην ἀπ' ἄλλου ἐπ' ἄλλο ἰων ἔθνος, ἐς δ στρατευσάμενος έπὶ τοὺς 'Ασσυρίους καὶ 'Ασσυρίων τούτους οί Νίνον είχον και ήρχον πρότερον πάντων, τότε δὲ ήσαν μεμουνωμένοι μὲν συμμάχων ἄτε ἀπεστεώτων, άλλως μέντοι έωυτών εὖ ήκοντες, ἐπὶ τούτους δη στρατευσάμενος ο Φραόρτης αὐτός τε διεφθάρη, ἄρξας δύο καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ πολλός.

103. Φραόρτεω δὲ τελευτήσαντος ἐξεδέξατο Κυαξάρης ὁ Φραόρτεω τοῦ Δηιόκεω παῖς. οὖτος λέγεται πολλὸν ἔτι γενέσθαι ἀλκιμώτερος τῶν

man in the observance of justice. They would write down their pleas and send them in to him; then would he adjudge upon what was brought him and send his judgments out. This was his manner of deciding cases at law, and he took order too about other matters; for when he heard that a man was doing violence he would send for him and punish him as befitted each offence: and he had spies and eavesdroppers everywhere in his dominions.

101. Deioces, then, united the Median nation, and no other, and ruled it. The Median tribes are these—the Busae, the Paretaceni, the Struchates, the Arizanti, the Budii, the Magi: so many are their tribes.

102. Deioces had a son, Phraortes, who inherited the throne at Deioces' death after a reign of fifty-three years. Having so inherited, he was not content to rule the Medes alone: marching against the Persians, he attacked them first, and they were the first whom he made subject to the Medes. Then, with these two strong nations at his back, he subdued one nation of Asia after another, till he marched against the Assyrians, to wit, those of the Assyrians who held Ninus. These had formerly been rulers of all; but now their allies had dropped from them and they were left alone, yet in themselves a prosperous people: marching then against these Assyrians, Phraortes himself and the greater part of his army perished, after he had reigned twenty-two years.

103. At his death he was succeeded by his son Cyaxares. He is said to have been a much greater

<sup>1</sup> Deioces died in 656 B.C.

προγόνων, καὶ πρῶτός τε ἐλόχισε κατὰ τέλεα τούς έν τη 'Ασίη καὶ πρώτος διέταξε χωρίς έκάστους είναι, τούς τε αίχμοφόρους καὶ τούς τοξοφόρους καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἀναμίξ ήν πάντα όμοίως άναπεφυρμένα. ούτος ό τοίσι Λυδοίσι έστὶ μαγεσάμενος ότε νὺξ ή ήμέρη έγένετό σφι μαγομένοισι, καὶ ὁ τὴν "Αλυος ποταμοῦ ἄνω 'Ασίην πάσαν συστήσας έωυτω, συλλέξας δὲ τοὺς ὑπ' ἐωυτῶ ἀρχομένους πάντας έστρατεύετο έπὶ τὴν Νίνον, τιμωρέων τε τῷ πατρὶ και την πόλιν ταύτην θέλων έξελείν, καί οί, ώς συμβαλών ἐνίκησε τοὺς ᾿Ασσυρίους, περικατημένω την Νίνον επήλθε Σκυθέων στρατός μένας. ήγε δὲ αὐτοὺς βασιλεὺς ὁ Σκυθέων Μαδύης Προτοθύεω παίς οἱ ἐσέβαλον μὲν ἐς τὴν ᾿Ασίην Κιμμερίους εκβαλόντες έκ της Ευρώπης, τούτοισι δε επισπόμενοι φεύγουσι ούτω ες την Μηδικήν γώρην ἀπίκοντο.

104. Έστι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν καὶ ἐς Κόλχους τριήκοντα ἡμερέων εὐζώνω ὁδός, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κολχίδος οὐ πολλὸν ὑπερβῆναι ἐς τὴν Μηδικήν, ἀλλ' ἔν τὸ διὰ μέσου ἔθνος αὐτῶν ἐστι, Σάσπειρες, τοῦτο δὲ παραμειβομένοισι εἶναι ἐν τῆ Μηδικῆ. οὐ μέντοι οἴ γε Σκύθαι ταύτη ἐσέβαλον, ἀλλὰ τὴν κατύπερθε ὁδὸν πολλῷ μακροτέρην ἐκτραπόμενοι, ἐν δεξιῆ ἔχοντες τὸ Καυκάσιον ὅρος. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν Μῆδοι συμβαλόντες τοῖσι Σκύθησι καὶ ἐσσωθέντες τῆ μάχη τῆς ἀρχῆς κατελύθησαν, οἱ δὲ

Σκύθαι την 'Ασίην πασαν ἐπέσχον.

# BOOK I. 103-104

warrior than his fathers: it was he who first arrayed the men of Asia in companies and set each kind in bands apart, the spearmen and the archers and the horsemen: before this they were all blended alike confusedly together. This was the king who fought against the Lydians when the day was turned to night in the battle, and who united under his dominion all Asia that is beyond the river Halvs. Collecting all his subjects, he marched against Ninus, wishing to avenge his father and to destroy the city. He defeated the Assyrians in battle; but while he was besieging their city there came down upon him a great army of Scythians, led by their king Madyes son of Protothyes. These had invaded Asia after they had driven the Cimmerians out of Europe: pursuing them in their flight the Scythians came to the Median country.1

104. It is thirty days' journey for an unburdened man from the Maeetian lake 2 to the river Phasis and the land of the Colchi; from the Colchi it is an easy matter to cross into Media: there is but one nation between, the Saspires; to pass these is to be in Media. Nevertheless it was not by this way that the Scythians entered; they turned aside and came by the upper and much longer road, having on their right the Caucasian mountains. There the Medes met the Scythians, who worsted them in battle and deprived them of their rule, and made themselves

masters of all Asia.

<sup>2</sup> The Maeetian lake is the Sea of Azov.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This is the same story as that related in the early chapters of Book IV. The Scythians, apparently, marched eastwards along the northern slope of the Caucasus, turning south between the end of the range and the Caspian. But Herodotus' geography in this story is difficult to follow.—The "Saspires" are in Armenia.

105. Ένθεθτεν δὲ ἤισαν ἐπ' Αἰγυπτον καὶ έπείτε έγένοντο έν τη Παλαιστίνη Συρίη, Ψαμμήτιγος σφέας Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύς ἀντιάσας δώροισί τε καὶ λιτησι ἀποτράπει τὸ προσωτέρω μη πορεύεσθαι. οι δε επείτε αναχωρέοντες οπίσω έγενουτο της Συρίης έν 'Ασκάλωνι πόλι, των πλεόνων Σκυθέων παρεξελθόντων ασινέων, ολίγοι τινές αὐτῶν ὑπολειφθέντες ἐσύλησαν τῆς οὐρανίης 'Αφροδίτης τὸ ίρον. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ίρον, ὡς έγω πυνθανόμενος ευρίσκω, πάντων άρχαιότατον ίρων όσα ταύτης της θεού και γάρ τὸ ἐν Κύπρφ ίρον ενθεύτεν εγένετο, ώς αὐτοί Κύπριοι λέγουσι, και τὸ ἐν Κυθήροισι Φοίνικες είσι οι ίδρυσάμενοι έκ ταύτης της Συρίης ἐόντες. τοίσι δὲ τῶν Σκυθέων συλήσασι τὸ ίρὸν τὸ ἐν ᾿Ασκάλωνι καὶ τοῖσι τούτων αίει εκγόνοισι ενέσκηψε ο θεος θήλεαν νοῦσον ώστε ἄμα λέγουσί τε οἱ Σκύθαι διὰ τοῦτο σφέας νοσέειν, καὶ ὁρᾶν παρ' έωυτοῖσι τοὺς ἀπικνεομένους ές την Σκυθικήν χώρην ώς διακέαται τους καλέουσι Ένάρεας οί Σκύθαι.

106. Έπὶ μέν νυν ὀκτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα ἦρχον τῆς ᾿Ασίης οἱ Σκύθαι, καὶ τὰ πάντα σφι ὑπό τε ὅβριος καὶ ὀλιγωρίης ἀνάστατα ἦν χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ φόρον ἔπρησσον παρ᾽ ἐκάστων τὸν ἐκάστοισι ἐπέβαλλον, χωρὶς δὲ τοῦ φόρου ἤρπαζον περιελαύνοντες τοῦτο ὅ τι ἔχοιεν ἔκαστοι. καὶ τούτων μὲν τοὺς πλεῦνας Κυαξάρης τε καὶ Μῆδοι ξεινίσαντες καὶ καταμεθύσαντες κατεφόνευσαν, καὶ οὕτω ἀνεσώσαντο τὴν ἀρχὴν Μῆδοι καὶ ἐπεκράτεον τῶν περ καὶ πρότερον, καὶ τήν τε Νίνον

105. Thence they marched against Egypt: and when they were in the part of Syria called Palestine, Psammetichus king of Egypt met them and persuaded them with gifts and prayers to come no further. So they turned back, and when they came on their way to the city of Ascalon in Syria, most of the Scythians passed by and did no harm, but a few remained behind and plundered the temple of Heavenly Aphrodite.1 This temple, as I learn from what I hear, is the oldest of all the temples of the goddess, for the temple in Cyprus was founded from it, as the Cyprians themselves say: and the temple on Cythera was founded by Phoenicians from this same land of Syria. But the Scythians who pillaged the temple, and all their descendants after them, were afflicted by the goddess with the "female" sickness: insomuch that the Scythians say that this is the cause of their disease, and that those who come to Scythia can see there the plight of the men whom they call " Enareis." 2

106. The Scythians, then, ruled Asia for twentyeight years: and all the land was wasted by reason of their violence and their pride, for, besides that they exacted from each the tribute which was laid upon him, they rode about the land carrying off all men's possessions. The greater number of them were entertained and made drunk and then slain by Cyaxares and the Medes: so thus the Medes won back their empire and all that they had formerly possessed; and they

2 The derivation of this word is uncertain; it is agreed that the disease was a loss of virility. In iv. 67 evaphs =

ανδρόγυνος.

<sup>1</sup> The great goddess (Mother of Heaven and Earth) worshipped by Eastern nations under various names-Mylitta in Assyria, Astarte in Phoenicia: called Heavenly Aphrodite, or simply the Heavenly One, by Greeks.

είλου (ώς δὲ είλου, ἐν ἐτέροισι λόγοισι δηλώσω) καὶ τοὺς ᾿Ασσυρίους ὑποχειρίους ἐποιήσαντο πλὴν τῆς Βαβυλωνίης μοίρης.

107. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κυαξάρης μέν, βασιλεύσας τεσσεράκοντα ἔτεα σὺν τοῖσι Σκύθαι ἦρξαν, τελευτᾳ, ἐκδέκεται δὲ ᾿Αστυάγης Κυαξάρεω παῖς

την βασιληίην.

Καί οἱ ἐγένετο θυγάτηρ τῆ οὔνομα ἔθετο Μανδάνην· τὴν ἐδόκεε ᾿Αστυάγης ἐν τῷ ὕπνῷ οὐρῆσαι τοσοῦτον ὥστε πλῆσαι μὲν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ πόλιν, ἐπικατακλύσαι δὲ καὶ τὴν ᾿Ασίην πᾶσαν. ὑπερθέμενος δὲ τῶν Μάγων τοῖσι ὀνειροπόλοισι τὸ ἐνύπνιον, ἐφοβήθη παρ᾽ αὐτῶν αὐτὰ ἔκαστα μαθών. μετὰ δὲ τὴν Μανδάνην ταύτην ἐοῦσαν ἤδη ἀνδρὸς ὡραίην Μήδων μὲν τῶν ἑωυτοῦ ἀξίων οὐδενὶ διδοῖ γυναῖκα, δεδοικὼς τὴν ὅψιν· δ δὲ Πέρση διδοῖ τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Καμβύσης, τὸν εὔρισκε οἰκίης μὲν ἐόντα ἀγαθῆς τρόπου δὲ ἡσυχίου, πολλῷ ἔνερθε ἄγων αὐτὸν μέσου ἀνδρὸς Μήδου.

108. Συνοικεούσης δὲ τῷ Καμβύση τῆς Μανδάνης, ὁ ᾿Αστυάγης τῷ πρώτῷ ἔτεῖ εἶδε ἄλλην ὅψιν, ἐδόκεε δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῶν αἰδοίων τῆς θυγατρὸς ταύτης φῦναι ἄμπελον, τὴν δὲ ἄμπελον ἐπισχεῖν τὴν ᾿Ασίην πᾶσαν. ἰδὼν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπερθέμενος τοῖσι ὀνειροπόλοισι, μετεπέμψατο ἐκ τῶν Περσέων τὴν θυγατέρα ἐπίτεκα ἐοῦσαν, ἀπικομένην δὲ ἐφύλασσε βουλόμενος τὸ γενόμενον ἐξ αὐτῆς διαφθεῖραι ἐκ γάρ οἱ τῆς ὄψιος οἱ τῶν Μάγων ὀνειροπόλοι ἐσήμαινον ὅτι μέλλοι ὁ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ γόνος βασιλεύσειν ἀντὶ ἐκείνου. ταῦτα δὴ ὧν φυλασσόμενος ὁ ᾿Αστυάγης, ὡς ἐγένετο ὁ Κῦρος, καλέσας Ἦρπαγον ἄνδρα οἰκήιον

### BOOK I. 106-108

took Ninus (in what manner I will show in a later part of my history), and brought all Assyria except the province of Babylon under their rule.

107. Afterwards Cyaxares died after a reign of forty years (among which I count the years of the Scythian domination): and his son Astyages reigned

in his stead.

Astyages had a daughter, whom he called Mandane: concerning whom he had a dream, that enough water flowed from her to fill his city and overflow all Asia. He imparted this vision to those of the Magi who interpreted dreams, and when he heard what they told him he was terrified: and presently, Mandane being now of marriageable age, he feared the vision too much to give her to any Median worthy to mate with his family, but wedded her to a Persian called Cambyses, a man whom he knew to be well born and of a quiet temper: for Astyages held Cambyses to be much lower than a Mede of middle estate.

108. But in the first year of Mandane's marriage to Cambyses Astyages saw a second vision. He dreamt that there grew from his daughter, a vine, which covered the whole of Asia. Having seen this vision, and imparted it to the interpreters of dreams, he sent to the Persians for his daughter, then near her time, and when she came kept her guarded, desiring to kill whatever child she might bear: for the interpreters declared that the meaning of his dream was that his daughter's offspring should rule in his place. Wishing to prevent this, Astyages on the birth of Cyrus summoned to him a man of his household called Harpagus, who was his

καὶ πιστότατόν τε Μήδων καὶ πάντων ἐπίτροπον τῶν ἑωυτοῦ, ἔλεγέ οἱ τοιάδε. ""Αρπαγε, πρῆγμα τὸ ἄν τοι προσθέω, μηδαμῶς παραχρήση, μηδὲ ἐμέ τε παραβάλη καὶ ἄλλους ἐλόμενος ἐξ ὑστέρης σοὶ αὐτῷ περιπέσης· λάβε τὸν Μανδάνη ἔτεκε παίδα, φέρων δὲ ἐς σεωυτοῦ ἀπόκτεινον, μετὰ δὲ θάψον τρόπῳ ὅτεῳ αὐτὸς βούλεαι." ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται "Ω βασιλεῦ, οὔτε ἄλλοτέ κω παρείδες ἀνδρὶ τῷδε ἄχαρι οὐδέν, φυλασσόμεθα δὲ ἐς σὲ καὶ ἐς τὸν μετεπειτα χρόνον μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτεῖν. ἀλλ' εἴ τοι φίλον τοῦτο οὔτω γίνεσθαι, χρὴ δὴ τό

γε έμον υπηρετέεσθαι έπιτηδέως."

109. Τούτοισι αμειψάμενος ὁ "Αρπαγος, ως οί παρεδόθη τὸ παιδίον κεκοσμημένον τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτω, ἤιε κλαίων ἐς τὰ οἰκία παρελθών δὲ έφραζε τη έωυτοῦ γυναικί τὸν πάντα 'Αστυάγεος ρηθέντα λόγον. η δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγει "Νῦν ὧν τί σολ εν νόφ εστλ ποιέειν;" δ δε άμείβεται "Οὐ τῆ ένετέλλετο 'Αστυάγης, οὐδ' εἰ παραφρονήσει τε καὶ μανέεται κάκιον ἡ νῦν μαίνεται, οῦ οἱ ἔγωγε προσθήσομαι τη γνώμη οὐδὲ ἐς φόνον τοιοῦτον ύπηρετήσω. πολλών δε είνεκα οὐ φονεύσω μιν, καὶ ὅτι αὐτῷ μοι συγγενής ἐστὶ ὁ παῖς, καὶ ὅτι 'Αστυάγης μεν έστι γέρων και άπαις έρσενος γόνου εί δ' έθελήσει τούτου τελευτήσαντος ές την θυγατέρα ταύτην άναβηναι ή τυραννίς, της νῦν τὸν υίὸν κτείνει δι' ἐμεῦ, ἄλλο τι ἡ λείπεται τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐμοὶ κινδύνων ὁ μέγιστος; ἀλλὰ τοῦ μεν ἀσφαλέος είνεκα έμοι δεί τοῦτον τελευτάν τον παίδα, δεί μέντοι τών τινα 'Αστυάνεος αὐτοῦ φονέα γενέσθαι καὶ μὴ τῶν ἐμῶν."

# BOOK I. 108-109

faithfullest servant among the Medes and was steward of all his possessions: then he said, "Do not mishandle this command of mine, Harpagus, nor forsake me for the service of others, lest hereafter it be the worse for yourself. Take the boy whom Mandane has borne, and carry him to your house and kill him: and then bury him in what manner you yourself will." "King," Harpagus answered, "never yet have you seen me do aught unpleasing to you; and I will ever be careful not to offend against you. But if it is your will that this should so be done, then it behoves that for my part I render you fitting service."

109. Thus answered Harpagus. The child was then given to him, adorned for its death, and he went to his house weeping. When he came in he told his wife all the command given him by Astyages. "Now, therefore," said she to him, "what purpose you to do?" "Not," he answered, "to obey Astyages' behest, no, not though he lose his wits and be more frantic than now he is: even so I myself will not serve his purpose, nor be his instrument for such a murder. There are many reasons why I will not kill the child: he is akin to myself, and further, Astyages is old, and has no male issue: now if after his death the sovereignty passes to this daughter of his, whose son he is now using me to slay, what is left for me but the greatest of all dangers? Nay, for my safety I must see that the boy dies, but the deed must be done by some one of Astyages' own men and not of mine."

110. Ταθτα είπε καὶ αὐτίκα ἄγγελον ἔπεμπε έπλ των Βουκόλων των 'Αστυάγεος τον ηπίστατο νομάς τε έπιτηδεοτάτας νέμοντα καὶ όρεα θηριωδέστατα τω ούνομα ην Μιτραδάτης, συνοίκες δὲ έωυτοῦ συνδούλη, οὔνομα δὲ τῆ γυναικὶ ἦν τῆ συνοίκεε Κυνώ κατά την Ελλήνων γλώσσαν, κατά δὲ τὴν Μηδικὴν Σπακώ· τὴν γὰρ κύνα καλέουσι σπάκα Μήδοι. αί δὲ ὑπώρεαι εἰσὶ τῶν ορέων, ένθα τὰς νομὰς τῶν βοῶν είχε οὖτος δη ὁ βουκόλος, πρὸς βορέω τε ἀνέμου τῶν ᾿Αγβατάνων καὶ πρὸς τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου ταύτη μὲν γὰρ ή Μηδική χώρη πρὸς Σασπείρων ορεινή έστι κάρτα καὶ ὑψηλή τε καὶ ἴδησι συνηρεφής, ή δὲ άλλη Μηδική χώρη έστι πάσα άπεδος. έπει ων ό βουκόλος σπουδή πολλή καλεόμενος ἀπίκετο, έλεγε ὁ "Αρπαγος τάδε. "Κελεύει σε Αστυάγης τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο λαβόντα θεῖναι ἐς τὸ ἐρημότατον των ορέων, δκως αν τάχιστα διαφθαρείη και τάδε τοι ἐκέλευσε εἰπεῖν, ἢν μὴ ἀποκτείνης αὐτὸ άλλα τεώ τρόπω περιποιήσης, ολέθρω τώ κακίστω σε διαγρήσεσθαι, έποραν δε εκκείμενον τέταγμαι ểγώ."

111. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βουκόλος καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὸ παιδίον ἤιε τὴν αὐτὴν ὁπίσω ὁδὸν καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὴν ἔπαυλιν. τῷ δ' ἄρα καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ γυνή, ἐπίτεξ ἐοῦσα πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, τότε κως κατὰ δαίμονα τίκτει οἰχομένου τοῦ βουκόλου ἐς πόλιν. ἡσαν δὲ ἐν φροντίδι ἀμφότεροι ἀλλήλων πέρι, ὁ μὲν τοῦ τόκου τῆς γυναικὸς ἀρρωδέων, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ὅ τι οὐκ ἐωθὼς ὁ "Αρπαγος μεταπέμψαιτο αὐτῆς τὸν ἄνδρα. ἐπείτε δὲ ἀπονοστήσας ἐπέστη, οἰα ἐξ ἀέλπτου ἰδοῦσα ἡ γυνὴ εἴρετο προτέρη ὅ τι μιν

### BOOK I. 110-111

110. So saving, he sent forthwith a messenger to that one of Astyages' cowherds whom he knew to pasture his herds in the likeliest places and where the mountains were most haunted of wild beasts. The man's name was Mitradates, and his wife was a slave like him; her name was in the Greek language Cyno, in the Median Spako: for "spax" is the Median name for a dog. The foothills of the mountains where this cowherd pastured his kine are to the north of Agbatana, towards the Euxine sea: for the rest of Media is everywhere a level plain, but here, on the side of the Saspires,1 the land is very high and mountainous and covered with woods. So when the cowherd came with all speed at the summons, Harpagus said: "Astvages bids you take this child and lay it in the most desolate part of the mountains, that it may thus perish as soon as may be. And he bids me say, that if you kill not the child, but in any way save it alive, you shall die a terrible death: and it is I who am ordered to see it exposed."

and returned by the same way and came to his steading. Now it chanced that his wife too had been expecting her time every day, and providence so ordained that she was brought to bed while her man was away in the city. Each of them was anxious for the other, the husband being afraid about his wife's travail, and the wife because she knew not why Harpagus had so unwontedly sent for her husband. So when he returned and came before her, she was startled by the unexpected sight and asked him before

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In the north-western part of Media: modern Azerbaijan.

ούτω προθύμως Αρπαγος μετεπέμψατο. δ δὲ είπε " Ω γύναι, είδον τε ές πόλιν έλθων καὶ ήκουσα τὸ μήτε ίδεῖν ὄφελον μήτε κοτὲ γενέσθαι ἐς δεσπότας τους ήμετέρους. οίκος μεν πας Αρπάγου κλαυθμώ κατείχετο, έγω δε εκπλαγείς ήια έσω. ώς δὲ τάχιστα ἐσῆλθον, ὁρέω παιδίον προκείμενον ἀσπαιρόν τε και κραυγανώμενον, κεκοσμημένον χρυσώ τε καὶ ἐσθῆτι ποικίλη. Αρπαγος δὲ ώς είδε με, εκέλευε την ταγίστην αναλαβόντα το παιδίον οἴχεσθαι φέροντα καὶ θεῖναι ένθα θηριωδεστατον είη των ορέων, φας 'Αστυάγεα είναι τον ταῦτα ἐπιθέμενόν μοι, πόλλ' ἀπειλήσας εἰ μή σφεα ποιήσαιμι. καὶ έγω ἀναλαβων έφερον, δοκέων των τινος οίκετέων είναι ού γαρ αν κοτέ κατέδοξα ένθεν γε ην. εθάμβεον δε όρεων χρυσώ τε καὶ είμασι κεκοσμημένου, πρὸς δὲ καὶ κλαυθμὸν κατεστεώτα έμφανέα έν Αρπάγου, και πρόκατε δή κατ' όδον πυνθάνομαι τον πάντα λόγον θεράποντος, ος έμε προπέμπων έξω πόλιος ένεχείρισε τὸ βρέφος, ώς ἄρα Μανδάνης τε εἴη παῖς τῆς 'Αστυάγεος θυγατρός καὶ Καμβύσεω τοῦ Κύρου, καί μιν Αστυάγης εντέλλεται αποκτείναι. νθν τε όδε ἐστί.

112. "Αμα δὲ ταῦτα ἔλεγε ὁ βουκόλος καὶ ἐκκαλύψας ἀπεδείκνυε. ἢ δὲ ὡς εἶδε τὸ παιδίον μέγα τε καὶ εὐειδὲς ἐόν, δακρύσασα καὶ λαβομένη τῶν γουνάτων τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐχρήιζε μηδεμιἢ τέχνη ἐκθεῖναί μιν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη οἶός τ' εἶναι ἄλλως αὐτὰ ποιέειν ἐπιφοιτήσειν γὰρ κατασκόπους ἐζ Άρπάγου ἐποψομένους, ἀπολέεσθαί τε κάκιστα ἢν μή σφεα ποιήση. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε ἄρα τὸν ἄνδρα, δεύτερα λέγει ἡ γυνὴ τάδε. "Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν

### BOOK I. 111-112

he could speak why Harpagus had so instantly summoned him. "Wife," he said, "when I came to the city. I saw and heard what I would I had never seen and what I would had never happened to our masters All the house of Harpagus was full of weeping; and I was astonished, and entered in; and immediately I saw a child laid there struggling and crying, decked out with gold and many-coloured raiment. And when Harpagus saw me, he bade me take the child with all speed and bear it away and lay it where there are most wild beasts in the mountains: it was Astvages, he said, who laid this command on me, and Harpagus threatened me grievously if I did not do his will. So I took up the child and bore him away, supposing him to be the child of someone in the household; for I could never have guessed whose he was. But I was amazed at seeing him decked with gold and raiment, and at hearing moreover the manifest sound of weeping in the house of Harpagus. Very soon on the way I heard all the story from a servant who brought me out of the city and gave the child into my charge: to wit, that it was the son of Mandane the king's daughter and Cambyses the son of Cyrus. And now, here is the child."

and showed it. But when the woman saw how fine and fair the child was, she fell a-weeping and laid hold of the man's knees and entreated him by no means to expose him. But the husband said he could do no other; for, he said, there would be comings of spies from Harpagus to see what was done, and he must die a terrible death if he did not obey. So then being unable to move her husband, the woman said next: "Since I cannot move you from your

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οὐ δύναμαί σε πείθειν μὴ ἐκθεῖναι, σὰ δὲ ὧδε ποίησον, εἰ δὴ πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ὀφθ ῆναι ἐκκείμενον. τέτοκα γὰρ καὶ ἐγώ, τέτοκα δὲ τεθνεός. τοῦτο μὲν φέρων πρόθες, τὸν δὲ τῆς ᾿Αστυάγεος θυγατρὸς παίδα ὡς ἐξ ἡμέων ἐόντα τρέφωμεν. καὶ οὕτω οὕτε σὰ ἀλώσεαι ἀδικέων τοὺς δεσπότας οὕτε ἡμῖν κακῶς βεβουλευμένα ἔσται ὅ τε γὰρ τεθνεὼς βασιληίης ταφῆς κυρήσει καὶ ὁ περιεὼν οὐκ ἀπο-

λέει την ψυχήν.

113. Κάρτα τε έδοξε τῶ βουκόλω πρὸς τὰ παρεόντα εὐ λέγειν ή γυνή, καὶ αὐτίκα ἐποίες ταῦτα· τὸν μὲν ἔφερε θανατώσων παίδα, τοῦτον μέν παραδιδοί τή έωυτοῦ γυναικί, τὸν δὲ έωυτοῦ έόντα νεκρον λαβών έθηκε ές το άγγος έν τω έφερε τον έτερον κοσμήσας δε τω κόσμω παντί τοῦ ἐτέρου παιδός, φέρων ἐς τὸ ἐρημότατον τῶν ορέων τιθεί. ώς δὲ τρίτη ἡμέρη τῶ παιδίω ἐκκειμένω έγένετο, ήιε ές πόλιν ο βουκόλος, των τινα προβοσκών φύλακον αὐτοῦ καταλιπών, ἐλθών δὲ ές του Αρπάγου ἀποδεικνύναι έφη ετοιμος είναι τοῦ παιδίου τὸν νέκυν. πέμψας δὲ ὅ "Αρπαγος των έωυτου δορυφόρων τους πιστοτάτους είδέ τε δια τούτων και έθαψε του βουκόλου το παιδίον, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐτέθαπτο, τὸν δὲ ὕστερον τούτων Κύρον ονομασθέντα παραλαβούσα έτρεφε ή γυνή τοῦ βουκόλου, οὔνομα ἄλλο κού τι καὶ οὐ Κῦρον θεμένη.

114. Καὶ ὅτε ἡν δεκαέτης ὁ παῖς, πρῆγμα ἐς αὐτὸν τοιόνδε γενόμενον ἐξέφηνέ μιν. ἔπαιζε ἐν τῆ κώμη ταύτη ἐν τῆ ἡσαν καὶ αἱ βουκολίαι αὖται, ἔπαιζε δὲ μετ' ἄλλων ἡλίκων ἐν ὁδῷ. καὶ οἱ παῖδες παίζοντες εἴλοντο ἑωυτῶν βασιλέα

### BOOK I. 112-114

purpose to expose, then do you do this, if needs must that a child be seen exposed. Know that I too have borne a child, but it was dead; take it now and lay it out, but, for the child of the daughter of Astyages, let us rear it as it were our own; so shall you escape punishment for offending against our masters, and we shall have taken no evil counsel. For the child that is dead will have royal burial, and he that is alive will not lose his life."

113. Thinking that his wife counselled him ex ceeding well in his present strait, the cowherd straightway did as she said. He gave his wife the child whom he had brought to kill him, and his own dead child he put into the chest wherein he carried the other, and decked it with all the other child's adornment and laid it out in the most desolate part of the mountains. Then on the third day after the laying out of the child, the cowherd left one of his herdsmen to guard it and went to the city, where he came to Harpagus' house and said he was ready to show the child's dead body. Harpagus sent the most trusty of his bodyguard, and these saw for him and buried the cowherd's child. So it was buried: and the cowherd's wife took and reared the boy who was afterwards named Cyrus; but she gave him not that but some other name.

114. Now when the boy was ten years old, it was revealed in some such wise as this who he was. He was playing in the village where these herdsmen's quarters were: there he was playing in the road with others of his age. The boys in their

είναι τούτον δή τὸν τοῦ βουκόλου ἐπίκλησιν παίδα. δ δε αὐτών διέταξε τοὺς μεν οἰκίας οἰκοδομέειν, τοὺς δὲ δορυφόρους είναι, τὸν δέ κου τινα αὐτῶν ὀφθαλμὸν βασιλέος είναι, τῶ δὲ τινί τὰς ἀγγελίας φέρειν ἐδίδου γέρας, ὡς ἐκάστω έργον προστάσσων. είς δη τούτων των παίδων συμπαίζων, έων 'Αρτεμβάρεος παίς ανδρός δοκίμου ἐν Μήδοισι, οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐποίησε τὸ προσταχθέν έκ τοῦ Κύρου, ἐκέλευε αὐτὸν τοὺς άλλους παίδας διαλαβείν, πειθομένων δέ των παίδων ὁ Κύρος τὸν παίδα τρηγέως κάρτα περιέσπε μαστιγέων. δ δὲ ἐπείτε μετείθη τάγιστα, ώς γε δη ἀνάξια έωυτοῦ παθών, μᾶλλόν τι περιημέκτεε, κατελθών δὲ ἐς πόλιν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀποικτίζετο τῶν ὑπὸ Κύρου ἤντησε, λέγων δὲ οὐ Κύρου (οὐ γάρ κω ἢν τοῦτο τοὔνομα), άλλα προς του βουκόλου του Αστυάγεος παιδός. ό δὲ Αρτεμβάρης όργη ώς είχε έλθων παρά τὸν Αστυάγεα καὶ ἄμα ἀγόμενος τὸν παίδα ἀνάρσια πρήγματα έφη πεπουθέναι, λέγων " Ω βασιλεύ, ύπο του σου δούλου, Βουκόλου δε παιδός ώδε περιυβρίσμεθα," δεικνύς τοῦ παιδός τοὺς ώμους.

115. 'Ακούσας δὲ καὶ ἰδων 'Αστυάγης, θέλων τιμωρήσαι τῷ παιδὶ τιμής τῆς 'Αρτεμβάρεος εἴνεκα, μετεπέμπετο τόν τε βουκόλον καὶ τὸν παιδα. ἐπείτε δὲ παρήσαν ἀμφότεροι, βλέψας πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον ὁ 'Αστυάγης ἔφη " Σὰ δὴ ἐων τοῦδε τοιούτου ἐόντος παις ἐτόλμησας τὸν τοῦδε παιδα ἐόντος πρώτου παρ' ἐμοὶ ἀεικείη τοιῆδε περισπεῖν; "δ δὲ ἀμείβετο ώδε. " Ω δέσποτα, ἐγὼ ταῦτα τοῦτον ἐποίησα σὰν δίκη. οἱ γὰρ με ἐκ τῆς κώμης παιδες, τῶν καὶ ὅδε ἡν, παίζοντες

# BOOK I. 114-115

play chose for their king that one who passed for the son of the cowherd. Then he set them severally to their tasks, some to the building of houses, some to be his bodyguard, one (as I suppose) to be the King's Eve; to another he gave the right of bringing him messages; to each he gave his proper work. Now one of these boys who played with him was son to Artembares, a notable Median; as he did not obey the command Cyrus gave him, Cyrus bade the other boys seize him, and when they did so he dealt very roughly with the boy and scourged him. As soon as he was loosed, very angry at the wrong done him, he went down to his father in the city and complained of what he had met with at the hands of the son of Astyages' cowherd,-not calling him Cyrus, for that name had not yet been given. Artembares went with his anger fresh upon him to Astyages, bringing his son and telling of the cruel usage he had had: "O King," said he, "see the outrage done to us by the son of your slave, the son of a cowherd!" and with that he showed his son's shoulders.

115. When Astyages heard and saw, he was ready to avenge the boy in justice to Artembares' rank: so he sent for the cowherd and his son. When they were both present, Astyages said, fixing his eyes on Cyrus, "Is it you, then, the son of such a father, who have dared to deal so despitefully with the son of the greatest of my courtiers?" "Nay, master," answered Cyrus, "what I did to him I did with justice. The boys of the village, of whom he was one, chose me

σφέων αὐτῶν ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα· ἐδόκεον γάρ σφι εἶναι ἐς τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεότατος. οἱ μέν νυν ἄλλοι παῖδες τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπετέλεον, οὖτος δὲ ἀνηκούστεέ τε καὶ λόγον εἶχε οὐδένα, ἐς δ ἔλαβε τὴν δίκην. εἰ ὧν δὴ τοῦδε εἵνεκα ἄξιός τευ

κακοῦ εἰμί, ὅδε τοι πάρειμι."

116. Ταῦτα λέγοντος τοῦ παιδὸς τὸν 'Αστυάγεα έσηιε ἀνάγνωσις αὐτοῦ, καί οἱ ὅ τε χαρακτήρ τοῦ προσώπου προσφέρεσθαι έδόκεε ές έωυτον καὶ ή ύπόκρισις έλευθερωτέρη είναι, ο τε χρόνος τής έκθέσιος τη ήλικίη του παιδός εδόκεε συμβαίνειν. έκπλαγείς δε τούτοισι έπὶ χρόνον ἄφθογγος ήν μόγις δὲ δή κοτε ἀνενειχθεὶς εἶπε, θέλων ἐκπέμψαι τον Αρτεμβάρεα, ίνα τον βουκόλον μοῦνον λαβών Βασανίση, "'Αρτέμβαρες, έγω ταῦτα ποιήσω ώστε σε και του παίδα του σου μηδευ επιμέμφεσθαι." τον μεν δη Αρτεμβάρεα πέμπει, τον δε Κύρον ήγον έσω οί θεράποντες κελεύσαντος τοῦ Αστυάγεος, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπελέλειπτο ὁ βουκόλος μούνος μουνόθεν, τάδε αὐτὸν είρετο ὁ ᾿Αστυάγης. κόθεν λάβοι τον παίδα και τίς είη ο παραδούς. δ δὲ ἐξ ἐωυτοῦ τε ἔφη γεγονέναι καὶ τὴν τεκοῦσαν αὐτὸν είναι ἔτι παρ' έωυτῷ. 'Αστυάγης δέ μιν ούκ εθ βουλεύεσθαι έφη επιθυμέοντα ές ανάγκας μεγάλας ἀπικνέεσθαι, ἄμα τε λέγων ταῦτα έσήμαινε τοίσι δορυφόροισι λαμβάνειν αὐτόν. δ δὲ ἀγόμενος ἐς τὰς ἀνάγκας οὕτω δὴ ἔφαινε τὸν εόντα λόγον άρχόμενος δε άπ' άρχης διεξήιε τη άληθείη χρεώμενος, και κατέβαινε ές λιτάς τε και συγγνώμην έωυτῷ κελεύων έχειν αὐτόν.

117. 'Αστυάγης δὲ τοῦ μεν βουκόλου τὴν ἀληθείην ἐκφήναντος λόγον ἤδη καὶ ἐλάσσω ἐποιέετο,

in their play to be their king: for they thought me the fittest to rule. The other boys then did as I bid them: but this one was disobedient and cared nothing for me, till he got his deserts. So now if I deserve punishment for this, here am I to take it."

116. While he spoke, it seemed to Astyages that he recognised Cyrus; the fashion of the boy's countenance was like (he thought) to his own, and his manner of answering was freer than customary: and the time of the exposure seemed to agree with Cyrus' age. Being thereby astonished, he sat awhile silent; but when at last with difficulty he could collect his wits, he said (for he desired to rid himself of Artembares and question the cowherd with none present), "I will so act, Artembares, that you and your son shall have no cause of complaint." So he sent Artembares away, and the servants led Cyrus within at Astyages' bidding. Then, the cowherd being left quite alone, Astyages asked him whence he had got the boy and from whose hands. The cowherd answered that Cyrus was his own son and that the mother was still in his house. "You are ill advised," said Astyages, "if you desire to find yourself in a desperate strait,"-and with that he made a sign to the guard to seize him. Then under stress of necessity the cowherd declared to him all the story, telling all truly as it had happened from the beginning: and at the last he prayed and entreated that the king would pardon him.

117. When the truth had been so declared Astyages took thereafter less account of the cowherd, but

Αρπάγω δὲ καὶ μεγάλως μεμφόμενος καλέειν αὐτὸν τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐκέλευε. ὡς δέ οἱ παρῆν ό "Αρπαγος, είρετό μιν ό 'Αστυάγης ""Αρπαγε. τέω δη μόρω τον παίδα κατεγρήσαο τόν τοι παρέδωκα έκ θυγατρός γεγονότα της έμης;" ο δέ "Αρπαγος ώς είδε του βουκόλου ένδου έόντα, οὐ τράπεται έπι ψευδέα όδου, ίνα μη έλεγγόμενος άλίσκηται, άλλα λέγει τάδε. " Ω βασιλεύ, έπείτε παρέλαβον τὸ παιδίον, εβούλευον σκοπέων δκως σοί τε ποιήσω κατά νόον, καὶ ένω προς σε γινόμενος αναμάρτητος μήτε θυγατρί τη ση μήτε αὐτῶ σοὶ εἴην αὐθέντης. ποιέω δη ώδε καλέσας τὸν βουκόλον τόνδε παραδίδωμι τὸ παιδίον, φὰς σέ τε είναι τὸν κελεύοντα ἀποκτείναι αὐτό. καὶ λένων τουτό νε ούκ έψευδόμην συ γαρ ένετέλλεο ούτω. παραδίδωμι μέντοι τώδε κατά τάδε έντειλάμενος, θείναί μιν ές έρημον όρος και παραμένοντα φυλάσσειν άχρι οὖ τελευτήση, ἀπειλήσας παντοία τώδε ην μη τάδε έπιτελέα ποιήση. έπείτε δὲ ποιήσαντος τούτου τὰ κελευόμενα ἐτελεύτησε τὸ παιδίον, πέμψας τῶν εὐνούχων τοὺς πιστοτάτους καὶ είδον δι' ἐκείνων καὶ ἔθαψά μιν. οὕτω έσχε & βασιλεῦ περὶ τοῦ πρήγματος τούτου, καὶ τοιούτω μόρω έχρήσατο ό παίς.

118. "Αρπαγος μὲν δὴ τὸν ἰθὺν ἔφαινε λόγον 'Αστυάγης δὲ κρύπτων τόν οἱ ἐνεῖχε χόλον διὰ τὸ γεγονός, πρῶτα μέν, κατά περ ἤκουσε αὐτὸς πρὸς τοῦ βουκόλου τὸ πρῆγμα, πάλιν ἀπηγέετο τῷ 'Αρπάγω, μετὰ δὲ ὥς οἱ ἐπαλιλλόγητο, κατέβαινε λέγων ὡς περίεστί τε ὁ παῖς καὶ τὸ γεγονὸς ἔχει καλῶς "Τῷ τε γὰρ πεποιημένω" ἔφη λέγων "ἐς τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον ἔκαμνον μεγάλως, καὶ θυγατρὶ

## BOOK I. 117-118

he was very wroth with Harpagus and bade the guards summon him. Harpagus came, and Astvages asked him, "Harpagus, in what manner did you kill the boy, my daughter's son, whom I gave you?" Harpagus saw the cowherd in the house, and did not take the way of falsehood, lest he should be caught and confuted: "O King," he said, "when I took the boy, I thought and considered how I should do you pleasure, and not offend against you, yet not be held a murderer by your daughter or yourself. This then I did: I called to me vonder cowherd, and gave over the child to him, telling him that it was you who gave the command to kill it. And that was the truth; for such was your command. But I gave the child with the charge that the cowherd should lay it on a desolate mountainside, and wait there and watch till it be dead; and I threatened him with all punishments if he did not accomplish this. Then, when he had done what he was bid, and the child was dead, I sent the trustiest of my eunuchs and by them I saw and buried the body. This, O king, is the tale of the matter, and such was the end of the boy."

118. So Harpagus spoke the plain truth. Astyages hid the anger that he had against him for what had been done, and first he related the story again to Harpagus as he had heard it from the cowherd, then, after so repeating it, he made an end by saying that the boy was alive and good had come of it all. "For," so he said in his speech, "I was greatly afflicted about this boy, and it weighed

τἢ ἐμἢ διαβεβλημένος οὐκ ἐν ἐλαφρῷ ἐποιεύμην. ώς ὧν τῆς τύχης εὖ μετεστεώσης, τοῦτο μὲν τὸν σεωυτοῦ παῖδα ἀπόπεμψον παρὰ τὸν παῖδα τὸν νεήλυδα, τοῦτο δέ (σῶστρα γὰρ τοῦ παιδὸς μέλλω θύειν τοῖσι θεῶν τιμὴ αὕτη προσκέεται)

πάρισθί μοι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον."

119. "Αρπαγος μεν ώς ήκουσε ταῦτα, προσκυνήσας καὶ μεγάλα ποιησάμενος ὅτι τε ἡ άμαρτάς οί ές δέον έγεγόνεε και ότι έπι τύχησι χρηστήσι έπι δείπνον εκέκλητο, ήιε ές τὰ οἰκία. ἐσελθών δὲ τὴν ταχίστην, ἢν γάρ οἱ παῖς εἶς μοῦνος ἔτεα τρία καὶ δέκα κου μάλιστα γεγονώς, τοῦτον έκπέμπει ίέναι τε κελεύων ές 'Αστυάγεος καί ποιέειν ὅ τι ἀν ἐκείνος κελεύη, αὐτὸς δὲ περιχαρής έων φράζει τη γυναικί τὰ συγκυρήσαντα. τυάγης δέ, ως οἱ ἀπίκετο ὁ Αρπάγου παῖς, σφάξας αὐτὸν καὶ κατὰ μέλεα διελών τὰ μέν ώπτησε τὰ δὲ ήψησε τῶν κρεῶν, εὔτυκα δὲ ποιησάμενος είχε έτοιμα. ἐπείτε δὲ της ώρης γινομένης του δείπνου παρήσαν οί τε άλλοι δαιτυμόνες καὶ ὁ "Αρπαγος, τοῖσι μὲν ἄλλοισι καὶ αὐτῶ Αστυάγει παρετιθέατο τράπεζαι ἐπίπλεαι μηλέων κρεών, Αρπάγω δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ έωυτοῦ, πλην κεφαλής τε καὶ ἄκρων χειρών τε καὶ ποδών, τάλλα πάντα ταῦτα δὲ χωρίς ἔκειτο ἐπὶ κανέω κατακεκαλυμμένα, ώς δε τω Αρπάνω εδόκεε άλις έχειν της βορης, 'Αστυάγης είρετό μιν εί ήσθείη τι τη θοίνη. φαμένου δὲ Αρπάγου καὶ κάρτα ήσθηναι, παρέφερον τοίσι προσέκειτο την κεφαλήν τοῦ παιδὸς κατακεκαλυμμένην καὶ τὰς χείρας καὶ τούς πόδας, "Αρπαγον δὲ ἐκέλευον προσστάντες ἀποκαλύπτειν τε καὶ λαβείν τὸ βούλεται αὐτῶν.

# BOOK I. 118-119

heavily on me that I was estranged from my daughter. Now, therefore, in this lucky turn of fortune, send your own son to the boy who is newly come, and come hither to dine with me, for I am about to make sacrifice for the safety of my grandson to the gods to whom this honour is due."

119. When Harpagus heard this he did obeisance and went to his home, greatly pleased to find that his offence had served the needful end and that he was invited to dinner in honour of this fortunate day. Coming in, he bade his only son, a boy of about thirteen years of age, to go to Astyages' palace and do whatever the king commanded, and in his great joy he told his wife all that had happened. But when Harpagus' son came, Astyages cut his throat and tearing him limb from limb roasted some and boiled some of the flesh, and the work being finished kept all in readiness. So when it came to the hour for dinner and Harpagus was present among the rest of the guests, dishes of sheeps' flesh were set before Astyages and the others, but Harpagus was served with the flesh of his own son, all but the head and hands and feet, which lay apart covered up in a basket. And when Harpagus seemed to have eaten his fill, Astyages asked him, "Are you pleased with your meal, Harpagus?" "Exceeding well pleased," Harpagus answered. Then those whose business it was brought him in the covered basket the head and hands and feet of his son, and they stood before Harpagus and bade him uncover and take of them what he would. Harpagus did so;

πειθόμενος δὲ ὁ "Αρπαγος καὶ ἀποκαλύπτων ὁρὰ τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ λείμματα, ἰδὼν δὲ οὕτε ἐξεπλάγη ἐντός τε ἑωυτοῦ γίνεται. εἴρετο δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ 'Αστνάγης εἰ γινώσκοι ὅτευ θηρίου κρέα βεβρώκοι. ὁ δὲ καὶ γινώσκειν ἔφη καὶ ἀρεστὸν εἶναι πᾶν τὸ ἂν βασιλεὺς ἔρδη. τούτοισι δὲ ἀμειψάμενος καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν κρεῶν ἤιε ἐς τὰ οἰκία, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἔμελλε, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω,

άλίσας θάψειν τὰ πάντα.

120. Αρπάγω μεν 'Αστυάγης δίκην ταύτην έπέθηκε, Κύρου δὲ πέρι βουλεύων ἐκάλεε τοὺς αὐτοὺς τῶν Μάγων οἱ τὸ ἐνύπνιόν οἱ ταύτη έκριναν. ἀπικομένους δὲ εἴρετο ὁ ᾿Αστυάγης τῆ έκρινάν οι την όψιν. οι δε κατά ταύτα είπαν, λέγοντες ώς βασιλεθσαι χρήν τὸν παίδα, εἰ ἐπέζωσε καὶ μὴ ἀπέθανε πρότερον. δ δὲ ἀμείβεται αὐτούς τοίσιδε. ""Εστι τε ο παίς καὶ περίεστι. καί μιν ἐπ' ἀγροῦ διαιτώμενον οἱ ἐκ τῆς κώμης παίδες έστήσαντο βασιλέα. δ δὲ πάντα ὅσα περ οί άληθει λόγω βασιλέες έτελέωσε ποιήσας καί γαρ δορυφόρους καὶ θυρωρούς καὶ άγγελιηφόρους και τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα διατάξας ήρχε. και νῦν ές τί ύμιν ταθτα φαίνεται φέρειν;" είπαν οἱ Μάγοι "Εί μὲν περίεστί τε καὶ ἐβασίλευσε ὁ παῖς μὴ ἐκ προνοίης τινός, θάρσες τε τούτου είνεκα καὶ θυμὸν έχε άγαθόν οὐ γὰρ ἔτι τὸ δεύτερον ἄρχει. παρά σμικρά γάρ και των λογίων ήμιν ένια κεχώρηκε, και τά γε των ονειράτων εχόμενα τελέως ές άσθενες έρχεται." άμείβεται ό 'Αστυάγης τοίσιδε. "Καὶ αὐτὸς ὧ Μάγοι ταύτη πλεῖστος γνώμην είμί, βασιλέος ονομασθέντος του παιδος έξήκειν τε τον ὄνειρον καί μοι τον παίδα τούτον

## BOOK I. 119-120

he uncovered and saw what was left of his son: this he saw, but he mastered himself and was not dismayed. Astvages asked him, "Know you what beast's flesh you have eaten?" "Yea," he said. "I know, and all that the king does is pleasing to me." With that answer he took the rest of the flesh and went to his house, purposing then, as I suppose, to

collect and bury all.

120. Thus did Astyages punish Harpagus. But, to aid him to resolve about Cyrus, he called to him the same Magians who had interpreted his dream as I have said: and when they came Astyages asked them how they had interpreted his vision. They answered as before, and said that the boy must have been made king had he lived and not died first. Then said Astvages, "The boy is saved and alive, and when he was living in the country the boys of his village made him king, and he did duly all that is done by true kings: for he assigned to each severally the places of bodyguards and sentinels and messengers and all else, and so ruled. And to what, think you, does this tend?" "If the boy is alive," said the Magians, "and has been made king without foreknowledge, then fear not for aught that he can do but keep a good heart: he will not be made king a second time. Know that even in our prophecies it is often but a small thing that has been foretold, and the perfect fulfilment of the dream is but a trifling matter." "I too, ye Magians," said Astyages, "am much of your mind-that the dream came true when the boy was called king, and that I

είναι δεινόν έτι ούδεν. όμως μέν νέ τοι συμβουλεύσατέ μοι εὖ περισκεψάμενοι τὰ μέλλει ασφαλέστατα είναι οίκω τε τω έμω και υμίν." είπαν προς ταύτα οι Μάνοι " Ω βασιλεύ, και αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν περὶ πολλοῦ ἐστι κατορθοῦσθαι άργην την σήν. κείνως μεν γάρ άλλοτριούται ές τον παίδα τούτον περιιούσα έόντα Πέρσην, καὶ ήμεις εόντες Μήδοι δουλούμεθά τε και λόγου ούδενὸς γινόμεθα πρὸς Περσέων, ἐόντες ξείνοι. σέο δ' ένεστεώτος βασιλέος, έόντος πολιήτεω, καλ άρχομεν τὸ μέρος καὶ τιμάς πρὸς σέο μεγάλας έχομεν. ούτω ων πάντως ήμιν σέο και της σης άρχης προοπτέον έστί. καὶ νῦν εἰ φοβερόν τι ένωρωμεν, παν αν σοι προεφράζομεν. νθν δέ άποσκήψαντος τοῦ ἐνυπνίου ἐς φαῦλον, αὐτοί τε θαρσέομεν καὶ σοὶ έτερα τοιαῦτα παρακελευόμεθα. τον δε παίδα τούτον εξ οφθαλμών απόπεμψαι ές Πέρσας τε καὶ τοὺς γειναμένους."

121. 'Ακούσας ταῦτα ὁ 'Αστυάγης ἐχάρη τε καὶ καλέσας τὸν Κῦρον ἔλεγέ οἱ τάδε. "'Ω παῖ, σὲ γὰρ ἐγὼ δι' ὄψιν ὀνείρου οὐ τελέην ἠδίκεον, τῷ σεωυτοῦ δὲ μοίρη περίεις νῦν ὧν ἴθι χαίρων ἐς Πέρσας, πομποὺς δὲ ἐγὼ ἄμα πέμψω. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐκεῖ πατέρα τε καὶ μητέρα εὐρήσεις οὐ κατὰ Μιτραδάτην τε τὸν βουκόλον καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα

αὐτοῦ.

122. Ταῦτα εἴπας ὁ ᾿Αστυάγης ἀποπέμπει τὸν Κῦρον. νοστήσαντα δέ μιν ἐς τοῦ Καμβύσεω τὰ οἰκία ἐδέξαντο οἱ γεινάμενοι, καὶ δεξάμενοι ὡς ἐπύθοντο, μεγάλως ἀσπάζοντο οἱα δὴ ἐπιστάμενοι αὐτίκα τότε τελευτήσαι, ἰστόρεόν τε ὅτεω τρόπω περιγένοιτο. δ δέ σφι ἔλεγε, φὰς πρὸ τοῦ μὲν οὐκ

### BOOK I. 120-122

have no more to fear from him. Nevertheless consider well and advise me what shall be safest both for my house and for you." The Magians said, "King, we too are much concerned that your sovereignty should stand: for in the other case it goes away from your nation to this boy who is a Persian, and so we Medes are enslaved and deemed of no account by the Persians, being as we are of another blood, but while you are established king, who are our countryman, we have our share of power, and great honour is paid us by you. Thus, then, it behoves us by all means to take thought for you and your sovereignty. And at the present time if we saw any danger we would declare all to you: but now the dream has had but a triffing end, and we ourselves have confidence and counsel you to be like-minded. As for this boy, send him away from your sight to the Persians and to his parents."

121. Hearing this, Astyages was glad, and calling Cyrus, "My lad," he said, "I did you wrong by reason of the vision I had in a dream, that meant naught: now therefore, get you to the Persians, and good luck go with you; I will send those that shall guide you. When you are there you shall find a father and mother of other estate than Mitradates

the cowherd and his wife."

122. So said Astyages and sent Cyrus away. When he returned to Cambyses' house, his parents received him there, and learning who he was they welcomed him heartily, for they had supposed that long ago he had straightway been killed, and they asked him how his life had been saved. Then he told them, and said that till now he had known

είδέναι ἀλλ' ήμαρτηκέναι πλείστον, κατ' όδον δὲ πυθέσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ πάθην· ἐπίστασθαι μὲν γὰρ ὡς βουκόλου τοῦ 'Αστυάγεος εἴη παῖς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κείθεν όδοῦ τὸν πάντα λόγον τῶν πομπῶν πυθέσθαι. τραφῆναι δὲ ἔλεγε ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ βουκόλου γυναικός, ἤιέ τε ταύτην αἰνέων διὰ παντός, ἦν τέ οἱ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τὰ πάντα ἡ Κυνώ. οἱ δὲ τοκέες παραλαβόντες τὸ οὔνομα τοῦτο, ἵνα θειστέρως δοκέη τοῖσι Πέρσησι περιεῖναί σφι ὁ παῖς, κατέβαλον φάτιν ὡς ἐκκείμενον Κῦρον κύων

έξέθρεψε.

123. Ένθευτεν μεν ή φάτις αύτη κεγώρηκε. Κύρω δε ανδρευμένω και εόντι των ηλίκων ανδρηιοτάτω καὶ προσφιλεστάτω προσέκειτο ὁ "Αρπαγος δώρα πέμπων, τίσασθαι 'Αστυάγεα ἐπιθυμέων' άπ' έωυτοῦ γὰρ ἐόντος ἰδιώτεω οὐκ ἐνώρα τιμωρίην έσομένην ές 'Αστυάγεα, Κῦρον δὲ ὁρέων ἐπιτρεφόμενον ἐποιέετο σύμμαχον, τὰς πάθας τὰς Κύρου τησι έωυτοῦ όμοιούμενος. προ δ' έτι τούτου τάδε οί κατέργαστο έόντος τοῦ Αστυάγεος πικροῦ ές τούς Μήδους, συμμίσγων ένὶ έκάστω ὁ "Αρπαγος τῶν πρώτων Μήδων ἀνέπειθε ὡς χρη Κῦρον προστησαμένους 'Αστυάγεα παῦσαι τῆς βασιληίης. κατεργασμένου δέ οἱ τούτου καὶ ἐόντος ἐτοίμου, ούτω δή τῷ Κύρω διαιτωμένω ἐν Πέρσησι βουλόμενος "Αρπαγος δηλώσαι την έωυτοῦ γνώμην άλλως μεν ούδαμως είχε άτε των όδων φυλασσομενέων, δ δε επιτεχνάται τοιόνδε λαγόν μηχανησάμενος, καὶ ἀνασχίσας τούτου τὴν γαστέρα καὶ. οὐδὲν ἀποτίλας, ὡς δὲ είγε οὕτω ἐσέθηκε βυβλίον, γράψας τά οἱ ἐδόκεε ἀπορράψας δὲ τοῦ λαγοῦ την γαστέρα, καὶ δίκτυα δούς ἄτε θηρευτή τῶν

## BOOK I. 122-123

nothing but been greatly deceived, but that on the way he had heard all the story of his misfortune; for he had thought, he said, that Astyages' cowherd was his father, but in his journey from the city his escort had told him all the tale. And he had been reared, he said, by the cowherd's wife, and he was full of her praises, and in his tale he was ever speaking of Cyno. Hearing this name, his parents set about a story that Cyrus when exposed was suckled by a bitch, thinking thereby to make the story of his saving seem the more marvellous to the Persians.

123. This then was the beginning of that legend. But as Cyrus grew to man's estate, being the manliest and best loved of his peers, Harpagus courted him and sent him gifts, wishing to be avenged on Astyages; for he saw no hope of a private man like himself punishing Astyages, but as he saw Cyrus growing up he sought to make him an ally, for he likened Cyrus' misfortune to his own. He had already brought matters so far that-since Astvages dealt harshly with the Medians - he consorted with each of the chief Medians and persuaded them to make Cyrus their leader and depose Astyages. So much being ready and done, Harpagus desired to make known his intent to Cyrus, then dwelling among the Persians; but the roads were guarded, and he had no plan for sending a message but this-he artfully slit the belly of a hare, and then leaving it as it was without further harm he put into it a paper on which he wrote what he thought fit. Then he sewed up the hare's belly, and sent it to Persia by the trustiest of his servants.

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οἰκετέων τῷ πιστοτάτῳ, ἀπέστελλε ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐντειλάμενός οἱ ἀπὸ γλώσσης διδόντα τὸν λαγὸν Κύρῳ ἐπειπεῖν αὐτοχειρίη μιν διελεῖν

καὶ μηδένα οἱ ταῦτα ποιεῦντι παρεῖναι.

124. Ταῦτά τε δη ων ἐπιτελέα ἐγίνετο καὶ ὁ Κύρος παραλαβών τον λαγον ανέσχισε εύρων δε έν αὐτῶ τὸ βυβλίον ἐνεὸν λαβῶν ἐπελέγετο, τὰ δὲ γράμματα ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ω παῖ Καμβύσεω. σε γάρ θεοί επορώσι ού γάρ αν κοτε ες τοσούτο τύγης ἀπίκευ σύ νυν 'Αστυάγεα τὸν σεωυτοῦ φονέα τίσαι, κατά μεν γάρ την τούτου προθυμίην τέθνηκας, τὸ δὲ κατὰ θεούς τε καὶ ἐμὲ περίεις τά σε καὶ πάλαι δοκέω πάντα ἐκμεμαθηκέναι, σέο τε αὐτοῦ πέρι ὡς ἐπρήχθη, καὶ οἶα ἐγὼ ὑπὸ ᾿Αστυάγεος πέπουθα, ότι σε ούκ ἀπέκτεινα άλλα έδωκα τῷ βουκόλφ. σύ νυν, ἡν βούλη ἐμοὶ πείθεσθαι, τής περ 'Αστυάγης άρχει χώρης, ταύτης άπάσης άρξεις. Πέρσας γαρ άναπείσας άπίστασθαι στρατηλάτεε έπὶ Μήδους· καὶ ήν τε έγω ὑπὸ ᾿Αστυάγεος ἀποδεχθέω στρατηγὸς ἀντία σεῦ, ἔστι τοι τὰ σύ βούλεαι, ήν τε των τις δοκίμων άλλος Μήδων. πρώτοι γάρ ούτοι αποστάντες απ' εκείνου καί γενόμενοι πρὸς σέο Αστυάγεα καταιρέειν πειρήσονται. ώς ών ετοίμου τοῦ γε ενθάδε εόντος, ποίες ταθτα καὶ ποίεε κατὰ τάχος."

125. 'Ακούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κῦρος ἐφρόντιζε ὅτεφ τρόπφ σοφωτάτφ Πέρσας ἀναπείσει ἀπίστασθαι, φροντίζων δὲ εὐρίσκεται ταῦτα καιριώτατα εἶναι ἐποίεε δὴ ταῦτα. γράψας ἐς βυβλίον τὰ ἐβούλετο, ἀλίην τῶν Περσέων ἐποιήσατο, μετὰ δὲ ἀναπτύξας τὸ βυβλίον καὶ ἐπιλεγόμενος ἔφη 'Αστυάγεά μιν στρατηγὸν Περσέων ἀποδεικνύναι. "Νῦν τε," ἔφη

# BOOK I. 123-125

giving him nets to carry as if he were a huntsman. The messenger was charged to give Cyrus the hare and bid him by word of mouth cut it open with his

own hands, none other being present.

124. All this was done. Cyrus took the hare and slit it and read the paper which was in it; the writing was as follows: "Son of Cambyses, seeing that the gods watch over you (for else you had not so prospered) do you now avenge yourself on Astyages, your murderer; for according to his intent you are dead; it is by the gods' doing, and mine, that you Methinks you have long ago heard the story of what was done concerning yourself and how Astyages entreated me because I slew you not but gave you to the cowherd. If then you will be counselled by me, you shall rule all the country which is now ruled by Astvages. Persuade the Persians to rebel, and lead their army against the Medes; then you have your desire, whether I be appointed to command the army against you or some other notable man among the Medians: for they will of themselves revolt from Astyages and join you and endeavour to pull him down. Seeing then that all here is ready, do as I say and do it quickly."

125. When Cyrus heard this, he considered how most cunningly he might persuade the Persians to revolt; and this he thought most apt to the occasion, and this he did: writing what he would on a paper, he gathered an assembly of the Persians, and then unfolded the paper and declared that Astyages appointed him leader of the Persian armies. "Now,"

λέγων, "ὧ Πέρσαι, προαγορεύω ὑμῖν παρεῖναι ἔκαστον ἔχοντα δρέπανον." Κῦρος μὲν ταῦτα προηγόρευσε. ἔστι δὲ Περσέων συχνὰ γένεα, καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ὁ Κῦρος συνάλισε καὶ ἀνέπεισε ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ Μήδων. ἔστι δὲ τάδε, ἐξ ὧν ὧλλοι πάντες ἀρτέαται Πέρσαι, Πασαργάδαι Μαράφιοι Μάσπιοι. τούτων Πασαργάδαι εἰσὶ ἄριστοι, ἐν τοῖσι καὶ 'Αχαιμενίδαι εἰσὶ φρήτρη, ἕνθεν οἱ βασιλέες οἱ Περσεῖδαι γεγόνασι. ἄλλοι δὲ Πέρσαι εἰσὶ οἵδε, Πανθιαλαῖοι Δηρουσιαῖοι Γερμάνιοι. οὖτοι μὲν πάντες ἀροτῆρες εἰσί, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι νομάδες, Δάοι Μάρδοι Δροπικοὶ Σαγάρτιοι.

126. 'Ως δὲ παρήσαν ἄπαντες ἔγοντες τὸ προειρημένον, ενθαθτα ο Κύρος, ήν γάρ τις χώρος τής Περσικής ακανθώδης όσον τε έπὶ οκτωκαίδεκα σταδίους ή είκοσι πάντη, τοῦτόν σφι τὸν χώρον προείπε έξημερωσαι εν ήμερη. επιτελεσάντων δε τῶν Περσέων τὸν προκείμενον ἄεθλον, δεύτερά σφι προείπε ές την ύστεραίην παρείναι λελουμένους. ἐν δὲ τούτω τά τε αἰπόλια καὶ τὰς ποίμνας καὶ τὰ βουκόλια ὁ Κῦρος πάντα τοῦ πατρός συναλίσας ές τωυτό έθυσε και παρεσκεύαζε ώς δεξόμενος τὸν Περσέων στρατόν, πρὸς δὲ οίνω τε καὶ σιτίοισι ώς ἐπιτηδεοτάτοισι. ἀπικομένους δὲ τῆ ὑστεραίη τοὺς Πέρσας κατακλίνας ἐς λειμώνα εὐώχεε. ἐπείτε δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἦσαν, είρετο σφέας ὁ Κύρος κότερα τὰ τῆ προτεραίη είχον ή τὰ παρεόντα σφι είη αίρετώτερα. οἱ δὲ έφασαν πολλον είναι αύτων το μέσον την μέν γαρ προτέρην ημέρην πάντα σφι κακά έχειν, την δὲ τότε παρεοῦσαν πάντα ἀγαθά. παραλαβών δὲ τούτο τὸ ἔπος ὁ Κύρος παρεγύμνου τὸν πάντα

said he in his speech, "I bid you all, men of Persia, to come each of you with a sickle." (There are many tribes in Persia: those of them whom Cyrus assembled and persuaded to revolt from the Medes were the Pasargadae, the Maraphii, and the Maspii. On these hang all the other Persians. The chief tribe is that of the Pasargadae; to them belongs the clan of the Achaemenidae, the royal house of Persia. The other Persian tribes are the Panthialaei, the Derusiaei, and the Germanii, all tillers of the soil, and the Dai, the Mardi, the Dropici, the Sagartii, all wandering herdsmen.)

126. So when they all came with sickles as commanded, Cyrus bade them clear and make serviceable in one day a certain thorny tract of Persia, of eighteen or twenty furlongs each way in extent. The Persians accomplished the appointed task: Cyrus then commanded them to wash themselves and come on the next day; and meanwhile, gathering together his father's goats and sheep and oxen in one place, he slew and prepared them as a feast for the Persian host, providing also wine and all foods that were most suitable. When the Persians came on the next day he made them sit and feast in a meadow. After dinner he asked them which pleased them best, their task of yesterday or their present state. They answered that the difference was great: all yesterday they had had nought but evil, to-day nought but good. Then taking their word from their mouths Cyrus laid

λόγον, λέγων " Ανδρες Πέρσαι, οὕτω ὑμῖν ἔχει. βουλομένοισι μὲν ἐμέο πείθεσθαι ἔστι τάδε τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία ἀγαθά, οὐδένα πόνον δουλοπρεπέα ἔχουσι, μὴ βουλομένοισι δὲ ἐμέο πείθεσθαι εἰσὶ ὑμῖν πόνοι τῷ χθιζῷ παραπλήσιοι ἀναρίθμητοι. νῦν ὧν ἐμέο πειθόμενοι γίνεσθε ἐλεύθεροι. αὐτός τε γὰρ δοκέω θείη τύχη γεγονὼς τάδε ἐς χεῖρας ἄγεσθαι, καὶ ὑμέας ἥγημαι ἄνδρας Μήδων εἶναι οὐ φαυλοτέρους οὕτε τἆλλα οὕτε τὰ πολέμια. ὡς ὧν ἐχόντων ὧδε, ἀπίστασθε ἀπ' 'Αστυάγεος τὴν

ταγίστην."

127. Πέρσαι μέν νυν προστάτεω ἐπιλαβόμενοι ἄσμενοι ἐλευθεροῦντο, καὶ πάλαι δεινὸν ποιεύμενοι ὑπὸ Μήδων ἄρχεσθαι. ᾿Αστυάγης δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο Κῦρον ταῦτα πρήσσοντα, πέμψας ἄγγελον ἐκάλεε αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἐκέλευε τὸν ἄγγελον ἀπαγγέλλειν ὅτι πρότερον ἥξοι παρ' ἐκεῖνον ἡ ᾿Αστυάγης αὐτὸς βουλήσεται. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ ᾿Αστυάγης Μήδους τε ὥπλισε πάντας, καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν ὥστε θεοβλαβὴς ἐῶν ৺Αρπαγον ἀπέδεξε, λήθην ποιεύμενος τά μιν ἐόργεε. ὡς δὲ οἱ Μῆδοι στρατευσάμενοι τοῖσι Πέρσησι συνέμισγον, οὶ μὲν τινὲς αὐτῶν ἐμάχοντο, ὅσοι μὴ τοῦ λόγου μετέσχον, οὶ δὲ αὐτομόλεον πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι ἐθελοκάκεόν τε καὶ ἔφευγον.

128. Διαλυθέντος δὲ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ στρατεύματος αἰσχρῶς, ὡς ἐπύθετο τάχιστα ὁ ᾿Αστυάγης,
ἔφη ἀπειλέων τῷ Κύρῳ "᾿Αλλ' οὐδ᾽ ὡς Κῦρός γε
χαιρήσει." τοσαῦτα εἴπας πρῶτον μὲν τῶν Μάγων
τοὺς ὀνειροπόλους, οἵ μιν ἀνέγνωσαν μετεῖναι τὸν
Κῦρον, τούτους ἀνεσκολόπισε, μετὰ δὲ ὥπλισε

bare all his purpose, and said: "This is your case, men of Persia: obey me and you shall have these good things and ten thousand others besides with no toil and slavery; but if you will not obey me you will have labours unnumbered, like to your toil of yesterday. Now, therefore, do as I bid you, and win your freedom. For I think that I myself was saved by a marvellous providence to take this work in hand; and I deem you full as good men as the Medes in war and in all else. All this is true; wherefore now revolt from Astvages with all

speed!"

127. The Persians had long been ill content that the Medes should rule them, and now having got them a champion they were glad to win their freedom. But when Astyages heard that Cyrus was at this business, he sent a messenger to summon him; Cyrus bade the messenger bring back word that Astyages would see him sooner than he desired. Hearing this, Astyages armed all his Medians, and was so infatuated that he forgot what he had done to Harpagus, and appointed him to command the army. So no sooner had the Medes marched out and joined battle with the Persians than some of them deserted to the enemy, and some of set purpose played the coward and fled; those only fought who had not shared Harpagus' counsels.

128. Thus the Median army was foully scattered. Astyages, hearing this, sent a threatening message to Cyrus, "that even so he should not go unpunished"; and with that he took the Magians who interpreted dreams and had persuaded him to let Cyrus go free, and impaled them; then he armed

τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ἐν τῷ ἄστεϊ τῶν Μήδων, νέους τε καὶ πρεσβύτας ἄνδρας. ἐξαγαγὼν δὲ τούτους καὶ συμβαλὼν τοῖσι Πέρησι ἑσσώθη, καὶ αὐτός τε ᾿Αστυάγης ἐζωγρήθη καὶ τοὺς ἐξήγαγε

των Μήδων ἀπέβαλε.

129, 'Εόντι δὲ αἰγμαλώτω τῶ 'Αστυάγει προσστὰς ὁ "Αρπαγος κατέχαιρέ τε καὶ κατεκερτόμεε, καὶ ἄλλα λέγων ἐς αὐτὸν θυμαλγέα ἔπεα, καὶ δὸ καὶ εἴρετό μιν πρὸς τὸ έωυτοῦ δεῖπνον, τό μιν έκείνος σαρέι του παιδός εθοίνησε, ο τι είη ή έκείνου δουλοσύνη άντι της βασιληίης. δ δέ μιν προσιδών αντείρετο εί έωυτοῦ ποιέεται το Κύρου ἔργον, "Αρπαγος δὲ ἔφη, αὐτὸς γὰρ γράψαι, τὸ πρηγμα έωυτοῦ δη δικαίως είναι. 'Αστυάγης δέ μιν ἀπέφαινε τῶ λόγω σκαιότατόν τε καὶ ἀδικώτατον έόντα πάντων ανθρώπων, σκαιότατον μέν γε, εί παρεον αυτώ βασιλέα γενέσθαι, εί δη δί έωυτοῦ γε ἐπρήγθη τὰ παρεόντα, ἄλλω περιέθηκε τὸ κράτος, ἀδικώτατον δέ, ὅτι τοῦ δείπνου είνεκεν Μήδους κατεδούλωσε. εί γαρ δη δείν πάντως περιθείναι άλλω τεώ την βασιληίην και μη αὐτὸν έχειν, δικαιότερον είναι Μήδων τεώ περιβαλείν τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἡ Περσέων. νῦν δὲ Μήδους μὲν άναιτίους τούτου ἐόντας δούλους άντὶ δεσποτέων γεγονέναι, Πέρσας δὲ δούλους ἐόντας τὸ πρὶν Μήδων νύν γεγονέναι δεσπότας.

130. 'Αστυάγης μέν νυν βασιλεύσας ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε καὶ τριήκοντα οὕτω τῆς βασιληίης κατεπαύσθη, Μῆδοι δὲ ὑπέκυψαν Πέρσησι διὰ τὴν τούτου πικρότητα, ἄρξαντες τῆς ἄνω "Αλυος ποταμοῦ 'Ασίης ἐπ' ἔτεα τριήκοντα καὶ ἐκατὸν δυῶν δέοντα, πάρεξ ἢ ὅσον οἱ Σκύθαι ἦρχον.

the Medes who were left in the city, the youths and old men. Leading these out, and encountering the Persians, he was worsted: Astyages himself was taken prisoner, and lost the Median army which he led.

129. He being then a captive, Harpagus came and exulted over him and taunted him, and with much other bitter mockery he brought to mind his banquet, when Astvages had fed Harpagus on his son's flesh. and asked Astvages what it was to be a slave after having been a king. Fixing his gaze on Harpagus. Astvages asked, "Think you that this, which Cyrus has done, is your work?" "It was I," said the other, "who wrote the letter; the accomplishment of the work is justly mine." "Then," said Astvages, "you stand confessed the most foolish and most unjust man on earth; most foolish, in giving another the throne which you might have had for yourself, if the present business be indeed your doing; most unjust, in enslaving the Medes by reason of that banquet. For if at all hazards another and not yourself must possess the royal power, then in justice some Mede should enjoy it, not a Persian: but now you have made the Medes, who did you no harm, slaves instead of masters and the Persians, who were the slaves, are now the masters of the Medes."

130. Thus Astyages was deposed from his sovereignty after a reign of thirty-five years: and the Medians were made to bow down before the Persians by reason of Astyages' cruelty. They had ruled all Asia beyond the Halys for one hundred and twenty-eight years, from which must be taken the time when the Scythians held sway. At a later

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 687 to 559 B.C. The Scythians ruled 634-606 B.C.

ύστέρφ μέντοι χρόνφ μετεμέλησε τε σφι ταῦτα ποιήσασι καὶ ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Δαρείου, ἀποστάντες δὲ ὀπίσω κατεστράφθησαν μάχη νικηθέντες. τότε δὲ ἐπὶ ᾿Αστυάγεος οἱ Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἐπαναστάντες τοῖσι Μήδοισι ἢρχον τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου τῆς ᾿Ασίης. ᾿Αστυάγεα δὲ Κῦρος κακὸν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιήσας εἰχε παρ᾽ ἑωυτῷ, ἐς δ ἐτελεύτησε.

Οὕτω δὴ Κῦρος γενόμενός τε καὶ τραφεὶς ἐβασίλευσε καὶ Κροῖσον ὕστερον τούτων ἄρξαντα ἀδικίης κατεστρέψατο, ὡς εἴρηταί μοι πρότερον, τοῦτον δὲ καταστρεψάμενος οὕτω πάσης τῆς

'Ασίης ήρξε.

131. Πέρσας δὲ οἶδα νόμοισι τοιοῖσιδε χρεωμένους, ἀγάλματα μὲν καὶ νηοὺς καὶ βωμοὺς οὖκ ἐν νόμφ ποιευμένους ἰδρύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖσι ποιεῦσι μωρίην ἐπιφέρουσι, ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀνθρωποφυέας ἐνόμισαν τοὺς θεοὺς κατά περ οἱ "Ελληνες εἶναι" οῖ δὲ νομίζουσι Διὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλότατα τῶν ὀρέων ἀναβαίνοντες θυσίας ἔρδειν, τὸν κύκλον πάντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Δία καλέσντες θύουσι δὲ ἡλίφ τε καὶ σελήνη καὶ γῆ καὶ πυρὶ καὶ ὕδατι καὶ ἀνέμοισι. τούτοισι μὲν δὴ θύουσι μούνοισι ἀρχῆθεν, ἐπιμεμαθήκασι δὲ καὶ τῆ Οὐρανίη θύειν, παρά τε 'Ασσυρίων μαθόντες καὶ 'Αραβίων καλέουσι δὲ 'Ασσύριοι τὴν 'Αφροδίτην Μύλιττα, 'Αράβιοι δὲ 'Αλιλάτ, Πέρσαι δὲ Μίτραν.

132. Θυσίη δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσησι περὶ τοὺς εἰρημένους θεοὺς ἥδε κατέστηκε οὕτε βωμοὺς ποιεῦνται οὕτε πῦρ ἀνακαίουσι μέλλοντες θύειν, οὐ
σπονδῆ χρέωνται, οὐκὶ αὐλῷ, οὐ στέμμασι, οὐκὶ
οὐλῆσι τῶν δὲ ὡς ἐκάστω θύειν θέλη, ἐς χῶρον

time they repented of what they now did, and rebelled against Darius<sup>1</sup>; but they were defeated in battle and brought back into subjection. But now, in Astyages' time, Cyrus and the Persians rose in revolt against the Medes, and from this time ruled Asia. As for Astyages, Cyrus did him no further harm, and kept him in his own house till Astyages died.

This is the story of the birth and upbringing of Cyrus, and thus he became king; and afterwards, as I have already related, he subdued Croesus in punishment for the unprovoked wrong done him; and after

this victory he became sovereign of all Asia.

131. As to the usages of the Persians, I know them to be these. It is not their custom to make and set up statues and temples and altars, but those who make such they deem foolish, as I suppose, because they never believed the gods, as do the Greeks, to be in the likeness of men; but they call the whole circle of heaven Zeus, and to him they offer sacrifice on the highest peaks of the mountains; they sacrifice also to the sun and moon and earth and fire and water and winds. These are the only gods to whom they have ever sacrificed from the beginning; they have learnt later, to sacrifice to the "heavenly" Aphrodite, from the Assyrians and Arabians. She is called by the Assyrians Mylitta, by the Arabians Alilat, by the Persians Mitra.

132. And this is their fashion of sacrifice to the aforesaid gods: when about to sacrifice they neither build altars nor kindle fire, they use no libations, nor music, nor fillets, nor barley meal; but to whomsoever of the gods a man will sacrifice, he leads the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In 520 B.C.; the event is recorded in a cuneiform inscription,
<sup>2</sup> See note on ch. 105.

καθαρον άγαγων το κτήνος καλέει τον θεόν, έστεφανωμένος τον τιάραν μυρσίνη μάλιστα. έωυτώ μεν δη τω θύοντι ίδιη μούνω ού οι εγγίνεται αράσθαι άγαθά, δ δὲ τοῖσι πᾶσι Πέρσησι κατεύγεται εὐ γίνεσθαι καὶ τῷ βασιλέι ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοίσι απασι Πέρσησι καὶ αὐτὸς γίνεται. ἐπεὰν δὲ·διαμιστύλας κατά μέλεα τὸ ἱρήιον έψήση τὰ κρέα, ύποπάσας ποίην ώς άπαλωτάτην, μάλιστα δέ τὸ τρίφυλλον, ἐπὶ ταύτης ἔθηκε ὧν πάντα τὰ κρέα. διαθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ Μάγος ἀνὴρ παρεστεώς έπαείδει θεογονίην, οίην δη έκείνοι λέγουσι είναι την ἐπαοιδήν· ἄνευ γὰρ δη Μάγου οὔ σφι νόμος έστὶ θυσίας ποιέεσθαι. ἐπισχών δὲ ὁλίγον χρόνον άποφέρεται ὁ θύσας τὰ κρέα καὶ χράται ὅ τι μιν λόγος αίρέει.

133. Ἡμέρην δὲ άπασέων μάλιστα ἐκείνην τιμάν νομίζουσι τη έκαστος έγένετο, έν ταύτη δέ πλέω δαίτα των άλλέων δικαιεύσι προτίθεσθαι. έν τη οί εὐδαίμονες αὐτῶν Βοῦν καὶ ἵππον καὶ κάμηλον καὶ ὄνον προτιθέαται ὅλους ὀπτούς ἐν καμίνοισι, οί δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων προτιθέαται. σίτοισι δὲ ὀλίγοισι γρέωνται, ἐπιφορήμασι δὲ πολλοῖσι καὶ οὐκ άλέσι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φασὶ Πέρσαι τους "Ελληνας σιτεομένους πεινώντας παύεσθαι, ότι σφι ἀπὸ δείπνου παραφορέεται οὐδεν λόγου ἄξιον εί δέ τι παραφέροιτο, έσθίοντας αν ού παύεσθαι. οίνω δε κάρτα προσκέαται, καί σφι ούκ έμέσαι έξεστι, ούκλ οὐρησαι ἀντίον ἄλλου. ταῦτα μέν νυν οὕτω φυλάσσεται, μεθυσκόμενοι δὲ ἐώθασι βουλεύεσθαι τὰ σπουδαιέστατα τῶν πρηγμάτων τὸ δ' αν άδη σφι βουλευομένοισι, τούτο τη ύστεραίη νήφουσι

# BOOK 1. 132-133

beast to an open space and then calls on the god, himself wearing a crown on his cap, of myrtle for choice. To pray for blessings for himself alone is not lawful for the sacrificer; rather he prays that it may be well with the king and all the Persians; for he reckons himself among them. He then cuts the victim limb from limb into portions, and having roasted the flesh spreads the softest grass, trefoil by choice, and places all of it on this. When he has so disposed it a Magian comes near and chants over it the song of the birth of the gods, as the Persian tradition relates it; for no sacrifice can be offered without a Magian. Then after a little while the sacrificer carries away the flesh and uses it as he

pleases.

133. The day which every man most honours is his own birthday. On this he thinks it right to serve a more abundant meal than on other days; before the rich are set oxen or horses or camels or asses, roasted whole in ovens; the poorer serve up the lesser kinds of cattle. Their courses are few, the dainties that follow are many and not all served together. This is why the Persians say of the Greeks, that they rise from table still hungry, because not much dessert is set before them: were this too given to the Greek (say the Persians) he would never cease eating. They are greatly given to wine; none may vomit or make water in another's presence. This then is prohibited among them. Moreover it is their custom to deliberate about the gravest matters when they are drunk; and what they approve in their counsels is proposed to them the next day by the master of the house where they deliberate, when they are now sober:

προτιθεῖ ὁ στέγαρχος, ἐν τοῦ ἃν ἐόντες βουλεύωνται, καὶ ἢν μὲν ἄδη καὶ νήφουσι, χρέωνται αὐτῷ, ἢν δὲ μὴ ἄδη, μετιεῖσι. τὰ δ' ἃν νήφοντες προβουλεύσωνται, μεθυσκόμενοι ἐπιδιαγινώσκουσι.

134. Έντυγχάνοντες δ' άλλήλοισι έν τησι όδοισι, τώδε αν τις διαγνοίη εί όμοιοι είσι οί συντυγχάνοντες άντὶ γὰρ τοῦ προσαγορεύειν άλλήλους φιλέουσι τοίσι στόμασι ην δε ή ούτερος ύποδεέστερος ολίγω, τὰς παρειάς φιλέονται ἡν δέ πολλώ ή ούτερος άγεννέστερος, προσπίπτων προσκυνέει τον έτερον. τιμώσι δε έκ πάντων τούς άγγιστα έωυτῶν οἰκέοντας μετά γε έωυτούς, δεύτερα δὲ τοὺς δευτέρους μετά δὲ κατά λόγον προβαίνοντες τιμώσι ήκιστα δέ τους έωυτών έκαστάτω οἰκημένους έν τιμή ἄγονται, νομίζοντες έωυτούς είναι άνθρώπων μακρώ τὰ πάντα άρίστους, τούς δὲ ἄλλους κατὰ λόγον της άρετης άντέχεσθαι, τούς δὲ έκαστάτω οἰκέοντας ἀπὸ έωυτών κακίστους είναι. έπι δε Μήδων αργόντων καὶ ήρχε τὰ ἔθνεα ἀλλήλων, συναπάντων μέν Μήδοι καὶ τῶν ἄγχιστα οἰκεόντων σφίσι, ούτοι δὲ καὶ τῶν ὁμούρων, οἱ δὲ μάλα τῶν ἐχομένων, κατά τὸν αὐτὸν δη λόγον καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι τιμώσι προέβαινε γὰρ δὴ τὸ ἔθνος ἄρχον τε καὶ έπιτροπεύον.

135. Ξεινικὰ δὲ νόμαια Πέρσαι προσίενται ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐσθῆτα νομίσαντες τῆς ἑωυτῶν εἶναι καλλίω φορέουσι, καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους θώρηκας καὶ εὐπαθείας τε παντοδαπὰς πυνθανόμενοι ἐπι-

<sup>1</sup> κατὰ λόγον [τῷ λεγομένφ] Stein.

and if being sober they still approve it, they act thereon, but if not, they cast it aside. And when they have taken counsel about a matter when sober,

they decide upon it when they are drunk.

134. When one man meets another in the way, it is easy to see if the two are equals; for then without speaking they kiss each other on the lips; if the difference in rank be but little, it is the cheek that is kissed; if it be great, the humbler bows down and does obeisance to the other. They honour most of all those who dwell nearest them, next those who are next farthest removed, and so going ever onwards they assign honour by this rule; those who dwell farthest off they hold least honourable of all; for they deem themselves to be in all regards by far the best of all men, the rest to have but a proportionate claim to merit, till those who dwell farthest away have least merit of all. Under the rule of the Medes one tribe would even govern another; the Medes held sway over all alike and specially over those who dwelt nearest to themselves; these ruled their neighbours, and the neighbours again those who came next to them, on the same plan whereby the Persians assign honour; for according as the Median nation advanced its dominion farther from home, such was the measure of its rule and suzerainty.1

135. But of all men the Persians most welcome foreign customs. They wear the Median dress, deeming it more beautiful than their own, and the Egyptian cuirass in war. Their luxurious practices

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This appears to mean, that the farther off a subject nation is, the less direct is the control exercised by the Medes; on the same principle as that which makes the Persians hold their subjects in less and less estimation in proportion to their distance from the seat of empire.

τηδεύουσι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπ' Ἑλλήνων μαθόντες παισὶ μίσγονται. γαμέουσι δὲ ἔκαστος αὐτῶν πολλὰς μὲν κουριδίας γυναῖκας, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι

πλεύνας παλλακάς κτώνται.

136. 'Ανδραγαθίη δὲ αὕτη ἀποδέδεκται, μετὰ τὸ μάχεσθαι εἶναι ἀγαθόν, ὃς ἃν πολλοὺς ἀποδέξη παῖδας· τῷ δὲ τοὺς πλείστους ἀποδεικνύντι δῶρα ἐκπέμπει βασιλεὺς ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. τὸ πολλὸν δ' ἡγέαται ἰσχυρὸν εἶναι. παιδεύουσι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας ἀπὸ πενταέτεος ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι εἰκοσαέτεος τρία μοῦνα, ἰππεύειν καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀληθίζεσθαι. πρὶν δὲ ἡ πενταέτης γένηται, οὐκ ἀπικνέεται ἐς ὄψιν τῷ πατρί, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῆσι γυναιξὶ δίαιταν ἔχει. τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκα τοῦτο οὕτω ποιέεται, ἵνα ἡν ἀποθάνη τρεφόμενος, μηδεμίαν ἄσην τῷ πατρὶ προσβάλη.

137. Αἰνέω μέν νυν τόνδε τὸν νόμον, αἰνέω δὲ καὶ τόνδε, τὸ μὴ μιῆς αἰτίης εἵνεκα μήτε αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα μηδένα φονεύειν, μήτε τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων μηδένα τῶν έωυτοῦ οἰκετέων ἐπὶ μιῆ αἰτίη ἀνήκεστον πάθος ἔρδειν ἀλλὰ λογισάμενος ἢν εὐρίσκη πλέω τε καὶ μέζω τὰ ἀδικήματα ἐόντα τῶν ὑπουργημάτων, οὕτω τῷ θυμῷ χρᾶται. ἀποκτεῖναι δὲ οὐδένα κω λέγουσι τὸν ἑωυτοῦ πατέρα οὐδὲ μητέρα, ἀλλὰ ὁκόσα ἤδη τοιαῦτα ἐγένετο, πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην φασὶ ἀναζητεόμενα ταῦτα ἀνευρεθῆναι ἤτοι ὑποβολιμαῖα ἐόντα ἢ μοιχίδια οὐ γὰρ δή φασι οἰκὸς εἶναι τόν γε ἀληθέως τοκέα ὑπὸ τοῦ

έωυτοῦ παιδὸς ἀποθνήσκειν.

138. "Ασσα δέ σφι ποιέειν οὐκ ἔξεστι, ταῦτα οὐδὲ λέγειν ἔξεστι. αἴσχιστον δὲ αὐτοῖσι τὸ ψεύ-δεσθαι νενόμισται, δεύτερα δὲ τὸ ὀφείλειν χρέος,

are of all kinds, and all borrowed; the Greeks taught them unnatural vices. Every Persian marries many lawful wives, and keeps still more concubines.

136. After valour in battle it is most reckoned as manly merit to show the greatest number of sons: the king sends gifts yearly to him who can show most. Numbers, they hold, are strength. They educate their boys from five to twenty years old, and teach them three things only, riding and archery and truthtelling. A boy is not seen by his father before he is five years old, but lives with the women: the reason of this is that, if the boy should die in the time of his rearing, the father may suffer no dolour.

137. This is a law which I praise; and it is a praiseworthy law too which suffers not the king himself to slay any man for one offence, nor any other Persian for one offence to do incurable hurt to one of his servants. Not till reckoning shows that the offender's wrongful acts are more and greater than his services may a man give vent to his anger. They say that none has ever yet killed his father or mother; when suchlike deeds have been done, it cannot be but that on inquest made the doer is shown to be a child suborned or born of a concubine; for it is not to be believed (say they) that a son should kill his true parent.

138. Moreover of what they may not do neither may they speak. They hold lying to be foulest of all, and next to that debt; for which they have

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πολλών μὲν καὶ ἄλλων εἵνεκα, μάλιστα δὲ ἀναγκαίην φασὶ εἶναι τὸν ὀφείλοντα καί τι ψεῦδος λέγειν. δς ᾶν δὲ τῶν ἀστῶν λέπρην ἢ λεύκην ἔχη, ἐς πόλιν οὖτος οὐ κατέρχεται οὐδὲ συμμίσγεται τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Πέρσησι φασὶ δὲ μιν ἐς τὸν ἥλιον ἁμαρτόντα τι ταῦτα ἔχειν. ξεῖνον δὲ πάντα τὸν λαμβανόμενον ὑπὸ τουτέων πολλοὶ ἐξελαύνουσι ἐκ τῆς χώρης, καὶ τὰς λευκὰς περιστεράς, τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίην ἐπιφέροντες. ἐς ποταμὸν δὲ οὕτε ἐνουρέουσι οὕτε ἐμπτύουσι, οὐ χεῖρας ἐναπονίζονται, οὐδὲ ἄλλον οὐδένα περιορῶσι, ἀλλὰ σέβονται ποταμοὺς μάλιστα.

139. Καὶ τόδε ἄλλο σφι ὧδε συμπέπτωκε γίνεσθαι, τὸ Πέρσας μὲν αὐτοὺς λέληθε, ἡμέας μέντοι οῦ τὰ οὐνόματά σφι ἐόντα ὅμοια τοῖσι σώμασι καὶ τῆ μεγαλοπρεπείη τελευτῶσι πάντα ἐς τἀυτὸ γράμμα, τὸ Δωριέες μὲν σὰν καλέουσι, Ἰωνες δὲ σίγμα ἐς τοῦτο διζήμενος εὐρήσεις τελευτῶντα τῶν Περσέων τὰ οὐνόματα, οὐ τὰ μὲν τὰ δ' οὕ,

άλλὰ πάντα όμοίως.

140. Ταῦτα μὲν ἀτρεκέως ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν εἰδῶς εἰπεῖν τάδε μέντοι ὡς κρυπτόμενα λέγεται καὶ οὐ σαφηνέως περὶ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος, ὡς οὐ πρότερον θάπτεται ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω ὁ νέκυς πρὶν ἂν ὑπ ὄρνιθος ἡ κυνὸς ἐλκυσθῆ. Μάγους μὲν γὰρ ἀτρεκέως οἶδα ταῦτα ποιέοντας ἐμφανέως γὰρ δὴ ποιεῦσι. κατακηρώσαντες δὲ ὧν τὸν νέκυν Πέρσαι γῆ κρύπτουσι. Μάγοι δὲ κεχωρίδαται πολλὸν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτω ἱρέων. οῖ μὲν γὰρ άγνεύουσι ἔμψυχον μηδὲν κτείνειν, εἰ μὴ ὅσα θύουσι οἱ δὲ δὴ Μάγοι αὐτοχειρίη πάντα πλὴν κυνὸς καὶ ἀνθρώπου κτείνουσι, καὶ

many other reasons, but this in especial, that the debtor must needs (so they say) speak some falsehood. The citizen who has leprosy or the white sickness may not come into a town or consort with other Persians. They say that he is so afflicted because he has sinned in some wise against the sun. Many drive every stranger, who takes such a disease, out of the country; and so they do to white doves, for the reason aforesaid. Rivers they chiefly reverence; they will neither make water nor spit nor wash their hands therein, nor suffer anyone so to do.

139. There is another thing which always happens among them; we have noted it though the Persians have not: their names, which agree with the nature of their persons and their nobility, all end in the same letter, that which the Dorians call san, and the Ionians sigma; you shall find, if you search, that not some but all Persian names alike end in this letter.

140. So much I can say of them of my own certain knowledge. But there are other matters concerning the dead which are secretly and obscurely told—how the dead bodies of Persians are not buried before they have been mangled by bird or dog. That this is the way of the Magians I know for a certainty; for they do not conceal the practice. But this is certain, that before the Persians bury the body in earth they embalm it in wax. These Magians are much unlike to the priests of Egypt, as to all other men: for the priests count it sacrilege to kill aught that lives, save what they sacrifice; but the Magians kill with their own hands every creature, save only dogs

άγωνισμα μέγα τούτο ποιεύνται, κτείνοντες όμοίως μύρμηκάς τε και όφις και τάλλα έρπετα και πετεινά. καὶ ἀμφὶ μὲν τῷ νόμφ τούτφ ἐχέτω ὡς καὶ ἀργην ἐνομίσθη, ἄνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγου.

141. Ίωνες δὲ καὶ Αἰολέες, ώς οἱ Αυδοὶ τάγιστα κατεστράφατο ύπο Περσέων, ἔπεμπον ἀγγέλους ές Σάρδις παρά Κύρον, εθέλοντες επὶ τοίσι αὐτοίσι είναι τοίσι καὶ Κροίσφ ήσαν κατήκοοι. δὲ ἀκούσας αὐτῶν τὰ προΐσχοντο ἔλεξέ σφι λόγον, ἄνδρα φὰς αὐλητὴν ἰδόντα ἰγθῦς ἐν τῆ θαλάσση αὐλέειν, δοκέοντα σφέας έξελεύσεσθαι ές γην ώς δε ψευσθήναι της ελπίδος, λαβείν αμφίβληστρον καὶ περιβαλείν τε πλήθος πολλον τῶν ἰχθύων καὶ ἐξειρύσαι, ἰδόντα δὲ παλλομένους είπειν άρα αὐτὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἰχθῦς "Παύεσθέ μοι ορχεόμενοι, έπει οὐδ' εμέο αὐλέοντος ηθέλετε έκβαίνειν όρχεόμενοι." Κύρος μέν τούτον τον λόγον τοίσι Ίωσι καὶ τοίσι Αἰολεῦσι τῶνδε είνεκα έλεξε, ότι δη οί Ίωνες πρότερον αὐτοῦ Κύρου δεηθέντος δι' άγγέλων απίστασθαι σφέας από Κροίσου οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, τότε δὲ κατεργασμένων των πρηγμάτων ήσαν ετοιμοι πείθεσθαι Κύρω. δ μεν δή όργη εχόμενος έλεγε σφι τάδε "Ιωνες δε ώς ήκουσαν τούτων άνενειχθέντων ές τὰς πόλιας, τείχεά τε περιεβάλοντο έκαστοι καὶ συνελέγοντο ές Πανιώνιον οἱ ἄλλοι, πλην Μιλησίων πρὸς μούνους γαρ τούτους όρκιον Κύρος ἐποιήσατο ἐπ΄ οξσί περ ο Λυδός. τοξσι δε λοιποξσι "Ιωσι έδοξε κοινώ λόγω πέμπειν άγγέλους ές Σπάρτην δεησομένους Ίωσι τιμωρέειν.

and men; they kill all alike, ants and snakes, creeping and flying things, and take much pride therein. Leaving this custom to be such as it has been from

the first, I return now to my former story.

141. As soon as the Lydians had been subdued by the Persians, the Ionians and Aeolians sent messengers to Cyrus, offering to be his subjects on the same terms as those which they had under Croesus. Having heard what they proposed, Cyrus told them a story. Once, he said, there was a flute-player who saw fishes in the sea and played upon his flute, thinking that so they would come out on to the land. Being disappointed of his hope, he took a net and gathered in and drew out a great multitude of the fishes; and seeing them leaping, "You had best," said he, "cease from your dancing now; you would not come out and dance then, when I played to you." The reason why Cyrus told the story to the Ionians and Aeolians was that the Ionians, who were ready to obey him when the victory was won, had before refused when he sent a message asking them to revolt from Croesus. So he answered them in his anger. But when the message came to the Ionians in their cities, they fortified themselves severally with walls, and assembled in the Panionion,2 all except the Milesians, with whom alone Cyrus had made a treaty on the same terms as that which they had with the Lydians. The rest of the Ionians resolved to send envoys in the name of them all to Sparta, to ask help for the Ionians.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Lit. "let matters stand concerning this custom as it was first instituted": i.e., apparently, "let us be content with knowing that this custom is as it has been from its origin."

142. Οἱ δὲ Ἰωνες οὖτοι, τῶν καὶ τὸ Πανιώνιον έστί, τοῦ μὲν οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν ὡρέων ἐν τῶ καλλίστω ἐτύγχανον ίδρυσάμενοι πόλιας πάντων ανθρώπων των ήμεις ίδμεν ούτε γαρ τα άνω αὐτης χωρία τωυτό ποιέει τη Ίωνίη ούτε τὰ κάτω ούτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ ούτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέρην,1 τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ τε καὶ ὑγροῦ πιεζόμενα, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ θερμοῦ τε καὶ αὐχμώδεος. σαν δε ού την αύτην ούτοι νενομίκασι, άλλα τρόπους τέσσερας παραγωγέων. Μίλητος μεν αὐτέων πρώτη κέεται πόλις πρὸς μεσαμβρίην, μετὰ δὲ Μυούς τε καὶ Πριήνη. αὐται μὲν ἐν τῆ Καρίη κατοίκηνται κατά ταύτά διαλεγόμεναι σφίσι, αίδε δὲ ἐν τῆ Λυδίη, Ἐφεσος Κολοφών Λέβεδος Τέως Κλαζομεναί Φώκαια αύται δὲ αὶ πόλιες τῆσι πρότερον λεχθείσησι όμολογέουσι κατά γλώσσαν οὐδέν, σφίσι δὲ ὁμοφωνέουσι. ἔτι δὲ τρεῖς ὑπόλοιποι Ίάδες πόλιες, των αί δύο μεν νήσους οίκεαται, Σάμον τε καὶ Χίον, ή δὲ μία ἐν τῆ ἡπείρω ίδρυται, Έρυθραί. Χίοι μέν νυν καὶ Ἐρυθραίοι κατά τώυτο διαλέγονται, Σάμιοι δὲ ἐπ' ἐωυτών μούνοι. ούτοι χαρακτήρες γλώσσης τέσσερες γίνονται.

143. Τούτων δὴ ὂν τῶν Ἰώνων οἱ Μιλήσιοι μὲν ησαν ἐν σκέπη τοῦ φόβου, ὅρκιον ποιησάμενοι, τοῖσι δὲ αὐτῶν νησιώτησι ην δεινὸν οὐδέν οὕτε γὰρ Φοίνικες ἡσάν κω Περσέων κατήκοοι οὕτε αὐτοὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ναυβάται. ἀπεσχίσθησαν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων οὕτοι κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ἀσθενέος δὲ ἐόντος τοῦ παντὸς τότε Ἑλληνικοῦ

<sup>1</sup> οὕτε τὰ πρὸς . . . ἐσπέρην bracketed by Stein.

# BOOK I. 142-143

142. Now these Ionians, who possessed the Panionion, had set their cities in places more favoured by skies and seasons than any country known to us. For neither to the north of them nor to the south nor to the east nor to the west does the land accomplish the same effect as Ionia. being afflicted here by the cold and wet, there by the heat and drought. They use not all the same speech but four different dialects. Miletus lies farthest south among them, and next to it come Myus and Priene; these are settlements in Caria, and they use a common language; Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedos, Teos, Clazomenae, Phocaea, all of them being in Lydia, have a language in common which is wholly different from the speech of the three cities aforementioned. There are yet three Ionian cities, two of them situate on the islands of Samos and Chios, and one, Erythrae, on the mainland; the Chians and Erythraeans speak alike, but the Samians have a language which is their own and none other's. It is thus seen that there are four fashions of speech.

143. Among these Ionians, the Milesians were sheltered from the danger (for they had made a treaty), and the islanders among them had nothing to fear; for the Phoenicians were not yet subjects of the Persians, nor were the Persians themselves shipmen. But they of Asia were cut off from the rest of the Ionians in no other way save as I shall show. The whole Hellenic race was then but small,

γένεος, πολλώ δη ην ασθενέστατον των εθνέων το Ίωνικον καὶ λόγου έλαγίστου ότι γὰρ μη 'Αθήναι, ην ούδεν άλλο πόλισμα λόγιμον, οί μέν νυν άλλοι Ίωνες καὶ οἱ ᾿Αθηναῖοι ἔφυγον τὸ οὕνομα, ου βουλόμενοι Ίωνες κεκλησθαι, άλλα και νύν φαίνονταί μοι οί πολλοί αὐτῶν ἐπαισχύνεσθαι τῷ οὐνόματι αί δὲ δυώδεκα πόλιες αὐται τῶ τε οὐνόματι ηγάλλουτο καὶ ίρου ίδρύσαντο ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτέων, τῶ οὔνομα ἔθεντο Πανιώνιον, ἐβουλεύσαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ μεταδοῦναι μηδαμοῖσι ἄλλοισι 'Ιώνων (οὐδ' ἐδεήθησαν δὲ οὐδαμοί μετασχείν ὅτι μη Σμυρναίοι). 144, κατά περ οί έκ της πενταπόλιος νῦν χώρης Δωριέες, πρότερον δὲ έξαπόλιος τής αὐτής ταύτης καλεομένης, φυλάσσονται ων μηδαμούς έσδέξασθαι των προσοίκων Δωριέων ές τὸ Τριοπικὸν ἱρόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφέων αὐτών τοὺς περί τὸ ίρὸν ἀνομήσαντας έξεκλήισαν της μετοχής. έν γὰρ τῷ ἀγῶνι τοῦ Τριοπίου Απόλλωνος ἐτίθεσαν τὸ πάλαι τρίποδας χαλκέους τοῖσι νικῶσι, καὶ τούτους χρην τούς λαμβάνοντας έκ τοῦ ίροῦ μη έκφέρειν άλλ' αὐτοῦ ἀνατιθέναι τῶ θεῶ. ἀνηρ ων Αλικαρνησσεύς, τω ούνομα ην Αγασικλέης, νικήσας τον νόμον κατηλόγησε, φέρων δὲ πρὸς τὰ έωυτοῦ οἰκία προσεπασσάλευσε τὸν τρίποδα. διὰ ταύτην την αίτίην αί πέντε πόλιες, Λίνδος καὶ 'Ιήλυσός τε καὶ Κάμειρος καὶ Κῶς τε καὶ Κνίδος έξεκλήισαν της μετοχής την έκτην πόλιν Αλικαρνησσόν. τούτοισι μέν νυν ούτοι ταύτην την ζημίην ἐπέθηκαν.

145. Δυώδεκα δέ μοι δοκέουσι πόλιας ποιήσασθαι οί Ίωνες καὶ οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι πλεῦνας ἐσδέξασθαι τοῦδε εἴνεκα, ὅτι καὶ ὅτε ἐν Πελοποννήσω

and the least of all its parts, and the least regarded, was the Ionian stock; for saving Athens it had no considerable city. Now the Athenians and the rest would not be called Ionians, but spurned the name; nay, even now the greater number of them seem to me to be ashamed of it; but the twelve cities aforesaid gloried in this name, and founded a holy place for themselves which they called the Panionion, and agreed among them to allow no other Ionians to use it (nor indeed did any save the men of Smyrna ask to be admitted); 144. even as the Dorians of the "Five-Cities" -- once called the "Six-Cities" -- country forbid the admitting of any of the neighbouring Dorians to the Triopian temple, nay, they barred from sharing the use of it even those of their own body who had broken the temple law. For long ago in the games in honour of Triopian Apollo they offered certain bronze tripods to the victors; and those who won these must not carry them away from the temple but dedicate them there to the god. Now a man of Halicarnassus called Agasicles, being a winner, disregarded this law, and carrying the tripod away nailed it to the wall of his own house. For this offence the five cities, Lindus, Ialysus, Camirus, Cos, and Cnidus, forbade the sixth city, Halicarnassus, to share in the use of the temple. Such was the penalty imposed on the Halicarnassians.

145. As for the Ionians, the reason why they made twelve cities and would admit no more was in my judgment this, that there were twelve divisions of

οἴκεον, δυώδεκα ἦν αὐτῶν μέρεα, κατά περ νῦν ᾿Αχαιῶν τῶν ἐξελασάντων Ἰωνας δυώδεκα ἐστὶ μέρεα, Πελλήνη μέν γε πρώτη πρὸς Σικυῶνος, μετὰ δὲ Αἴγειρα καὶ Αἰγαί, ἐν τῆ Κρᾶθις ποταμὸς ἀείναος ἐστί, ἀπ᾽ ὅτευ ὁ ἐν Ἰταλίη ποταμὸς τὸ οὕνομα ἔσχε, καὶ Βοῦρα καὶ Ἑλίκη, ἐς τὴν κατέφυγον Ἰωνες ὑπὸ ᾿Αχαιῶν μάχη ἑσσωθέντες, καὶ Αἴγιον καὶ Ῥύπες καὶ Πατρέες καὶ Φαρέες καὶ Ὅλενος, ἐν τῷ Πεῖρος ποταμὸς μέγας ἐστί, καὶ Δύμη καὶ Τριταιέες, οῖ μοῦνοι τούτων μεσόγαιοι οἰκέουσι. ταῦτα δυώδεκα μέρεα νῦν ᾿Αχαιῶν ἐστὶ

καὶ τότε γε Ἰώνων ἢν.

146. Τούτων δη είνεκα καὶ οί Ίωνες δυώδεκα πόλιας εποιήσαντο επεί ως γε τι μάλλον ούτοι "Ιωνες είσι των άλλων Ίωνων ή κάλλιον τι γεγόνασι, μωρίη πολλή λέγειν των Αβαντες μέν έξ Εύβοίης είσι ούκ έλαχίστη μοίρα, τοίσι Ίωνίης μέτα οὐδὲ τοῦ οὐνόματος οὐδέν, Μινύαι δὲ 'Ορχομένιοί σφι άναμεμίχαται και Καδμείοι και Δρύοπες καί Φωκέες άποδάσμιοι καί Μολοσσοί καί 'Αρκάδες Πελασγοί και Δωριέες 'Επιδαύριοι, άλλα τε έθνεα πολλά άναμεμίχαται οί δὲ αὐτῶν άπὸ τοῦ πρυτανηίου τοῦ ᾿Αθηναίων ὁρμηθέντες καὶ νομίζοντες γενναιότατοι είναι Ἰώνων, οὐτοι δὲ ού γυναϊκας ηγάγοντο ές την αποικίην αλλά Καείρας έσχου, των εφόνευσαν τούς γονέας. διά τουτου δέ του φόνου αί γυναίκες αύται νόμου θέμεναι σφίσι αὐτησι ὅρκους ἐπήλασαν καὶ παρέδοσαν τησι θυγατράσι, μή κοτε όμοσιτησαι τοίσι ανδράσι μηδε οὐνόματι βώσαι τον έωυτης ἄνδρα, τοῦδε είνεκα ότι έφόνευσαν σφέων τούς πατέρας καὶ them when they dwelt in Peloponnesus, just as there are twelve divisions of the Achaeans who drove the Ionians out, Pellene nearest to Sicyon, then Aegira and Aegae, where is the never-failing river Crathis, from which the river in Italy took its name; Bura and Helice, whither the Ionians fled when they were worsted in battle by the Achaeans; Aegion, Rhype, Patrae, Phareae, and Olenus, where is the great river Pirus; Dyme and Tritaeae, the only inland cities of all these; these were the twelve divisions of the Ionians, as they are now of the Achaeans.

146. For this reason the Ionians too made twelve cities, and for no other; for it were but foolishness to say that these are more truly Ionian or better born than the other Ionians; seeing that not the least part of them are Abantes from Euboea, who are not Ionians even in name, and that there are mingled with them Minyans of Orchomenus, Cadmeans, Dryopians, Phocian seceders from their nation, Molossians, Pelasgian Arcadians, Dorians of Epidaurus, and many other tribes; and as for those who came from the very town hall of Athens and deem themselves the best born of the Ionians, these did not bring wives with them to their settlements, but married Carian women whose parents they had put to death. For this slaughter, these women made a custom and bound themselves by oath (and enjoined the same on their daughters) that none would sit at meat with her husband nor call him by his name, because the men had married

άνδρας καὶ παίδας καὶ ἔπειτα ταῦτα ποιήσαντες

αὐτῆσι συνοίκεον.

147. Ταῦτα δὲ ἦν γινόμενα ἐν Μιλήτφ. βασιλέας δὲ ἐστήσαντο οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν Λυκίους ἀπὸ Γλαύκου τοῦ Ἱππολόχου γεγονότας, οἱ δὲ Καύκωνας Πυλίους ἀπὸ Κόδρου τοῦ Μελάνθου, οἱ δὲ καὶ συναμφοτέρους. ἀλλὰ γὰρ περιέχονται τοῦ οὐνόματος μᾶλλόν τι τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων, ἔστωσαν δὴ καὶ οἱ καθαρῶς γεγονότες Ἰωνες. εἰσὶ δὲ πάντες Ἰωνες ὅσοι ἀπ΄ ᾿Αθηνέων γεγόνασι καὶ ᾿Απατούρια ἄγουσι ὁρτήν· ἄγουσι δὲ πάντες πλὴν Ἐφεσίων καὶ Κολοφωνίων· οὖτοι γὰρ μοῦνοι Ἰώνων οὐκ ἄγουσι ᾿Απατούρια, καὶ οὖτοι κατὰ φόνου τινὰ σκῆψιν.

148. Τὸ δὲ Πανιώνιον ἐστὶ τῆς Μυκάλης χῶρος ἰρὸς πρὸς ἄρκτον τετραμμένος, κοινῆ ἐξαραιρημένος ὑπὸ Ἰώνων Ποσειδέωνι Ἑλικωνίω. ἡ δὲ Μυκάλη ἐστὶ τῆς ἡπείρου ἄκρη πρὸς ζέφυρον ἄνεμον κατήκουσα Σάμω καταντίον, ἐς τὴν συλλεγόμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων Ἰωνες ἄγεσκον ὁρτὴν τῆ ἔθεντο οὔνομα Πανιώνια. [πεπόνθασι δὲ οὔτι μοῦναι αί Ἰώνων ὁρταὶ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἑλλήνων πάντων ὁμοίως πᾶσαι ἐς τὢυτὸ γράμμα τελευτῶσι,

κατά περ των Περσέων τὰ οὐνόματα.]1

149. Αὖται μέν αὶ Ἰάδες πόλιες εἰσί, αἴδε δὲ αὶ Αἰολίδες, Κύμη ἡ Φρικωνὶς καλεομένη, Λήρισαι, Νέον τεῖχος, Τῆμνος, Κίλλα, Νότιον,

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  The bracketed words are clearly out of place. Probably they are a marginal note with reference to some commentator's assertion that the  $\alpha\text{-ending}$  of names of festivals was specially Ionic.

them after slaying their fathers and husbands and sons.

147. This happened at Miletus. And for kings some of them chose Lycian descendants of Glaucus son of Hippolochus, and some Caucones of Pylus, descendants of Codrus son of Melanthus, and some both. Yet seeing that they set more store by the name than the rest of the Ionians, let it be granted that those of pure birth are Ionians; and all are Ionians who are of Athenian descent and keep the feast Apaturia. All do so keep it, saving the men of Ephesus and Colophon; these are the only Ionians who do not keep it, and these by reason, they say, of a certain deed of blood.

148. The Panionion is a sacred ground in Mycale, facing the north; it was set apart for Poseidon of Helicon by the joint will of the Ionians. Mycale is a western promontory of the mainland opposite to Samos; the Ionians were wont to assemble there from their cities and keep the festival to which they gave the name of Panionia. [The names of all the Greek festivals, not the Ionian alone, end alike in the same letter, just as do the names of the Persians.]

149. I have now told of the Ionian cities. The Aeolian cities are these:—Cyme (called "Phriconian"),<sup>2</sup> Lerisae, "the New Fort," Temnos, Cilla,

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps so called from a mountain in Aeolis, Phricion, near which the Aeolians had been settled before their migra-

tion to Asia,

A festival celebrated at Athens and most Ionian cities by the members of each "phratria" or clan, lasting three days; on the last day grown-up youths were formally admitted as members of the phratria. The festival was held in the month Pyanepsion (late October and early November).

Αλγιρόεσσα, Πιτάνη, Αλγαΐαι, Μύρινα, Γρύνεια. αὐται ἔνδεκα Αλολέων πόλιες αἱ ἀρχαΐαι· μία γὰρ σφέων παρελύθη Σμύρνη ὑπὸ Ἰώνων· ἡσαν γὰρ καὶ αὐται δυώδεκα αἱ ἐν τῆ ἡπείρω. οὐτοι δὲ οἱ Αλολέες χώρην μὲν ἔτυχον κτίσαντες ἀμείνω Ἰώνων, ὡρέων δὲ ἥκουσαν οὐκ ὁμοίως.

150. Σμύρνην δὲ ὧδε ἀπέβαλον Αἰολέες. Κολοφωνίους ἄνδρας στάσι ἐσσωθέντας καὶ ἐκπεσόντας ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπεδέξαντο. μετὰ δὲ οἱ φυγάδες τῶν Κολοφωνίων φυλάξαντες τοὺς Σμυρναίους ὁρτὴν ἔξω τείχεος ποιευμένους Διονύσω, τὰς πύλας ἀποκληίσαντες ἔσχον τὴν πόλιν. βοηθησάντων δὲ πάντων Αἰολέων, ὁμολογίη ἐχρήσαντο τὰ ἔπιπλα ἀποδόντων τῶν Ἰώνων ἐκλιπεῖν Σμύρνην Αἰολέας. ποιησάντων δὲ ταῦτα Σμυρναίων ἐπιδιείλοντο σφέας αὶ ἕνδεκα πόλιες καὶ ἐποιήσαντο σφέων αὐτέων πολιήτας.

151. Αὐται μέν νυν αἱ ἠπειρώτιδες Αἰολίδες πόλιες, ἔξω τῶν ἐν τῆ Ἰδη οἰκημενέων κεχωρίδαται γὰρ αὖται. αἱ δὲ τὰς νήσους ἔχουσαι πέντε μὲν πόλιες τὴν Λέσβον νέμονται (τὴν γὰρ ἔκτην ἐν τῆ Λέσβφ οἰκημένην ᾿Αρίσβαν ἠνδραπόδισαν Μηθυμναῖοι ἐόντας ὁμαίμους), ἐν Τενέδφ δὲ μία οἴκηται πόλις, καὶ ἐν τῆσι Ἑκατὸν νήσοισι καλεομένησι ἄλλη μία. Λεσβίοισι μέν νυν καὶ Τενεδίοισι, κατά περ Ἰώνων τοῖσι τὰς νήσους ἔχουσι, ἢν δεινὸν οὐδέν τῆσι δὲ λοιπῆσι πόλισι ἕαδε κοινῆ Ἰωσι ἔπεσθαι τῆ ὰν οὖτοι ἐξηγέωνται.

Notium, Aegiroessa, Pitana, Aegaeae, Myrina, Grynea. These are the ancient Aeolian cities, eleven in number; these, too, the mainland cities, were once twelve; but one of them, Smyrna, was taken away by the Ionians. These Aeolians had settled where the land was better than the Ionian territory, but the

climate was not so good.

150. Now this is how the Aeolians lost Smyrna. Certain men of Colophon, worsted in civil strife and banished from their country, had been received by them into the town. These Colophonian exiles waited for the time when the men of Smyrna were holding a festival to Dionysus outside the walls; they then shut the gates and so won the city. Then all the Aeolians came to recover it; and an agreement was made, whereby the Aeolians should receive back their movable goods from the Ionians, and quit the city. This being done, the other eleven cities divided the Smyrnaeans among themselves and made them citizens of their own.

151. These then are the Aeolian cities of the mainland, besides those that are situate on Ida, and are separate. Among those on the islands, five divide Lesbos between them (there was a sixth on Lesbos, Arisba, but its people were enslaved by their kinsfolk of Methymna); there is one on Tenedos, and one again in the "Hundred isles" as they are called. The men of Lesbos and Tenedos, then, like the Ionian islanders, had nothing to fear. The rest of the cities took counsel together and resolved to

follow whither the Ionians should lead.

<sup>2</sup> A group of small islands between Lesbos and the mainland.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> These places lie between Smyrna and Pergamum, on or near the coast. But Aegiroessa has not been exactly identified.

152. 'Ως δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην τῶν Ιώνων και Αιολέων οι άγγελοι (κατά γάρ δή τάγος ην ταθτα πρησσόμενα), είλοντο προ πάντων λέγειν του Φωκαέα, τω ούνομα ην Πύθερμος. δ δὲ πορφύρεον τε είμα περιβαλόμενος, ώς αν πυνθανόμενοι πλείστοι συνέλθοιεν Σπαρτιητέων, καὶ καταστάς έλεγε πολλά τιμωρέειν έωυτοίσι χρηίζων. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ού κως ἐσήκουον. άλλ' ἀπέδοξε σφι μη τιμωρέειν Ίωσι. οί μεν δή άπαλλάσσοντο, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἀπωσάμενοι τῶν Ἰώνων τοὺς ἀγγέλους ὅμως ἀπέστειλαν πεντηκοντέρω ἄνδρας, ώς μεν έμοι δοκέει, κατασκόπους των τε Κύρου πρηγμάτων καὶ Ίωνίης. άπικόμενοι δε ούτοι ές Φώκαιαν έπεμπον ές Σάρδις σφέων αὐτῶν τὸν δοκιμώτατον, τῷ οὔνομα ην Λακρίνης, ἀπερέοντα Κύρω Λακεδαιμονίων ρήσιν, γής της Έλλάδος μηδεμίαν πόλιν σιναμωρέειν, ώς αὐτῶν οὐ περιοψομένων.

153. Ταῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ κήρυκος, λέγεται Κῦρον ἐπειρέσθαι τοὺς παρεόντας οἱ Ἑλλήνων τίνες ἐὀντες ἄνθρωποι· Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ κόσοι πλῆθος ταῦτα ἑωυτῷ προαγορεύουσι· πυνθανόμενον δέ μιν εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν κήρυκα τὸν Σπαρτιήτην "Οὐκ ἔδεισά κω ἄνδρας τοιούτους, τοῖσι ἐστὶ χῶρος ἐν μέση τῆ πόλι ἀποδεδεγμένος ἐς τὸν συλλεγόμενοι ἀλλήλους ὀμνύντες ἐξαπατῶσι· τοῖσι, ἡν ἐγὼ ὑγιαίνω, οὐ τὰ Ἰώνων πάθεα ἔσται ἔλλεσχα ἀλλὰ τὰ οἰκήια." ταῦτα ἐς τοὺς πάντας "Ελληνας ἀπέρριψε ὁ Κῦρος τὰ ἔπεα, ὅτι ἀγορὰς στησάμενοι ὼνῆ τε καὶ πρήσι χρέωνται· αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀγορῆσι οὐδὲν ἐώθασι χρᾶσθαι, οὐδέ σφι ἐστὶ τὸ παράπαν ἀγορή. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιτρέψας

152. So when the envoys of the Ionians and Aeolians came to Sparta (for this was set afoot with all speed) they chose the Phocaean, whose name was Pythermos, to speak for all. He then put on a purple cloak, that as many Spartans as possible might assemble to hear him, and stood up and made a long speech asking aid for his people. But the Lacedaemonians would not listen to him and refused to aid the Ionians. So the Ionians departed; but the Lacedaemonians, though they had rejected their envoys, did nevertheless send men in a ship of fifty oars to see (as I suppose) how it fared with Cyrus and Ionia. These, coming to Phocaea, sent Lacrines, who was the most esteemed among them, to Sardis, to repeat there to Cyrus a proclamation of the Lacedaemonians, that he must harm no city on Greek territory; else the Lacedaemonians would punish him.

153. When the herald had so spoken, Cyrus (it is said) asked the Greeks that were present who and how many in number were these Lacedaemonians who made him this declaration. When he was told, he said to the Spartan herald, "I never yet feared men who have a place set apart in the midst of their city where they perjure and deceive each other. These, if I keep my health, shall have their own mishaps to talk of, not those of the Ionians." This threat he uttered against the whole Greek nation, because they have market-places and buy and sell there; for the Persians themselves use no market-places, nor have they such at all. Presently,

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τὰς μὲν Σάρδις Ταβάλφ ἀνδρὶ Πέρση, τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν τόν τε Κροίσου καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων Λυδῶν Πακτύη ἀνδρὶ Λυδῷ κομίζειν, ἀπήλαυνε αὐτὸς ἐς ᾿Αγβάτανα, Κροῖσόν τε ἄμα ἀγόμενος καὶ τοὺς Ἰωνας ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγφ ποιησάμενος τὴν πρώτην εἶναι. ἥ τε γὰρ Βαβυλών οἱ ἦν ἐμπόδιος καὶ τὸ Βάκτριον ἔθνος καὶ Σάκαι τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι, ἐπ' οῦς ἐπεῖχέ τε στρατηλατέειν αὐτός, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἰωνας ἄλλον πέμπειν στρατηγόν.

154. 'Ως δὲ ἀπήλασε ὁ Κῦρος ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων, τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἀπέστησε ὁ Πακτύης ἀπό τε Ταβάλου καὶ Κύρου, καταβὰς δὲ ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἄτε τὸν χρυσὸν ἔχων πάντα τὸν ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων, ἐπικούρους τε ἐμισθοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἐπιθαλασσίους ἀνθρώπους ἔπειθε σὺν ἑωυτῷ στρατεύεσθαι. ἐλάσας δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδις ἐπολιόρκες Τάβαλον ἀπεργ

μένον εν τη άκροπόλι.

155. Πυθόμενος δὲ κατ' όδὸν ταῦτα ὁ Κῦρος εἶπε πρὸς Κροῖσον τάδε. "Κροῖσε, τί ἔσται τέλος τῶν γινομένων τούτων ἐμοί; οὐ παύσονται Λυδοί, ὡς οἴκασι, πρήγματα παρέχοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔχοντες. φροντίζω μὴ ἄριστον ἢ ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι σφέας. ὁμοίως γὰρ μοι νῦν γε φαίνομαι πεποιηκέναι ὡς εἴ τις πατέρα ἀποκτείνας τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ φείσατο ὡς δὲ καὶ ἐγὼ Λυδῶν τὸν μὲν πλέον τι ἡ πατέρα ἐόντα σὲ λαβὼν ἄγω, αὐτοῖσι δὲ Λυδοῖσι τὴν πόλιν παρέδωκα, καὶ ἔπειτα θωμάζω εἴ μοι ἀπεστᾶσι." ὁ μὲν δὴ τά περ ἐνόεε ἔλεγε, ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε, δείσας μὴ ἀναστάτους ποιήση τὰς Σάρδις. "\*Ω βασιλεῦ, τὰ μὲν οἰκότα εἴρηκας, σὰ μέντοι μὴ πάντα θυμῷ χρέο, μηδὲ πόλιν ἀρχαίην ἐξαναστήσης ἀναμάρ-

entrusting Sardis to a Persian called Tabalus, and charging Pactyes, a Lydian, to bring the gold of Croesus and the Lydians, he himself marched away to Agbatana, taking with him Croesus, and at first making no account of the Ionians. For he had Babylon on his hands and the Bactrian nation and the Sacae and Egyptians; he was minded to lead an army himself against these and to send other forces against the Ionians.

154. But no sooner had Cyrus marched away from Sardis than Pactyes made the Lydians to revolt from Tabalus and Cyrus; and he went down to the sea, where, as he had all the gold of Sardis, he hired soldiers and persuaded the men of the coast to join his army. Then marching to Sardis he penned Tabalus in the citadel and besieged him there.

155. When Cyrus had news of this on his journey, he said to Croesus, "What end am I to make, Croesus, of this business? it seems that the Lydians will never cease making trouble for me and for themselves. It is in my mind that it may be best to make slaves of them; for now methinks I have done like one that should slay the father and spare the children. So likewise I have taken with me you who were more than a father to the Lydians, and handed the city over to the Lydians themselves; and then forsooth I marvel that they revolt!" So Cyrus uttered his thought; but Croesus feared that he would destroy Sardis, and thus answered him: "O King, what you say is but reasonable. Yet do not ever yield to anger, nor destroy an ancient city that is guiltless both of

τητον ἐοῦσαν καὶ τῶν πρότερον καὶ τῶν νῦν ἑστεώτων. τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρότερον ἐγώ τε ἔπρηξα καὶ ἐγὼ κεφαλῆ ἀναμάξας φέρω· τὰ δὲ νῦν παρεόντα Πακτύης γὰρ ἐστὶ ὁ ἀδικέων, τῷ σὰ ἐπέτρεψας Σάρδις, οὖτος δότω τοι δίκην. Λυδοῖσι δὲ συγγνώμην ἔχων τάδε αὐτοῖσι ἐπίταξον, ὡς μήτε ἀποστέωσι μήτε δεινοί τοι ἔωσι· ἄπειπε μέν σφι πέμψας ὅπλα ἀρήια μὴ ἐκτῆσθαι, κέλευε δὲ σφέας κιθῶνάς τε ὑποδύνειν τοῖσι εἴμασι καὶ κοθόρνους ὑποδέεσθαι, πρόειπε δ' αὐτοῖσι κιθαρίζειν τε καὶ ψάλλειν καὶ καπηλεύειν παιδεύειν τοὺς παίδας. καὶ ταχέως σφέας ὧ βασιλεῦ γυναῖκας ἀντ' ἀνδρῶν ὄψεαι γεγονότας, ὥστε οὐδὲν δεινοί τοι ἔσονται μὴ ἀποστέωσι."

156. Κροῖσος μὲν δὴ ταῦτά οἱ ὑπετίθετο, αἰρετώτερα ταῦτα εὐρίσκων Λυδοῖσι ἡ ἀνδραποδισθέντας πρηθῆναι σφέας, ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι ἡν μὴ ἀξιόχρεον πρόφασιν προτείνη, οὐκ ἀναπείσει μιν μεταβουλεύσασθαι, ἀρρωδέων δὲ μὴ καὶ ὕστερον κοτὲ οἱ Λυδοί, ἡν τὸ παρεὸν ὑπεκδράμωσι, ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ τῶν Περσέων ἀπόλωνται. Κῦρος δὲ ἡσθεὶς τῆ ὑποθήκη καὶ ὑπεὶς τῆς ὀργῆς ἔφη οἱ πείθεσθαι καλέσας δὲ Μαζάρεα ἄνδρα Μῆδον, ταῦτά τὲ οἱ ἐνετείλατο προειπεῖν Λυδοῖσι τὰ ὁ Κροῖσος ὑπετίθετο, καὶ πρὸς ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι

άγαγεῖν παρ' έωυτόν.

157. 'Ο μεν δη ταθτα εκ της όδοθ εντειλάμενος ἀπήλαυνε ες ήθεα τὰ Περσέων, Πακτύης δὲ πυθόμενος ἀγχοθ είναι στρατον ἐπ' ἐωυτον ἰόντα δείσας οἴχετο φεύγων ἐς Κύμην. Μαζάρης δὲ ὁ

τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας οἱ μετὰ Λυδῶν ἐπὶ Σάρδις ἐστρατεύσαντο, αὐτὸν δὲ Πακτύην πάντως ζῶντα

the former and of the latter offence. For the beginning was my work, and on my head is the penalty; but it is Pactyes, in whose charge you left Sardis, who does this present wrong; let him therefore be punished. But let the Lydians be pardoned; and lay on them this command, that they may not revolt or be dangerous to you; send, I say, and forbid them to possess weapons of war, and command them to wear tunics under their cloaks and buskins on their feet, and to teach their sons lyre-playing and song and dance and huckstering. Then, O king, you will soon see them turned to women instead of men; and thus you need not fear lest they revolt."

156. Such counsel Croesus gave Cyrus, because he thought this was better for the Lydians than to be sold as slaves; he knew that without some reasonable plea he could not change the king's purpose, and feared that even if the Lydians should now escape they might afterwards revolt and be destroyed by the Persians. Cyrus was pleased by this counsel; he abated his anger and said he would follow Croesus' advice. Then calling Mazares, a Mede, he charged him to give the Lydians the commands which Croesus advised; further, to enslave all the others who had joined the Lydians in attacking Sardis; and as for Pactyes himself, to bring him by whatever means into his presence alive.

157. Having given these commands on his journey, he marched away into the Persian country. But Pactyes, learning that an army sent against him was drawing near, was affrighted and fled to Cyme.

Μήδος ἐλάσας ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδις τοῦ Κύρου στρατοῦ μοῖραν ὅσην δή κοτε ἔχων, ὡς οὖκ εὖρε ἔτι ἐόντας τοὺς ἀμφὶ Πακτύην ἐν Σάρδισι, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἡνάγκασε τὰς Κύρου ἐντολὰς ἐπιτελέειν, ἐκ τούτου δὲ κελευσμοσύνης Λυδοὶ τὴν πᾶσαν δίαιταν τῆς ζόης μετέβαλον. Μαζάρης δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔπεμπε ἐς τὴν Κύμην ἀγγέλους ἐκδιδόναι κελεύων Πακτύην. οἱ δὲ Κυμαῖοι ἔγνωσαν συμβουλῆς πέρι ἐς θεὸν ἀνοῖσαι τὸν ἐν Βραγχίδησι ἢν γὰρ αὐτόθι μαντήιον ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἰδρυμένον, τῷ Ἰωνές τε πάντες καὶ Λιολέες ἐώθεσαν χρᾶσθαι. ὁ δὲ χῶρος οὖτος ἐστὶ τῆς Μιλησίης ὑπὲρ Πανόρμου λιμένος.

158. Πέμψαντες ὧν οἱ Κυμαῖοι ἐς τοὺς Βραγχίδας θεοπρόπους εἰρώτευν περὶ Πακτύην ὁκοῖόν τι ποιέοντες θεοῖσι μέλλοιεν χαριεῖσθαι. ἐπειρωτῶσι δέ σφι ταῦτα χρηστήριον ἐγένετο ἐκδιδόναι Πακτύην Πέρσησι. ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Κυμαῖοι, ὁρμέατο ἐκδιδόναι· ὁρμημένου δὲ ταύτη τοῦ πλήθεος, ᾿Αριστόδικος ὁ Ἡρακλείδεω ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀστῶν ἐῶν δόκιμος ἔσχε μὴ ποιῆσαι ταῦτα Κυμαίους, ἀπιστέων τε τῶ

χρησμῷ καὶ δοκέων τοὺς θεοπρόπους οὐ λέγειν άληθέως, ἐς ὁ τὸ δεύτερον περὶ Πακτύεω ἐπειρη-

σόμενοι ήισαν ἄλλοι θεοπρόποι, τῶν καὶ ᾿Αριστόδικος ἦν.

159. 'Απικομένων δὲ ἐς Βραγχίδας ἐχρηστηριάζετο ἐκ πάντων 'Αριστόδικος ἐπειρωτῶν τάδε.
"' Ωναξ, ἢλθε παρ' ἡμέας ἰκέτης Πακτύης ὁ Λυδός,
φεύγων θάνατον βίαιον πρὸς Περσέων οὶ δέ μιν
ἐξαιτέονται, προείναι Κυμαίους κελεύοντες. ἡμεῖς
δὲ δειμαίνοντες τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν τὸν ἰκέτην

Mazares the Mede, when he came to Sardis with whatever part he had of Cyrus' army and found Pactyes' followers no longer there, first of all compelled the Lydians to carry out Cyrus' commands; and by his order they changed their whole manner of life. After this, he sent messengers to Cyme demanding that Pactyes be given up. The Cymaeans resolved to make the god at Branchidae their judge as to what counsel they should take; for there was there an ancient place of divination, which all the Ionians and Aeolians were wont to consult: the place is in the land of Miletus, above the harbour of

Panormus.

158. The men of Cyme then sent to Branchidae to inquire of the shrine what they should do in the matter of Pactyes that should be most pleasing to the gods; and the oracle replied that they must give Pactyes up to the Persians. When this answer came back to them, they set about giving him up. But while the greater part were for doing this, Aristodicus son of Heraclides, a notable man among the citizens, stayed the men of Cyme from this deed; for he disbelieved the oracle and thought that those who had inquired of the god spoke untruly; till at last a second band of inquirers was sent to inquire concerning Pactyes, among whom was Aristodicus.

159. When they came to Branchidae Aristodicus speaking for all put this question to the oracle: "O King, Pactyes the Lydian hath fled to us for refuge to save him from a violent death at the hands of the Persians; and they demand him of us, bidding the men of Cyme to give him up. But we, for all that we fear the Persian power, have not made bold

ές τόδε ου τετολμήκαμεν εκδιδόναι, πρίν αν το άπὸ σεῦ ἡμῖν δηλωθή ἀτρεκέως ὁκότερα ποιέωμεν." δ μεν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα, δ δ' αὖτις τὸν αὐτόν σφι χρησμον έφαινε, κελεύων ἐκδιδόναι Πακτύην Πέρσησι. πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ ᾿Αριστόδικος έκ προνοίης ἐποίες τάδε περιιών τον νηὸν κύκλω έξαίρεε τους στρουθούς και άλλα όσα ην νενοσσευμένα δρνίθων γένεα έν τω νηώ. ποιέοντος δέ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα λέγεται φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου γενέσθαι φέρουσαν μέν πρός τον Αριστόδικον. λέγουσαν δὲ τάδε "'Ανοσιώτατε ἀνθρώπων, τί τάδε τολμάς ποιέειν: τους ίκέτας μου έκ του νηου κεραίζεις; ' 'Αριστόδικον δὲ οὐκ ἀπορήσαντα πρὸς ταθτα είπειν " Ωναξ, αὐτὸς μεν οὕτω τοισι ικέτησι Βοηθέεις, Κυμαίους δὲ κελεύεις τὸν ἰκέτην ἐκδιδόναι:" τὸν δὲ αὖτις ἀμείψασθαι τοῖσιδε "Nai κελεύω, ίνα γε άσεβήσαντες θασσον απόλησθε, ώς μη το λοιπον περί ίκετέων εκδόσιος έλθητε επί το γρηστήριου."

160. Ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Κυμαῖοι, οὐ βουλόμενοι οὕτε ἐκδόντες ἀπολέσθαι οὕτε παρ' ἐωυτοῖσι ἔχοντες πολιορκέεσθαι, ἐκπέμπουσι αὐτὸν ἐς Μυτιλήνην. οἱ δὲ Μυτιληναῖοι ἐπιπέμποντος τοῦ Μαζάρεος ἀγγελίας ἐκδιδόναι τὸν Πακτύην παρεσκευάζοντο ἐπὶ μισθῷ ὅσῷ δή·οὐ γὰρ ἔχω τοῦτό γε εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως· οὐ γὰρ ἐτελεώθη. Κυμαῖοι γὰρ ὡς ἔμαθον ταῦτα πρησσόμενα ἐκ τῶν Μυτιληναίων, πέμψαντες πλοῖον ἐς Λέσβον ἐκκομίζουσι Πακτύην ἐς Χίον. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἐξ ἰροῦ ᾿Αθηναίης πολιούχου ἀποσπασθεὶς ὑπὸ Χίων ἐξεδόθη· ἐξέδοσαν δὲ οἱ Χῖοι ἐπὶ τῷ ᾿Αταρνέι μισθῷ· τοῦ δὲ ᾿Αταρνέος τούτου ἐστὶ χῶρος

to give up this our suppliant, until thy will be clearly made known to us, whether we shall do this or not." Thus Aristodicus questioned; and the god gave again the same answer, that Pactyes should be delivered up to the Persians. With that Aristodicus did as he had already purposed; he went round about the temple, and stole away the sparrows and all other families of nestling birds that were in it. But while he so did. a voice (they say) came out of the inner shrine calling to Aristodicus, and saying, "Thou wickedest of men, wherefore darest thou do this? wilt thou rob my temple of those that take refuge with me?" Then Aristodicus had his answer ready: "O King," said he, "wilt thou thus save thine own suppliants, vet bid the men of Cyme deliver up theirs?" But the god made answer, "Yea, I do bid them, that ve may the sooner perish for your impiety, and never again come to inquire of my oracle concerning the giving up of them that seek refuge with you."

of the Cymaeans they sent Pactyes away to Mytilene; for they desired neither to perish for delivering him up nor to be besieged for keeping him with them. Then Mazares sent a message to Mytilene demanding the surrender of Pactyes, and the Mytilenaeans prepared to give him, for a price; I cannot say with exactness how much it was, for the bargain was never fulfilled; for when the Cymaeans learnt that the Mytilenaeans had this in hand, they sent a ship to Lesbos and brought Pactyes away to Chios. Thence he was dragged out of the temple of Cityguarding Athene and delivered up by the Chians, they receiving in return Atarneus, which is a district

της Μυσίης, Λέσβου ἀντίος. Πακτύην μέν νυν παραδεξάμενοι οἱ Πέρσαι εἶχον ἐν φυλακη, θέλοντες Κύρφ ἀποδέξαι. ἢν δὲ χρόνος οὖτος οὐκ ὀλίγος γινόμενος, ὅτε Χίων οὐδεὶς ἐκ τοῦ ᾿Αταρνέος τούτου οὕτε οὐλὰς κριθέων πρόχυσιν ἐποιέετο θεῶν οὐδειὶ οὕτε πέμματα ἐπέσσετο καρποῦ τοῦ ἐνθεῦτεν, ἀπείχετό τε τῶν πάντων ἱρῶν τὰ πάντα ἐκ τῆς χώρης ταύτης γινόμενα.

161. Χίοι μέν νυν Πακτύην ἐξέδοσαν Μαζάρης δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τοὺς συμπολιορκήσαντας Τάβαλον, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν Πριηνέας ἐξηνδραποδίσατο, τοῦτο δὲ Μαιάνδρου πεδίον πᾶν ἐπέδραμε ληίην ποιεύμενος τῷ στρατῷ, Μαγνησίην τε ὡσαύτως. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα αὐτίκα

νούσω τελευτά.

162. 'Αποθανόντος δὲ τούτου," Αρπαγος κατέβη διάδοχος τῆς στρατηγίης, γένος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐὼν Μῆδος, τὸν ὁ Μήδων βασιλεὺς 'Αστυάγης ἀνόμφ τραπέζη ἔδαισε, ὁ τῷ Κύρω τὴν βασιληίην συγκατεργασάμενος. οὖτος ὡνὴρ τότε ὑπὸ Κύρου στρατηγὸς ἀποδεχθεὶς ὡς ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην, αἴρεε τὰς πόλιας χώμασι ὅκως γὰρ τειχήρεας ποιήσειε, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν χώματα χῶν πρὸς τὰ τείχεα ἐπόρθεε.

163. Πρώτη δὲ Φωκαίη Ἰωνίης ἐπεχείρησε. οἱ δὲ Φωκαιέες οὖτοι ναυτιλίησι μακρῆσι πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ τόν τε ᾿Αδρίην καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίην καὶ τὸν Ταρτησσὸν οὖτοι εἰσὶ οἱ καταδέξαντες ἐναυτίλλοντο δὲ οὐ στρογγύλησι νηυσὶ ἀλλὰ πεντηκοντέροισι. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ταρτησσὸν προσφιλέες ἐγένοντο τῷ βασιλέι τῶν Ταρτησσίων,

in Mysia over against Lesbos. The Persians thus received Pactyes and kept him guarded, that they might show him to Cyrus; and for a long time no Chian would offer sacrifice of barley meal from this land of Atarneus to any god, or make sacrificial cakes of what grew there; nothing that came from that country might be used for any sacred rite.

161. Pactyes being then delivered up by the Chians, Mazares presently led his army against those who had helped to besiege Tabalus, and he enslaved the people of Priene, and overran the plain of the Maeandrus, to get forage for his army, and Magnesia likewise. Immediately after this he died of a

sickness.

162. After his death Harpagus came down to succeed him in his command, a Median like Mazares; this is that Harpagus who was entertained by Astyages the Median king at that unnatural feast, and who helped to win the kingship for Cyrus. This man was now made general by Cyrus. When he came to Ionia, he took the cities by building mounds; he would drive the men within their walls and then build mounds against the walls and so take the cities.

163. Phocaea was the first Ionian town that he assailed. These Phocaeans were the earliest of the Greeks to make long sea-voyages: it was they who discovered the Adriatic Sea, and Tyrrhenia, and Iberia, and Tartessus, 1 not sailing in round freightships but in fifty-oared vessels. When they came to Tartessus they made friends with the king of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The lower valley of the Guadalquivir. Later Tartessus was identified with Gades (Cadiz), which Herodotus (iv. 8) calls Gadira.

τῷ οὔνομα μὲν ἡν ᾿Αργανθώνιος, ἐτυράννευσε δὲ Ταρτησσοῦ ὀγδώκοντα ἔτεα, ἐβίωσε δὲ πάντα εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. τούτῷ δὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ προσφιλέὲς οἱ Φωκαιέες οὕτω δή τι ἐγένοντο ὡς τὰ μὲν πρῶτα σφέας ἐκλιπόντας Ἰωνίην ἐκέλευε τῆς ἑωυτοῦ χώρης οἰκῆσαι ὅκου βούλονται· μετὰ δέ, ὡς τοῦτό γε οὐκ ἔπειθε τοὺς Φωκαιέας, ὁ δὲ πυθόμενος τὸν Μῆδον παρ' αὐτῶν ὡς αὔξοιτο, ἐδίδου σφι χρήματα τεῖχος περιβαλέσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ἐδίδου δὲ ἀφειδέως· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡ περίοδος τοῦ τείχεος οὐκ ὀλίγοι στάδιοι εἰσί, τοῦτο δὲ πᾶν

λίθων μεγάλων καὶ εὖ συναρμοσμένων.

164. Το μεν δή τείχος τοίσι Φωκαιεύσι τρόπω τοιωδε έξεποιήθη. ὁ δὲ "Αρπαγος ώς ἐπήλασε την στρατιήν, ἐπολιόρκες αὐτούς, προϊσγόμενος ἔπεα ώς οί καταχρά εί βούλονται Φωκαιέες προμαγεώνα ένα μοθνον τοθ τείχεος έρειψαι καὶ οίκημα έν κατιρώσαι. οί δὲ Φωκαιέες περιημεκτέοντες τη δουλοσύνη έφασαν θέλειν βουλεύσασθαι ημέρην μίαν καὶ έπειτα ὑποκρινέεσθαι έν ὁ δὲ βουλεύονται αὐτοί, ἀπαγαγείν ἐκείνον ἐκέλευον την στρατιήν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος. ὁ δ' Αρπαγος έφη είδεναι μεν εθ τὰ εκείνοι μελλοιεν ποιέειν. όμως δέ σφι παριέναι βουλεύσασθαι. Εν & ων ο "Αρπαγος ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος ἀπήγαγε τὴν στρατιήν, οι Φωκαιέες έν τούτω κατασπάσαντες τὰς πεντηκοντέρους, έσθέμενοι τέκνα καὶ γυναϊκας καὶ έπιπλα πάντα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα τὰ ἐκ των ίρων και τὰ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα, χωρίς ὅ τι γαλκὸς η λίθος η γραφη ην, τὰ δὲ άλλα πάντα έσθέντες και αὐτοι έσβάντες ἔπλεον ἐπὶ Χίου. τὴν δὲ Φωκαίην ἐρημωθεῖσαν ἀνδρῶν ἔσχον οἱ Πέρσαι.

# BOOK I. 163-164

Tartessians, whose name was Arganthonius; he ruled Tartessus for eighty years and lived an hundred and twenty. The Phocaeans so won this man's friendship that he first entreated them to leave Ionia and settle in his country where they would; and then, when he could not persuade them to that, and learnt from them how the Median power was increasing, he gave them money to build a wall round their city therewith. Without stint he gave it; for the circuit of the wall is of many furlongs, and all this is made

of great stones well fitted together.

164. In such a manner was the Phocaeans' wall fully made. Harpagus marched against the city and besieged it, but he made overtures, and said that it would suffice him if the Phocaeans would demolish one bastion of the wall and dedicate one house. But the Phocaeans, very wroth at the thought of slavery, said they desired to take counsel for one day. and then they would answer; but while they were consulting, Harpagus must, they said, withdraw his army from the walls. Harpagus said that he knew well what they purposed to do, but that nevertheless he would suffer them to take counsel. So while Harpagus withdrew his army from the walls, the Phocaeans launched their fifty-oared ships, placed in them their children and women and all movable goods, besides the statues from the temples and all things therein dedicated save bronze or stonework or painting, and then themselves embarked and set sail for Chios; and the Persians took Phocaea, thus left uninhabited.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A common Greek tradition, apparently; Anacreon (Fr. 8) says "I would not... rule Tartessus for an hundred and fifty years."

165. Οί δὲ Φωκαιέες, ἐπείτε σφι Χίοι τὰς νήσους τὰς Οἰνούσσας καλεομένας οὐκ ἐβούλοντο ώνευμένοισι πωλέειν. δειμαίνοντες μη αι μέν έμπόριον γένωνται, ή δὲ αὐτῶν νῆσος ἀποκληισθή τούτου είνεκα, πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Φωκαιέες ἐστέλλοντο ές Κύρνον έν γάρ τη Κύρνω είκοσι έτεσι πρότερου τούτων έκ θεοπροπίου ανεστήσαντο πόλιν, τή ούνομα ήν 'Αλαλίη. 'Αργανθώνιος δε τηνικαῦτα ήδη τετελευτήκεε. στελλόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Κύρνον, πρώτα καταπλεύσαντες ές την Φωκαίην κατεφόνευσαν των Περσέων την φυλακήν, ή έφρούρεε παραδεξαμένη παρά Αρπάγου την πόλιν. μετά δέ, ώς τοῦτό σφι ἐξέργαστο, ἐποιήσαντο ίσχυρας κατάρας τω υπολειπομένω έωυτων τοῦ στόλου, πρὸς δὲ ταύτησι καὶ μύδρον σιδήρεον κατεπόντωσαν καὶ ώμοσαν μη πρίν ές Φωκαίην ήξειν πρίν ή του μύδρου τοῦτου ἀναφανήναι. στελλομένων δε αὐτων ἐπὶ τὴν Κύρνον, ὑπερημίσεας των αστων έλαβε πόθος τε και οίκτος της πόλιος και των ήθέων της χώρης, ψευδόρκιοι δέ γενόμενοι απέπλεον οπίσω ές την Φωκαίην, οί δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ ὅρκιον ἐφύλασσον, ἀερθέντες ἐκ τῶν Οίνουσσέων έπλεον.

166. Επείτε δὲ ἐς τὴν Κύρνον ἀπίκοντο, οἴκεον κοινῆ μετὰ τῶν πρότερον ἀπικομένων ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε, καὶ ἱρὰ ἐνιδρύσαντο. καὶ ἢγον γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἔφερον τοὺς περιοίκους ἄπαντας, στρατεύονται ἀν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς κοινῷ λόγῳ χρησάμενοι Τυρσηνοὶ καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι, νηυσὶ ἑκάτεροι ἐξήκόντα. οἱ δὲ Φωκαιέες πληρώσαντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ πλοῖα, ἐόντα ἀριθμὸν ἐξήκοντα, ἀντίαζον ἐς τὸ Σαρδόνιον καλεόμενον πέλαγος. συμμισ-

165. The Phocaeans would have bought of the Chians the islands called Oenussae 1; but the Chians would not sell them, because they feared that the islands would become a market and so their own island be cut off from its trade: so the Phocaeans made ready to sail to Cyrnus,2 where at the command of an oracle they had twenty years before this built a city called Alalia. Arganthonius was by this time dead. While making ready for their voyage, they first sailed to Phocaea, where they slew the Persian guard to whom Harpagus had entrusted the defence of the city; and this being done, they called down mighty curses on whosoever of themselves should stay behind when the rest sailed. Not only so, but they sank in the sea a mass of iron, and swore never to return to Phocaea before the iron should again appear. But while they prepared to voyage to Cyrnus, more than half of the citizens were taken with a longing and a pitiful sorrow for the city and the life of their land, and they broke their oath and sailed back to Phocaea. Those of them who kept the oath set out to sea from the Oenussae.

166. And when they came to Cyrnus they dwelt there for five years as one body with those who had first come, and they founded temples there. But they harried and plundered all their neighbours: wherefore the Tyrrhenians and Carchedonians made common cause against them, and sailed to attack them each with sixty ships. The Phocaeans also manned their ships, sixty in number, and met the enemy in the sea called Sardonian. They joined

<sup>2</sup> Corsica.

<sup>1</sup> Between Chios and the mainland.

γόντων δὲ τῆ ναυμαχίη Καδμείη τις νίκη τοῖσι Φωκαιεῦσι ἐγένετο· αἱ μὲν γὰρ τεσσεράκοντά σφι νέες διεφθάρησαν, αἱ δὲ εἴκοσι αἱ περιεοῦσαι ἢσαν ἄχρηστοι· ἀπεστράφατο γὰρ τοὺς ἐμβόλους. καταπλώσαντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Αλαλίην ἀνέλαβον τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κτῆσιν ὅσην οἶαί τε ἐγίνοντο αἱ νέες σφι ἄγειν, καὶ ἔπειτα ἀπέντες τὴν Κύρνον ἔπλεον ἐς

Υρήγιου.

167. Των δε διαφθαρεισέων νεων τους άνδρας οί τε Καργηδόνιοι και οί Τυρσηνοί [διέλαχον, τών δὲ Τυρσηνών οἱ 'Αγυλλαῖοι] ἔλαγόν τε αὐτών πολλώ πλείστους καὶ τούτους έξαγαγόντες κατέλευσαν. μετά δὲ 'Αγυλλαίοισι πάντα τὰ παριόντα τὸν χώρον, ἐν τῷ οἱ Φωκαιέες καταλευσθέντες ἐκέατο, ἐγίνετο διάστροφα καὶ ἔμπηρα καὶ ἀπόπληκτα, ὁμοίως πρόβατα καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ ἄνθρωποι. οἱ δὲ Αγυλλαίοι ἐς Δελφούς έπεμπον βουλόμενοι ακέσασθαι την αμαρτάδα. ή δὲ Πυθίη σφέας ἐκέλευσε ποιέειν τὰ καὶ νῦν οί 'Αγυλλαίοι έτι έπιτελέουσι' καὶ γὰρ ἐναγίζουσί σφι μεγάλως καὶ ἀγώνα γυμνικὸν καὶ ίππικου έπιστασι. και ούτοι μέν των Φωκαιέων τοιούτω μόρω διεχρήσαντο, οί δε αὐτῶν ές τὸ Ρήγιον καταφυγόντες ένθευτεν όρμωμενοι έκτήσαυτο πόλιν γης της Οίνωτρίης ταύτην ήτις νθν Υέλη καλέεται έκτισαν δὲ ταύτην πρὸς ἀνδρὸς Ποσειδωνιήτεω μαθόντες ώς τον Κύρνον σφι ή Πυθίη έχρησε κτίσαι ήρων έόντα, άλλ' οὐ τὴν νησον.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The words in brackets are Stein's conjecture; the MSS. have nothing between Τυρσηνοί and ἔλαχον.

### BOOK I. 166-167

battle, and the Phocaeans won, yet it was but a Cadmean victory<sup>1</sup>; for they lost forty of their ships, and the twenty that remained were useless, their rams being twisted awry. Then sailing to Alalia they took on board their children and women and all of their possessions that their ships could hold, and leaving

Cyrnus they sailed to Rhegium.

167. As for the crews of the destroyed ships, the Carchedonians and Tyrrhenians drew lots for them: and by far the greater share of them falling to the Tyrrhenian city of Agylla,2 the Agyllaeans led them out and stoned them to death. But after this all from Agylla, whether sheep or beasts of burden or men, that passed the place where the stoned Phocaeans lay, became distorted and crippled and palsied. The Agyllaeans sent to Delphi, desiring to heal their offence; and the Pythian priestess bade them do what the people of Agylla to this day perform: for they pay great honours to the Phocaeans, with religious rites and games, and horse-races. Such was the end of this portion of the Phocaeans. Those of them who fled to Rhegium set out from thence and gained possession of that Oenotrian 3 city which is now called Hyele4; this they founded because they learnt from a man of Posidonia that when the Pythian priestess spoke of founding a settlement and of Cyrnus, it was the hero that she signified and not the island.

<sup>2</sup> Later Caere in Etruria.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Polynices and Eteocles, sons of Oedipus and descendants of Cadmus, fought for the possession of Thebes and killed each other. Hence a Cadmean victory means one where victor and vanquished suffer alike.

Oenotria corresponds to Southern Italy (the Lucania and Bruttium of Roman history).
4 Later Elea (Velia).

168. Φωκαίης μέν νυν πέρι τῆς ἐν Ἰωνίη οὕτω ἔσχε, παραπλήσια δὲ τούτοισι καὶ Τήιοι ἐποίησαν. ἐπείτε γὰρ σφέων εἶλε χώματι τὸ τεῖχος Ἄρπαγος, ἐσβάντες πάντες ἐς τὰ πλοῖα οἴχοντο πλέοντες ἐπὶ τῆς Θρηίκης, καὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἔκτισαν πόλιν Ἄβδηρα, τὴν πρότερος τούτων Κλαζομένιος Τιμήσιος κτίσας οὐκ ἀπόνητο, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Θρηίκων ἐξελασθεὶς τιμὰς νῦν ὑπὸ Τηίων τῶν

εν 'Αβδήροισι ώς ήρως έχει.

169. Οδτοι μέν νυν Ίωνων μοῦνοι τὴν δουλοσύνην οὐκ ἀνεχόμενοι ἐξέλιπον τὰς πατρίδας οἱ δ' ἄλλοι Ἰωνες πλὴν Μιλησίων διὰ μάχης μὲν ἀπίκοντο 'Αρπάγω κατά περ οἱ ἐκλιπόντες, καὶ ἄνδρες ἐγένοντο ἀγαθοὶ περὶ τῆς ἑωυτοῦ ἔκαστος μαχόμενοι, ἑσσωθέντες δὲ καὶ ἀλόντες ἔμενον κατὰ χώρην ἔκαστοι καὶ τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπετέλεον. Μιλήσιοι δέ, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, αὐτῷ Κύρῳ ὅρκιον ποιησάμενοι ἡσυχίην ἡγον. οὕτω δὴ τὸ δεύτερον Ἰωνίη ἐδεδούλωτο. ὡς δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῆ ἡπείρῳ Ἰωνας ἐχειρώσατο 'Αρπαγος, οἱ τὰς νήσους ἔχοντες Ἰωνες καταρρωδήσαντες ταῦτα σφέας αὐτοὺς ἔδοσαν Κύρω.

170. Κεκακωμένων δὲ Ἰώνων καὶ συλλεγομένων οὐδὲν ἦσσον ἐς τὸ Πανιώνιον, πυνθάνομαι
γνώμην Βίαντα ἄνδρα Πριηνέα ἀποδέξασθαι Ἰωσι
χρησιμωτάτην, τῆ εἰ ἐπείθοντο, παρεῖχε ἄν σφι
εὐδαιμονέειν Ἑλλήνων μάλιστα· δς ἐκέλευε κοινῷ
στόλῷ Ἰωνας ἀερθέντας πλέειν ἐς Σαρδὼ καὶ
ἔπειτα πόλιν μίαν κτίζειν πάντων Ἰώνων, καὶ
οὕτω ἀπαλλαχθέντας σφέας δουλοσύνης εὐδαιμονήσειν, νήσων τε ἀπασέων μεγίστην νεμομένους
καὶ ἄρχοντας ἄλλων· μένουσι δέ σφι ἐν τῆ

## BOOK I. 168-170

168. Thus, then, it fared with the Ionian Phocaea. The Teians did in like manner with the Phocaeans; when Harpagus had taken their walled city by building a mound, they all embarked on shipboard and sailed away for Thrace. There they founded a city, Abdera, which before this had been founded by Timesius of Clazomenae; yet he got no good of it, but was driven out by the Thracians. This Timesius is now honoured as a hero by the Teians of Abdera.

169. These were the only Ionians who, being unable to endure slavery, left their native lands. The rest of the Ionians, except the Milesians, though they faced Harpagus in battle as did the exiles, and bore themselves gallantly, each fighting for his own country, yet, when they were worsted and their cities taken, remained each where he was and did as they were commanded. The Milesians, as I have already said, made a treaty with Cyrus himself and struck no blow. Thus was Ionia for the second time enslaved: and when Harpagus had conquered the Ionians of the mainland, the Ionians of the islands, fearing the same fate, surrendered themselves to Cyrus.

170. When the Ionians, despite their evil plight, did nevertheless assemble at the Panionion, Bias of Priene, as I have heard, gave them very useful advice, which had they followed they might have been the most prosperous of all Greeks: for he counselled them to put out to sea and sail all together to Sardo and then found one city for all Ionians: thus, possessing the greatest island in the world and bearing rule over others, they would be rid of slavery and win prosperity; but if they stayed in Ionia he could see (he

Ἰωνίη οὐκ ἔφη ἐνορᾶν ἐλευθερίην ἔτι ἐσομένην. αὕτη μὲν Βίαντος τοῦ Πριηνέος γνώμη ἐπὶ διεφθαρμένοισι Ἰωσι γενομένη, χρηστὴ δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἡ διαφθαρῆναι Ἰωνίην Θάλεω ἀνδρὸς Μιλησίου ἐγένετο, τὸ ἀνέκαθεν γένος ἐόντος Φοίνικος, ὁς ἐκέλευε ἐν βουλευτήριον Ἰωνας ἐκτῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ εἶναι ἐν Τέφ (Τέων γὰρ μέσον εἶναι Ἰωνίης), τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πόλιας οἰκεομένας μηδὲν ἡσσον νομίζεσθαι κατά περ εἰ δῆμοι εἶεν οὖτοι μὲν δή σφι

γνώμας τοιάσδε ἀπεδέξαντο.

171. "Αρπαγος δὲ καταστρεψάμενος Ἰωνίην έποιέετο στρατηίην έπὶ Κάρας καὶ Καυνίους καὶ Λυκίους, αμα ἀγόμενος καὶ Ίωνας καὶ Αἰολέας. είσι δε τούτων Κάρες μεν άπιγμένοι ές την ήπειρον έκ των νήσων, τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ἐόντες Μίνω κατήκοοι καὶ καλεόμενοι Λέλεγες είχον τὰς νήσους, φόρον μεν ουδένα υποτελέοντες, όσον και έγω δυνατός είμι έπὶ μακρότατον έξικέσθαι άκοῦ οῦ δέ, ὅκως Μίνως δέοιτο, ἐπλήρουν οἱ τὰς νέας. ἄτε δη Μίνω τε κατεστραμμένου γην πολλήν και εύτυχέοντος τῷ πολέμω, τὸ Καρικὸν ἢν ἔθνος λογιμώτατον των έθνέων άπάντων κατά τούτον άμα τον χρόνον μακρώ μάλιστα. καί σφι τριξά έξευρήματα έγένετο, τοίσι οί "Ελληνες έχρήσαντο. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ κράνεα λόφους ἐπιδέεσθαι Κάρες είσι οι καταδέξαντες και έπι τας άσπίδας τα σημήια ποιέεσθαι, καὶ όχανα ἀσπίσι οὖτοι εἰσὶ οί ποιησάμενοι πρώτοι τέως δὲ ἄνευ ὀχάνων ἐφόρεον τὰς ἀσπίδας πάντες οί περ ἐώθεσαν ἀσπίσι χράσθαι, τελαμώσι σκυτίνοισι οἰηκίζοντες, περὶ τοίσι αὐχέσι τε καὶ τοῖσι ἀριστεροῖσι ὤμοισι περικείsaid) no hope of freedom for them. Such was the counsel which Bias of Priene gave after the destruction of the Ionians; and good also was that given before the destruction by Thales of Miletus, a Phoenician by descent; he would have had the Ionians make one common place of counsel, which should be in Teos, for that was the centre of Ionia; and the state of the other cities should be held to be no other than if they were but townships. Thus Bias and Thales advised.

171. Harpagus, after subduing Ionia, made an expedition against the Carians, Caunians, and Lycians, taking with him Ionians and Aeolians. Now among these the Carians were a people who had come to the mainland from the islands; for in old time they were islanders, called Leleges and under the rule of Minos. not (as far as I can learn by hearsay) paying him tribute, but manning ships for him when he needed them. Seeing then that Minos had subdued much territory to himself and was victorious in war, this made the Carians too at that time to be very far the most regarded of all nations. Three things they invented in which they were followed by the Greeks: it was the Carians who first taught the wearing of crests on their helmets and devices on their shields, and who first made for their shields holders: till then all who used shields carried them without these holders, and guided them with leathern baldrics which they slung round

μενοι. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Κᾶρας χρόνφ ὕστερον πολλῷ Δωριέες τε καὶ Ἰωνες ἐξανέστησαν ἐκ τῶν νήσων, καὶ οὕτω ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον ἀπίκοντο. κατὰ μὲν δὴ Κᾶρας οὕτω Κρῆτες λέγουσι γενέσθαι· οὐ μέντοι αὐτοί γε ὁμολογέουσι τούτοισι οἱ Κᾶρες, ἀλλὰ νομίζουσι αὐτοὶ ἑωυτοὺς εἶναι αὐτόχθονας ἡπειρώτας, καὶ τῷ οὐνόματι τῷ αὐτῷ αἰεὶ διαχρεωμένους τῷ περ νῦν. ἀποδεικνῦσι δὲ ἐν Μυλάσοισι Διὸς Καρίου ἱρὸν ἀρχαῖον, τοῦ Μυσοῖσι μὲν καὶ Λυδοῖσι μέτεστι ὡς κασιγνήτοισι ἐοῦσι τοῖσι Καρσί· τὸν γὰρ Λυδὸν καὶ τὸν Μυσὸν λέγουσι εἶναι Καρὸς ἀδελφεούς. τούτοισι μὲν δὴ μέτεστι, ὅσοι δὲ ἐόντες ἄλλου ἔθνεος ὁμόγλωσσοι τοῖσι Καρσὶ ἐγένοντο, τούτοισι δὲ οὐ μέτα.

172. Οἱ δὲ Καύνιοι αὐτόχθονες δοκέειν ἐμοὶ εἰσί, αὐτοὶ μέντοι ἐκ Κρήτης φασὶ εἶναι. προσκεχωρήκασι δὲ γλῶσσαν μὲν πρὸς τὸ Καρικὸν ἔθνος, ἡ οἱ Κᾶρες πρὸς τὸ Καυνικόν (τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως διακρῖναι), νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται κεχωρισμένοισι πολλὸν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ Καρῶν. τοῖσι γὰρ κάλλιστον ἐστὶ κατ ἡλικίην τε καὶ φιλότητα εἰλαδὸν συγγίνεσθαι ἐς πόσιν, καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ παισί. ἱδρυθέντων δέ σφι ἱρῶν ξεινικῶν, μετέπειτα ῶς σφι ἀπέδοξε, ἔδοξε δὲ τοῖσι πατρίοισι μοῦνον χρᾶσθαι θεοῖσι, ἐνδύντες τὰ ὅπλα ἄπαντες Καύνιοι ἡβηδόν, τύπτοντες δόρασι τὸν ἡέρα, μέχρι οὔρων τῶν Καλυνδικῶν εἴποντο, καὶ ἔφασαν ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς ξεινικοὺς θεούς.

# BOOK I. 171-172

the neck and over the left shoulder.1 Then, a long time afterwards, the Carians were driven from the islands by Dorians and Ionians and so came to the mainland. This is the Cretan story about the Carians; but they themselves do not consent to it, but hold that they are aboriginal dwellers on the mainland and ever bore the name which they bear now; and they point to an ancient shrine of Carian Zeus at Mylasa, whereto Mysians and Lydians, as brethren of the Carians (for Lydus and Mysus, they say, were brothers of Car), are admitted, but none of any other nation, though speaking the same language as the Carians.

172. The Caunians, to my mind, are aborigines or the soil; but they themselves say that they came from Crete. Their speech has grown like to the Carian, or the Carian to theirs (for that I cannot clearly determine), but in their customs they are widely severed from the Carians, as from all other men. Their chief pleasure is to assemble for drinking-bouts in such companies as accord with their ages and friendships-men, women, and children. Certain foreign rites of worship were established among them; but presently when they were otherwise minded, and would worship only the gods of their fathers, all Caunian men of full age put on their armour and went together as far as the boundaries of Calyndus, smiting the air with their spears and saving that they were casting out the stranger gods.

<sup>1</sup> This is the management of the Homeric "man-covering" shield, as shown in the Iliad. The shield is not carried on the arm, but hangs by a belt which passes over the left shoulder and under the right arm-pit; by a pull on the τελαμών it can be shifted so as to protect breast or back.

173. Καὶ ούτοι μὲν τρόποισι τοιούτοισι χρέωνται, οί δὲ Λύκιοι ἐκ Κρήτης τώρχαῖον γεγόνασι (την γάρ Κρήτην είχον τὸ παλαιὸν πάσαν βάρ-Βαροι) διενειχθέντων δὲ ἐν Κρήτη περὶ τῆς Βασιληίης των Ευρώπης παίδων Σαρπηδόνος τε και Μίνω, ώς ἐπεκράτησε τη στάσι Μίνως, ἐξήλασε αὐτόν τε Σαρπηδόνα καὶ τοὺς στασιώτας αὐτοῦ, οἱ δὲ ἀπωσθέντες ἀπίκοντο της 'Ασίης ἐς γην την Μιλυάδα την γαρ νθν Λύκιοι νέμονται, αύτη τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν Μιλυάς, οἱ δὲ Μιλύαι τότε Σόλυμοι ἐκαλέοντο. ἔως μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν Σαρπηδών ήρχε, οδ δὲ ἐκαλέοντο τό πέρ τε ἡνείκαντο ούνομα καὶ νῦν ἔτι καλέονται ὑπὸ τῶν περιοίκων οί Λύκιοι, Τερμίλαι ώς δὲ ἐξ ᾿Αθηνέων Λύκος ὁ Πανδίονος, έξελασθείς και ούτος ύπο του άδελφεοῦ Αἰγέος, ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς Τερμίλας παρά Σαρπηδόνα, ούτω δη κατά του Λύκου την έπωνυμίην Λύκιοι ανα χρόνον εκλήθησαν. νόμοισι δέ τὰ μὲν Κρητικοῖσι τὰ δὲ Καρικοῖσι χρέωνται. ἐν δὲ τόδε ἴδιον νενομίκασι καὶ οὐδαμοῖσι ἄλλοισι συμφέρονται άνθρώπων καλέουσι άπὸ τῶν μητέρων έωυτούς και οὐκι ἀπὸ τῶν πατέρων εἰρομένου δὲ ἐτέρου τὸν πλησίον τίς εἴη, καταλέξει ἐωυτὸν μητρόθεν καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἀνανεμέεται τὰς μητέρας. καὶ ην μέν γε γυνη άστη δούλω συνοικήση, γενναία τὰ τέκνα νενόμισται: ἡν δὲ ἀνὴρ ἀστὸς καὶ ό πρώτος αὐτών γυναίκα ξείνην ή παλλακήν έγη, άτιμα τὰ τέκνα γίνεται.

174. Οι μέν νυν Κάρες οὐδὲν λαμπρὸν ἔργον ἀποδεξάμενοι ἐδουλώθησαν ὑπὸ Αρπάγου, οὕτε αὐτοὶ οἱ Κάρες ἀποδεξάμενοι οὐδέν, οὕτε ὅσοι Ἑλλήνων ταύτην την χώρην οἰκέουσι οἰκέουσι

## BOOK I. 173-174

173. Such are their fashions. The Lycians were of Crete in ancient times (for of old none that dwelt in Crete were Greek). Now there was a dispute in Crete about the royal power between Sarpedon and Minos, sons of Europe; Minos prevailed in this division and drove out Sarpedon and his partisans who, being thrust out, came to the Milvan land in What is now possessed by the Lycians was of old Milyan, and the Milyans were then called Solymi. For a while Sarpedon ruled them, and the people were called Termilae, which was the name that they had brought with them and that is still given to the Lycians by their neighbours; but after the coming of Lycus son of Pandion-another exile, banished by his brother Aegeus-to join Sarpedon in the land of the Termilae, they came in time to be called Lycians after Lycus. Their customs are in part Cretan and in part Carian. But they have one which is their own and shared by no other men; they take their names not from their fathers but from their mothers; and when one is asked by his neighbour who he is, he will say that he is the son of such a mother, and recount the mothers of his mother. Nay, if a woman of full rights marry a slave, her children are deemed pure-born; and if a trueborn Lycian man take a stranger wife or concubine, the children are dishonoured, though he be the first in the land.

174. Neither then the Carians nor any Greeks who dwell in this country did any deed of note before they were all enslaved by Harpagus. Among

δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἄποικοι Κνίδιοι. οὶ τῆς χώρης τῆς σφετέρης τετραμμένης ἐς πόντον, τὸ δὴ Τριόπιον καλέεται, άργμένης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Χερσονήσου τῆς Βυβασσίης, ἐούσης τε πάσης της Κυιδίης πλην όλίγης περιρρόου (τὰ μέν γὰρ αὐτης πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ὁ Κεραμεικὸς κόλπος ἀπέργει, τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον ή κατὰ Σύμην τε καὶ 'Ρόδον θάλασσα), τὸ ὧν δη ὀλίγον τοῦτο, έὸν όσον τε έπὶ πέντε στάδια, ώρυσσον οἱ Κνίδιοι έν όσω "Αρπαγος την Ίωνίην κατεστρέφετο, Βουλόμενοι νήσον την χώρην ποιήσαι. Εντός δε πασά σφι εγίνετο τη γαρ ή Κνιδίη χώρη ές την ήπειρον τελευτά, ταύτη ὁ ἰσθμός ἐστι τὸν ἄρυσσον. καὶ δὴ πολλή χειρὶ ἐργαζομένων τῶν Κνιδίων, μάλλον γάρ τι καὶ θειότερον εφαίνοντο τιτρώσκεσθαι οί έργαζόμενοι τοῦ οἰκότος τά τε άλλα του σώματος καὶ μάλιστα τὰ περὶ τους όφθαλμούς θραυομένης της πέτρης, ἔπεμπον ές Δελφούς θεοπρόπους ἐπειρησομένους τὸ ἀντίξοον. ή δὲ Πυθίη σφι, ὡς αὐτοὶ Κνίδιοι λέγουσι, γρα ἐν τριμέτρω τόνω τάδε.

'Ισθμὸν δὲ μὴ πυργοῦτε μηδ' ὀρύσσετε· Ζεὺς γάρ κ' ἔθηκε νῆσον, εἴ κ' ἐβούλετο.

Κυίδιοι μὲν ταῦτα τῆς Πυθίης χρησάσης τοῦ τε ὀρύγματος ἐπαύσαντο καὶ 'Αρπάγω ἐπιόντι σὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἀμαχητὶ σφέας αὐτοὺς παρέδοσαν.

175. Ἡσαν δὲ Πηδασέες οἰκέοντες ὑπὲρ ἙΑλικαρνησσοῦ μεσόγαιαν τοῖσι ὅκως τι μέλλοι ἀνεπιτήδεον ἔσεσθαι, αὐτοῖσί τε καὶ τοῖσι περιοίκοισι, ἡ ἰρείη τῆς ᾿Αθηναίης πώγωνα μέγαν ἰσχε. τρίς σφι τοῦτο ἐγένετο, οὖτοι τῶν περὶ Καρίην

## BOOK I. 174-175

those who inhabit it are certain Cnidians, colonists from Lacedaemon. Their country (it is called the Triopion) lies between the sea and that part of the peninsula which belongs to Bubassus, and all but a little part of the Cnidian territory is sea-girt; for it is bounded on the north by the gulf of Ceramicus, and on the south by the sea off Syme and Rhodes. Now while Harpagus was conquering Ionia, the Cnidians dug a trench across this little space, which is about five furlongs wide, in order that so their country might be an island. So they brought it all within the entrenchment; for the frontier between the Cnidian country and the mainland is on the isthmus across which they dug. Many of them were at this work; and seeing that the workers were more often hurt and less naturally than ordinary, some in other parts, but most in the eyes, by the breaking of stones, the Cnidians sent envoys to Delphi to inquire what it was that so hindered them. Then, as they themselves say, the priestess gave them this answer in jambic verse:

"Nor wall nor dig across your isthmus; long ago
Your land had been an isle, if Zeus had willed
it so."

At this answer from the priestess the Cnidians ceased from their digging, and when Harpagus came against them with his army they surrendered to him without resistance.

175. There were also certain folk of Pedasus, dwelling inland of Halicarnassus; when any misfortune was coming upon them or their neighbours, the priestess of Athene grew a great beard. This had happened to them thrice. These were the only

ανδρών μοῦνοί τε αντέσχον χρόνον Αρπάγφ καὶ πρήγματα παρέσχον πλειστα, όρος τειχίσαντες

τῶ οὔνομα ἐστὶ Λίδη.

176. Πηδασέες μέν νυν χρόνφ έξαιρέθησαν. Λύκιοι δέ, ώς ές τὸ Ξάνθιον πεδίον ήλασε ό "Αρπαγος του στρατόν, ἐπεξιόντες καὶ μαχόμενοι ολίγοι πρός πολλούς άρετας απεδείκνυντο, έσσωθέντες δὲ καὶ κατειληθέντες ἐς τὸ ἄστυ συνήλισαν ές την ακρόπολιν τάς τε γυναϊκας και τὰ τέκνα καί τὰ χρήματα καὶ τούς οἰκέτας, καὶ ἔπειτα ύπηψαν την ακρόπολιν πάσαν ταύτην καίεσθαι. ταύτα δὲ ποιήσαντες καὶ συνομόσαντες ὅρκους δεινούς, ἐπεξελθόντες ἀπέθανον πάντες Εάνθιοι μαγόμενοι. των δε νύν Λυκίων φαμένων Ξανθίων είναι οι πολλοί, πλην ογδώκουτα ιστιέων, είσι ἐπήλυδες αί δὲ ὀγδώκοντα ἱστίαι αὐται ἔτυχον τηνικαύτα έκδημέουσαι καὶ ούτω περιεγένοντο. την μεν δη Εάνθον ούτω έσχε ο "Αρπαγος, παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ την Καῦνον ἔσχε καὶ γὰρ οί Καύνιοι τους Αυκίους εμιμήσαντο τὰ πλέω.

177. Τὰ μέν νυν κάτω τῆς 'Ασίης "Αρπαγος ἀνάστατα ἐποίεε, τὰ δὲ ἄνω αὐτῆς αὐτὸς Κῦρος, πᾶν ἔθνος καταστρεφόμενος καὶ οὐδὲν παριείς. τὰ μέν νυν αὐτῶν πλέω παρήσομεν τὰ δέ οἱ παρέσχε τε πόνον πλεῖστον καὶ ἀξιαπηγητότατα ἐστί,

τούτων έπιμνήσομαι.

178. Κυρος επείτε τὰ πάντα τῆς ἦπείρου ὑποχείρια ἐποιήσατο, ᾿Ασσυρίοισι ἐπετίθετο. τῆς δὲ
᾿Ασσυρίης ἐστὶ μέν κου καὶ ἄλλα πολίσματα
μεγάλα πολλά, τὸ δὲ ὀνομαστότατον καὶ ἰσχυρότατον καὶ ἔνθα σφι Νίνου ἀναστάτου γενομένης
τὰ βασιλήια κατεστήκες, ἦν Βαβυλών, ἐοῦσα

## BOOK I. 175-178

men near Caria who held out for long against Harpagus, and they gave him the most trouble; they fortified a hill called Lide.

176. The Pedasian stronghold being at length taken, and Harpagus having led his army into the plain of Xanthus, the Lycians came out to meet him, and did valorous deeds in their battle against odds; but being worsted and driven into the city they gathered into the citadel their wives and children and goods and servants, and then set the whole citadel on fire. Then they swore each other great oaths, and sallying out they fell fighting, all the men of Xanthus. Of the Xanthians who claim now to be Lycians the greater number-all saving eighty households-are of foreign descent; these eighty families as it chanced were at that time away from the city, and thus they survived. Thus Harpagus gained Xanthus, and Caunus too in somewhat like manner, the Caunians following for the most part the example of the Lycians.

177. Harpagus then made havoc of lower Asia; in the upper country Cyrus himself subdued every nation, leaving none untouched. Of the greater part of these I will say nothing, but will speak only of those which gave Cyrus most trouble and are

worthiest to be described.

178. When Cyrus had brought all the mainland under his sway, he attacked the Assyrians. There are in Assyria many other great cities; but the most famous and the strongest was Babylon, where the royal dwelling had been set after the destruction of Ninus.<sup>1</sup> Babylon was a city such as I will now

<sup>1 606</sup> B.c. Ninus = Nineveh.

τοιαύτη δή τις πόλις. κέεται ἐν πεδίφ μεγάλφ, μέγαθος ἐοῦσα μέτωπον ἔκαστον εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίων, ἐούσης τετραγώνου· οὖτοι στάδιοι τῆς περιόδου τῆς πόλιος γίνονται συνάπαντες ὀγδώκοντα καὶ τετρακόσιοι. τὸ μέν νυν μέγαθος τοσοῦτον ἐστὶ τοῦ ἄστεος τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου, ἐκεκόσμητο δὲ ὡς οὐδὲν ἄλλο πόλισμα τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. τάφρος μὲν πρῶτά μιν βαθέα τε καὶ εὐρέα καὶ πλέη ὕδατος περιθέει, μετὰ δὲ τεῖχος πεντήκοντα μὲν πηχέων βασιληίων ἐὸν τὸ εὖρος, ὕψος δὲ διηκοσίων πηχέων ὁ δὲ βασιλήιος πῆχυς τοῦ μετρίου ἐστὶ πήχεος μέζων τρισὶ δακτύλοισι.

179. Δεί δή με πρὸς τούτοισι ἔτι φράσαι ἵνα τε έκ της τάφρου ή γη ἀναισιμώθη, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος οντινα τρόπον έργαστο. ορύσσοντες άμα την τάφρον ἐπλίνθευον τὴν γῆν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὀρύγματος έκφερομένην, έλκύσαντες δὲ πλίνθους ίκανὰς ώπτησαν αὐτὰς ἐν καμίνοισι μετὰ δὲ τέλματι χρεώμενοι ἀσφάλτω θερμή καὶ διὰ τριήκοντα δόμων πλίνθου ταρσούς καλάμων διαστοιβάζοντες, έδειμαν πρώτα μεν τής τάφρου τὰ χείλεα, δεύτερα δε αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον. έπάνω δὲ τοῦ τείχεος παρὰ τὰ ἔσχατα οἰκήματα μουνόκωλα έδειμαν, τετραμμένα ές άλληλα· τὸ μέσον δὲ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἔλιπον τεθρίππω περιέλασιν. πύλαι δὲ ἐνεστᾶσι πέριξ τοῦ τείχεος έκατόν, χάλκεαι πάσαι, καὶ σταθμοί τε καὶ ύπέρθυρα ώσαύτως. ἔστι δὲ ἄλλη πόλις ἀπέγουσα όκτω ήμερέων όδον άπο Βαβυλώνος. "Ις ούνομα αὐτή. ἔνθα ἐστὶ ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας: "Ις καὶ τῶ ποταμῶ τὸ οὕνομα· ἐσβάλλει δὲ οὕτος ἐς τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν τὸ ῥέεθρον. οὐτος ὧν describe. It lies in a great plain, and is in shape a square, each side an hundred and twenty furlongs in length; thus four hundred and eighty furlongs make the complete circuit of the city. Such is the size of the city of Babylon; and it was planned like no other city whereof we know. Round it runs first a fosse deep and wide and full of water, and then a wall of fifty royal cubits' thickness and two hundred cubits' height. The royal cubit is greater by three fingers' breadth than the common cubit.<sup>1</sup>

179. Further, I must show where the earth was used as it was taken from the fosse and in what manner the wall was wrought. As they dug the fosse, they made bricks of the earth which was carried out of the place they dug, and when they had moulded bricks enough they baked them in ovens; then using hot bitumen for cement and interposing layers of wattled reeds at every thirtieth course of bricks, they built first the border of the fosse and then the wall itself in the same fashion. On the top, along the edges of the wall, they built houses of a single chamber, facing each other, with space enough between for the driving of a four-horse chariot. There are an hundred gates in the circle of the wall, all of bronze, with posts and lintels of the same. There is another city, called Is,2 eight days' journey from Babylon, where is a little river, also named Is, a tributary stream of the river Euphrates; from the

1 Common cubit, 181 inches: royal, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The modern Hit or Ait, where the Euphrates enters the alluvial plain.

ό Ίς ποταμός ἄμα τῷ ὕδατι θρόμβους ἀσφάλτου ἀναδιδοι πολλούς, ἔνθεν ἡ ἄσφαλτος ἐς τὸ ἐν

Βαβυλώνι τείχος ἐκομίσθη.

180. Έτετείχιστο μέν νυν ή Βαβυλών τρόπω τοιωδε, έστι δε δύο φάρσεα της πόλιος. το γάρ μέσον αὐτης ποταμός διέργει, τῶ οὐνομα ἐστὶ Εὐφρήτης ρέω δὲ ἐξ ᾿Αρμωνίων, ἐων μέγας καὶ Βαθύς και ταχύς έξιει δε ούτος ές την Ερυθρην θάλασσαν. τὸ ὧν δὴ τείχος ἐκάτερον τους άγκωνας ές τὸν ποταμὸν ἐλήλαται τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου αί έπικαμπαί παρά χείλος έκάτερον τοῦ ποταμού αίμασιη πλίνθων οπτέων παρατείνει. τὸ δὲ ἄστυ αὐτό, ἐὸν πληρες οἰκιέων τριωρόφων καὶ τετρωρόφων, κατατέτμηται τὰς όδοὺς ἰθέας τάς τε άλλας και τὰς ἐπικαρσίας τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμον έγούσας. κατά δη ων έκάστην όδον έν τη αίμασιη τη παρά τον ποταμον πυλίδες έπησαν, δσαι περ αί λαθραι, τοσαθται άριθμόν ήσαν δὲ καὶ αὖται χάλκεαι 1 . . . . φέρουσαι [καὶ αὐταὶ] ές αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμόν.

181. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ τεῖχος θώρηξ ἐστί, ἔτερον δὲ ἔσωθεν τεῖχος περιθέει, οὐ πολλῷ τεῷ ἀσθενέστερον τοῦ ἑτέρου τείχεος, στεινότερον δέ. ἐν δὲ φάρσεϊ ἐκατέρῷ τῆς πόλιος ἐτετείχιστο ἐν μέσῷ ἐν τῷ μὲν τὰ βασιλήια περιβόλῷ μεγάλῷ τε καὶ ἰσχυρῷ, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῷ Διὸς Βήλου ἱρὸν χαλκόπυλον, καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι τοῦτο ἐόν, δύο σταδίων πάντη, ἐὸν τετράγωνον. ἐν μέσῷ δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ πύργος στερεὸς οἰκοδόμηται, σταδίου καὶ τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὸ εὖρος, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῷ τῷ πύργῷ ἄλλος

Stein supposes that there was here a mention of steps leading to the river, and that καὶ αὐταί is needless and spurious.

source of this river Is rise with the water many gouts of bitumen; and from thence the bitumen was brought for the wall of Babylon.

180. Thus then was this wall built; the city is divided into two parts; for it is cut in half by a river named Euphrates, a wide, deep, and swift river, flowing from Armenia and issuing into the Red Sea. The ends of the wall, then, on either side are built quite down to the river; here they turn, and hence a fence of baked bricks runs along each bank of the stream. The city itself is full of houses three and four stories high; and the ways which traverse it—those that run crosswise towards the river, and the rest—are all straight. Further, at the end of each road there was a gate in the riverside fence, one gate for each alley; these gates also were of bronze, and these too opened on the river.

181. These walls are the city's outer armour; within them there is another encircling wall, wellnigh as strong as the other, but narrower. In the midmost of one division of the city stands the royal palace, surrounded by a high and strong wall; and in the midmost of the other is still to this day the sacred enclosure of Zeus Belus, a square of two furlongs each way, with gates of bronze. In the centre of this enclosure a solid tower has been built, of one furlong's length and breadth; a second tower rises

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Bel or Baal, the greatest of Assyrian gods.

πύργος ἐπιβέβηκε, καὶ ἔτερος μάλα ἐπὶ τούτω, μέχρι οὖ ὀκτω πύργων. ἀνάβασις δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔξωθεν κύκλω περὶ πάντας τοὺς πύργους ἔχουσα πεποίηται. μεσοῦντι δέ κου τῆς ἀναβάσιος ἐστὶ καταγωγή τε καὶ θῶκοι ἀμπαυστήριοι, ἐν τοῖσι κατίζοντες ἀμπαύονται οἱ ἀναβαίνοντες. ἐν δὲ τῷ τελευταίῳ πύργω νηὸς ἔπεστι μέγας: ἐν δὲ τῷ νηῷ κλίνη μεγάλη κέεται εὖ ἐστρωμένη, καί οἱ τράπεζα παρακέεται χρυσέη. ἄγαλμα δὲ οὐκ ἔνι οὐδὲν αὐτόθι ἐνιδρυμένον, οὐδὲ νύκτα οὐδεὶς ἐναυλίζεται ἀνθρώπων ὅτι μὴ γυνὴ μούνη τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, τὴν ἄν ὁ θεὸς ἔληται ἐκ πασέων, ὡς λέγουσι οἱ Χαλδαῖοι ἐόντες ἱρέες τούτου τοῦ θεοῦ.

182. Φασὶ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὕτοι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν φοιτᾶν τε ἐς τὸν νηὸν καὶ ἀμπαύεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης, κατά περ ἐν Θήβησι τῆσι Αἰγυπτίησι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὡς λέγουσι οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι· καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐκεῖθι κοιμᾶται ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Θηβαιέος γυνή, ἀμφότεραι δὲ αὕται λέγονται ἀνδρῶν οὐδαμῶν ἐς ὁμιλίην φοιτᾶν· καὶ κατά περ ἐν Πατάροισι τῆς Λυκίης ἡ πρόμαντις τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπεὰν γένηται· οὐ γὰρ ὧν αἰεί ἐστι χρηστήριον αὐτόθι· ἐπεὰν δὲ γένηται τότε ὧν συγκατακληίεται τὰς νύκτας ἔσω ἐν τῶ νηῶ.

183. "Εστι δὲ τοῦ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἱροῦ καὶ ἄλλος κάτω νηός, ἔνθα ἄγαλμα μέγα τοῦ Διὸς ἔνι κατήμενον χρύσεον, καὶ οἱ τράπεζα μεγάλη παρακέεται χρυσέη, καὶ τὸ βάθρον οἱ καὶ ὁ θρόνος χρύσεος ἐστί καὶ ὡς ἔλεγον οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, ταλάντων ὀκτακοσίων χρυσίου πεποίηται ταῦτα. ἔξω

# BOOK 1. 181-183

from this, and from it yet another, till at last there are eight. The way up to them mounts spirally outside all the towers; about halfway in the ascent is a halting place, with seats for repose, where those who ascend sit down and rest. In the last tower there is a great shrine; and in it a great and well-covered couch is laid, and a golden table set hard by. But no image has been set up in the shrine, nor does any human creature lie therein for the night, except one native woman, chosen from all women by the god, as say the Chaldaeans, who are priests of this god.

182. These same Chaldaeans say (but I do not believe them) that the god himself is wont to visit the shrine and rest upon the couch, even as in Thebes of Egypt, as the Egyptians say (for there too a woman sleeps in the temple of Theban Zeus, and neither the Egyptian nor the Babylonian woman, it is said, has intercourse with men), and as it is likewise with the prophetess of the god at Patara in Lycia, whenever she be appointed; for there is not always a place of divination there; but when she is appointed she is shut up in the temple during the night.

183. In the Babylonian temple there is another shrine below, where is a great golden image of Zeus, sitting at a golden table, and the footstool and the chair are also of gold; the gold of the whole was said by the Chaldeans to be of eight hundred talents' weight.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Amon-Api (Greek 'Αμένωφις); cp. ii. 42. <sup>2</sup> Apollo.

δὲ τοῦ νηοῦ βωμός ἐστι χρύσεος, ἔστι δὲ καὶ άλλος βωμός μέγας, ἐπ' οῦ θύεται τὰ τέλεα τῶν προβάτων ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ χρυσέου βωμοῦ οὐκ έξεστι θύειν ότι μη γαλαθηνα μούνα, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ μέζονος βωμού καὶ καταγίζουσι λιβανωτού γίλια τάλαντα έτεος έκάστου οι Χαλδαίοι τότε έπεαν την όρτην άγωσι τω θεω τούτω. ην δὲ ἐν τω τεμένει τούτω έτι τον χρόνον εκείνον και ανδριάς δυώδεκα πηχέων χρύσεος στερεός έγω μέν μιν ούκ είδον, τὰ δὲ λέγεται ὑπὸ Χαλδαίων, ταῦτα λέγω, τούτω τω ανδριάντι Δαρείος μεν ο Υστάσπεος επιβουλεύσας ούκ ετόλμησε λαβείν, Εέρξης δὲ ὁ Δαρείου ἔλαβε καὶ τὸν ίρεα ἀπέκτεινε άπαγορεύοντα μη κινέειν τον άνδριάντα. το μέν δη ίρον τούτο ούτω κεκόσμηται, έστι δε καὶ ίδια αναθήματα πολλά.

184. Τῆς δὲ Βαβυλῶνος ταύτης πολλοὶ μέν κου καὶ ἄλλοι ἐγένοντο βασιλέες, τῶν ἐν τοισι ᾿Ασσυρίοισι λόγοισι μνήμην ποιήσομαι, οὶ τὰ τείχεά τε ἐπεκόσμησαν καὶ τὰ ἰρά, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ γυναῖκες δύο. ἡ μὲν πρότερον ἄρξασα, τῆς ὕστερον γενεῆσι πέντε πρότερον γενομένη, τῆ οὕνομα ἢν Σεμίραμις, αὕτη μὲν ἀπεδέξατο χώματα ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον ἐόντα ἀξιοθέητα· πρότερον δὲ ἐώθες ὁ ποταμὸς ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον πᾶν πελαγίζειν.

185. Ἡ δὲ δὴ δεύτερον γενομένη ταύτης βασίλεια, τῆ οὔνομα ἦν Νίτωκρις, αὕτη δὲ συνετωτέρη γενομένη τῆς πρότερον ἀρξάσης τοῦτο μὲν μνημόσυνα ἐλίπετο τὰ ἐγὼ ἀπηγήσομαι, τοῦτο δὲ τὴν Μήδων ὁρῶσα ἀρχὴν μεγάλην τε καὶ οὐκ ἀτρεμίζουσαν, ἀλλ' ἄλλα τε ἀραιρημένα ἄστεα αὐτοῖσι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὴν Νίνον, προεφυλάξατο ὅσα ἐδύ-

# BOOK I. 183-185

Outside of the temple is a golden altar. There is also another great altar, whereon are sacrificed the full-grown of the flocks; only sucklings may be sacrificed on the golden altar, but on the greater altar the Chaldeans even offer a thousand talents' weight of frankincense yearly, when they keep the festival of this god; and in the days of Cyrus there was still in this sacred demesne a statue of solid gold weighing twelve talents. I myself have not seen it, but I tell what is told by the Chaldeans. Darius son of Hystaspes purposed to take this statue but dared not; Xerxes his son took it, and slew the priest who warned him not to move the statue. Such is the adornment of this temple, and there are many private offerings besides.

12 cut

184. Now among the many rulers of this city of Babylon (of whom I shall make mention in my Assyrian history), who finished the building of the walls and the temples, there were two that were women. The first of these lived five generations earlier than the second, and her name was Semiramis: it was she who built dykes on the plain, a notable work; before that the whole plain was wont to be flooded by the river.

185. The second queen, whose name was Nitocris, was a wiser woman than the first. She left such monuments as I shall record; and moreover, seeing that the rulers of Media were powerful and unresting, insomuch that Ninus itself among other cities had fallen before them, she took such care as she could

νατο μάλιστα. πρώτα μέν τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμον ρέοντα πρότερον ίθύν, ος σφι δια της πόλιος μέσης δέει, τοῦτον ἄνωθεν διώρυχας δρύξασα ούτω δή τι έποιήσε σκολιον ώστε δή τρίς ές των τινα κωμέων των έν τη 'Ασσυρίη απικνέεται ρέων τη δε κώμη ούνομα εστί, ες την απικνέεται ό Εὐφρήτης, Αρδέρικκα. καὶ νῦν οἱ αν κομίζωνται ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης ἐς Βαβυλώνα, καταπλέοντες του Ευφρήτην ποταμού τρίς τε ές την αύτην ταύτην κώμην παραγίνονται και έν τρισί ήμέρησι. τοῦτο μέν δή τοιοῦτον ἐποίησε, χώμα δὲ παρέχωσε παρ' ἐκάτερον τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ χείλος ἄξιον θώματος μέγαθος καὶ ὕψος ὅσον κατύπερθε δὲ πολλῶ Βαβυλῶνος τι ἐστί. ώρυσσε έλυτρον λίμνη, ολίγον τι παρατείνουσα άπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, βάθος μὲν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ αἰεὶ ορύσσουσα, εύρος δέ τὸ περίμετρον αὐτοῦ ποιεῦσα είκοσί τε καὶ τετρακοσίων σταδίων τὸν δὲ ὀρυσσόμενον χοῦν ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἀναισίμου παρά τὰ χείλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ παραχέουσα. ἐπείτε δέ οἱ ὀρώρυκτο, λίθους ἀγαγομένη κρηπίδα κύκλω περί αὐτὴν ήλασε. ἐποίεε δὲ ἀμφότερα ταῦτα, τόν τε ποταμον σκολιον και το δρυγμα πάν έλος, ώς ο τε ποταμός βραδύτερος είη περί καμπάς πολλάς άγνύμενος, και οι πλόοι έωσι σκολιοί ές την Βαβυλώνα, έκ τε των πλόων εκδέκηται περίοδος της λίμνης μακρή. κατά τοῦτο δὲ έργάζετο της χώρης τη αί τε ἐσβολαὶ ήσαν καὶ τὰ σύντομα τῆς ἐκ Μήδων όδοῦ, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιμισγόμενοι οί Μήδοι έκμανθάνοιεν αὐτής τὰ πρήγματα.

186. Ταῦτα μὲν δη ἐκ βάθεος περιεβάλετο, τοιήνδε δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν παρενθήκην ἐποιήσατο. τῆς

for her protection. First she dealt with the river Euphrates, which flows through the middle of her city; this had before been straight; but by digging canals higher up she made the river so crooked that its course now passes thrice by one of the Assyrian villages; the village which is so approached by the Euphrates is called Ardericca. And now those who travel from our seas to Babylon must as they float down the Euphrates spend three days in coming thrice to the same village. Such was this work: and she built an embankment along either shore of the river, marvellous for its greatness and height. Then a long way above Babylon she dug the basin of a lake, a little way aside from the river, digging always deep enough to find water, and making the circuit of the lake a distance of four hundred and twenty furlongs; all that was dug out of the basin she used to embank either edge of the river; and when she had it all dug, she brought stones and made therewith a coping all round the basin. Her purpose in making the river to wind and turning the basin into a marsh was this-that the current might be slower by reason of the many windings that broke its force, and that the passages to Babylon might be crooked, and that next after them should come also the long circuit of the lake. All this work was done in that part of the country where are the passes and the shortest road from Media, that the Medes might not mix with her people and learn of her affairs.

186. So she made the deep river her protection; and from this work grew another which she added to

πόλιος ἐούσης δύο φαρσέων, τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ μέσον έχοντος, έπὶ τῶν πρότερον βασιλέων ὅκως τις εθέλοι εκ του ετέρου φάρσεος ες τούτερον διαβήναι, χρήν πλοίω διαβαίνειν, και ήν, ώς έγω δοκέω, οχληρον τούτο, αύτη δὲ καὶ τούτο προείδε. ἐπείτε γὰρ ἄρυσσε τὸ ἔλυτρον τη λίμνη, μνημόσυνον τόδε άλλο άπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔργου ἐλίπετο ετάμνετο λίθους περιμήκεας, ως δέ οι ήσαν οί λίθοι ετοιμοι καὶ τὸ χωρίον ὀρώρυκτο, ἐκτρέψασα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ ρέεθρον πᾶν ἐς τὸ ἄρυσσε χωρίον, έν & ἐπίμπλατο τοῦτο, ἐν τούτω ἀπεξηρασμένου τοῦ ἀρχαίου ῥεέθρου τοῦτο μέν τὰ χείλεα τοῦ ποταμού κατά την πόλιν και τὰς καταβάσιας τὰς έκ των πυλίδων ές τον ποταμον φερούσας άνοικοδόμησε πλίνθοισι οπτήσι κατά τον αὐτον λόγον τώ τείχει, τούτο δὲ κατὰ μέσην κου μάλιστα τὴν πόλιν τοίσι λίθοισι τούς ωρύξατο οἰκοδόμες γέφυραν, δέουσα τους λίθους σιδήρω τε καὶ μολύβδω. ἐπιτείνεσκε δὲ ἐπ' αὐτήν, ὅκως μὲν ήμέρη γίνοιτο, ξύλα τετράγωνα, ἐπ' ὧν τὴν διάβασιν ἐποιεῦντο οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τὰς δὲ νύκτας τὰ ξύλα ταῦτα ἀπαιρέεσκον τοῦδε είνεκα, ίνα μὴ διαφοιτέοντες τὰς νύκτας κλέπτοιεν παρ' ἀλλήλων. ώς δὲ τό τε όρυχθὲν λίμνη πλήρης έγεγόνες ύπο του ποταμού και τα περί την γέφυραν έκεκόσμητο, του Εύφρήτην ποταμον ές τὰ άργαία ρέεθρα έκ της λίμνης έξηγαγε, και ούτω τὸ όρυχθεν έλος γενόμενον ές δέον εδόκεε γεγονέναι καὶ τοῖσι πολιήτησι γέφυρα ην κατεσκευασμένη.

187. Ἡ δ' αὐτὴ αὕτη βασίλεια καὶ ἀπάτην τοιήνδε τινὰ ἐμηχανήσατο· ὑπὲρ τῶν μάλιστα λεωφόρων πυλέων τοῦ ἄστεος τάφον ἐωυτῆ κατε-

it. Her city was divided into two portions by the river which flowed through the centre. Whenever in the days of the former rulers one would pass over from one part to the other, he must cross in a boat; and this, as I suppose, was troublesome. But the queen provided also for this; when the digging of the basin of the lake was done, she made another monument of her reign out of this same work. She had very long blocks of stone hewn; and when these were ready and the place was dug, she turned the course of the river wholly into it, and while it was filling, the former channel being now dry, she bricked with baked bricks, like those of the wall, the borders of the river in the city and the descents from the gates leading down to the river; also about the middle of the city she built a bridge with the stones which had been dug up, binding them together with iron and lead. She laid across it square-hewn logs each morning, whereon the Babylonians crossed; but these logs were taken away for the night, lest folk should be ever crossing over and stealing from each other. Then, when the basin she had made for a lake was filled by the river and the bridge was finished. Nitocris brought the Euphrates back to its former channel out of the lake; thus she had served her purpose, as she thought, by making a swamp of the basin, and her citizens had a bridge ready for them.

187. There was a trick, moreover, which this same queen contrived. She had a tomb made for herself and set high over the very gate of that entrance or

σκευάσατο μετέωρον ἐπιπολῆς αὐτέων τῶν πυλέων, ἐνεκόλαψε δὲ ἐς τὸν τάφον γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε. "Των τις έμευ ύστερον γινομένων Βαβυλώνος βασιλέων ην σπανίση χρημάτων, ανοίξας τὸν τάφον λαβέτω ὁκόσα βούλεται γρήματα. μή μέντοι γε μή σπανίσας γε άλλως ανοίξη οὐ γάρ ἄμεινου." ούτος ὁ τάφος ην ἀκίνητος μέχρι ού ές Δαρείου περιήλθε ή βασιληίη Δαρείω δέ και δεινον εδόκεε είναι τησι πύλησι ταύτησι μηδέν χρασθαι, και χρημάτων κειμένων και αὐτῶν τών γραμμάτων έπικαλεομένων, μη οὐ λαβείν αὐτά τῆσι δὲ πύλησι ταύτησι οὐδὲν ἐχρᾶτο τούδε είνεκα, ότι ύπερ κεφαλής οἱ εγίνετο ο νεκρός διεξελαύνοντι. ανοίξας δε τον τάφον εύρε χρήματα μέν ού, τὸν δὲ νεκρὸν καὶ γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε· "Εί μη ἄπληστός τε ἔας χρημάτων καὶ αἰσχροκερδής, οὐκ αν νεκρων θήκας ἀνέωγες." αύτη μέν νυν ή βασίλεια τοιαύτη τις λέγεται γενέσθαι.

188. Ο δὲ δὴ Κῦρος ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς τὸν παῖδα ἐστρατεύετο, ἔχοντά τε τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ τοὔνομα Λαβυνήτου καὶ τὴν ᾿Ασσυρίων ἀρχήν. στρατεύεται δὲ δὴ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας καὶ σιτίοισι εὖ ἐσκευασμένος ἐξ οἴκου καὶ προβάτοισι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χοάσπεω ποταμοῦ ἄμα ἄγεται τοῦ παρὰ Σοῦσα ῥέοντος, τοῦ μούνου πίνει βασιλεὺς καὶ ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ποταμοῦ. τούτου δὲ τοῦ Χοάσπεω τοῦ ὕδατος ἀπεψημένου πολλαὶ κάρτα ἄμαξαι τετράκυκλοι ἡμιόνεαι κομιζουσαι ἐν ἀγγηίοισι ἀργυρέοισι ἔπονται,

όκη αν ελαύνη εκάστοτε.

189. Έπείτε δὲ ὁ Κῦρος πορευόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν

# BOOK I. 187-189

the city which was most used, with a writing graven on the tomb, which was this: " If any king of Babylon in future time lack money, let him open this tomb and take whatso money he desires: but let him not open it except he lack; for it will be the worse for him." This tomb remained untouched till the kingship fell to Darius. He thought it a very strange thing that he should never use this gate, nor take the money when it lay there and the writing itself invited him to the deed. The cause of his not using the gate was that the dead body must be over his head as he passed through. Having opened the tomb, he found there no money, but only the dead body, with this writing: "Wert thou not insatiate of wealth and basely desirous of gain, thou hadst not opened the coffins of the dead." Such a woman, it is recorded, was this queen.

188. Cyrus, then, marched against Nitocris' son, who inherited the name of his father Labynetus and the sovereignty of Assyria. Now when the Great King marches he goes well provided with food and flocks from home; and water from the Choaspes which flows past Susa is carried with him, whereof alone, and of none other, the king drinks. This water of the Choaspes<sup>1</sup> is boiled, and very many four wheeled waggons drawn by mules carry it in silver vessels, following the king whithersoever he goes at any time.

189. When Cyrus on his way to Babylon came

<sup>1</sup> Modern Kerkha.

Βαβυλώνα ένίνετο έπὶ Γύνδη ποταμώ, τοῦ αί μέν πηγαί εν Ματιηνοίσι όρεσι, ρέει δε διά Δαρδανέων, έκδιδοί δὲ ἐς ἔτερον ποταμὸν Τίγρην, ὁ δὲ παρὰ 'Ωπιν πόλιν ρέων ές την Ερυθρην θάλασσαν έκδιδοί, τούτον δή τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ὡς δια-Βαίνειν ἐπειράτο ὁ Κύρος ἐόντα νηυσιπέρητον. ενθαθτά οί των τις ίρων ίππων των λευκών ύπο ύβριος έσβας ές του ποταμού διαβαίνειν έπειρατο. δ δέ μιν συμψήσας ύποβρύχιον οἰχώκεε φέρων. κάρτα τε δή έχαλέπαινε τῷ ποταμῷ ὁ Κῦρος τούτο ύβρίσαντι, καί οι έπηπείλησε ούτω δή μιν ασθενέα ποιήσειν ώστε τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ γυναϊκάς μιν εύπετέως το γόνυ ού βρεχούσας διαβήσεσθαι. μετά δὲ τὴν ἀπειλὴν μετείς τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλώνα στράτευσιν διαίρεε την στρατιην δίχα, διελών δὲ κατέτεινε σχοινοτενέας ὑποδέξας διώρυχας ογδώκοντα καὶ έκατὸν παρ' έκάτερον τὸ γείλος τοῦ Γύνδεω τετραμμένας πάντα τρόπον, διατάξας δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε. οἶα δὲ ὁμίλου πολλοῦ ἐργαζομένου ήνετο μὲν τὸ ἔργον, ὅμως μέντοι την θερείην πάσαν αὐτοῦ ταύτη διέτριψαν έργαζόμενοι.

190. Ως δὲ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ἐτίσατο Κῦρος ἐς τριηκοσίας καὶ ἑξήκουτα διώρυχάς μιν διαλαβών, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἔαρ ὑπέλαμπε, οὕτω δὴ ἤλαυνε ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα. οἱ δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι ἐκστρατευσάμενοι ἔμενον αὐτόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο ἐλαύνων ἀγχοῦ τῆς πόλιος, συνέβαλόν τε οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι καὶ ἑσσωθέντες τῆ μάχη κατειλήθησαν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ. οἱα δὲ ἐξεπιστάμενοι ἔτι πρότερον τὸν Κῦρον οὐκ ἀτρεμίζοντα, ἀλλ' ὁρέοντες αὐτὸν παντὶ ἔθνεϊ ὁμοίως ἐπιχειρέοντα,

# BOOK I. 189-190

to the river Gyndes,1 which rises in the mountains of the Matieni and flows through the Dardanean country into another river, the Tigris, which again passes the city of Opis and issues into the Red Sea -when Cyrus, I say, essayed to cross the Gyndes, it being there navigable, one of his sacred white horses dashed recklessly into the river that he might win through it, but the stream whelmed him and swept him under and away. At this violent deed of the river Cyrus was very wroth, and he threatened it that he would make it so weak that women should ever after cross it easily without wetting their knees. Having so threatened he ceased from his march against Babylon, and dividing his army into two parts he drew lines planning out a hundred and eighty canals running every way from either bank of the Gyndes; then he arrayed his army along the lines and bade them dig. Since a great multitude was at the work it went with all speed; yet they spent the whole summer there before it was finished.

190. Then at the opening of the second spring, when Cyrus had punished the Gyndes by parting it among the three hundred and sixty canals, he marched at last against Babylon. The Babylonians sallied out and awaited him; and when in his march he came near to their city, they joined battle, but they were worsted and driven within the city. There, because they knew already that Cyrus was no man of peace, and saw that he attacked all nations alike, they had

<sup>1</sup> Modern Diala.

προεσάξαντο σιτία ἐτέων κάρτα πολλῶν. ἐνθαῦτα οὖτοι μὲν λόγον εἶχον τῆς πολιορκίης οὖδένα, Κῦρος δὲ ἀπορίησι ἐνείχετο, ἄτε χρόνου τε ἐγγινομένου συχνοῦ ἀνωτέρω τε οὐδὲν τῶν

πρηγμάτων προκοπτομένων.

191. Εἴτε δη ὧν ἄλλος οἱ ἀπορέοντι ὑπεθήκατο. είτε καὶ αὐτὸς ἔμαθε τὸ ποιητέον οἱ ἡν, ἐποίεε δὴ τοιόνδε. τάξας την στρατιήν απασαν έξ έμβολης τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τη ές την πόλιν ἐσβάλλει, καὶ όπισθε αύτις της πόλιος τάξας έτέρους, τη έξιεί έκ της πόλιος ὁ ποταμός, προείπε τῶ στρατῶ, όταν διαβατὸν τὸ ῥέεθρον ἴδωνται γενόμενον, έσιέναι ταύτη ές την πόλιν, ούτω τε δη τάξας καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα παραινέσας ἀπήλαυνε αὐτὸς σύν τῷ ἀχρηίω τοῦ στρατοῦ. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην, τά περ ή των Βαβυλωνίων βασίλεια έποίησε κατά τε τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ κατὰ τὴν λίμνην, ἐποίεε καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἔτερα τοιαῦτα· τὸν γαρ ποταμον διώρυχι ἐσαγαγών ἐς τὴν λίμνην έοθσαν έλος, τὸ ἀρχαίον ρέεθρον διαβατὸν είναι ἐποίησε, ὑπονοστήσαντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ. γενομένου δὲ τούτου τοιούτου, οἱ Πέρσαι οἴ περ έτετάχατο έπ' αὐτῷ τούτω κατὰ τὸ ῥέεθρον τοῦ Ευφρήτεω ποταμού υπονενοστηκότος ανδρί ώς ές μέσον μηρον μάλιστά κη, κατά τοῦτο ἐσήισαν ἐς την Βαβυλώνα. εί μέν νυν προεπύθοντο ή έμαθον οί Βαβυλώνιοι τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Κύρου ποιεύμενον, οί δ' αν περιιδόντες τους Πέρσας ἐσελθεῖν ές την πόλιν διέφθειραν αν κάκιστα κατακληίσαντες γαρ αν πάσας τας ές τον ποταμον πυλίδας έχούσας καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὰς αίμασιὰς ἀναβάντες τάς παρά τὰ γείλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐληλαμένας, ἔλαstored provision enough for very many years; so now they cared nothing for the siege; and Cyrus knew not what to do, being so long delayed and gaining no advantage.

191. Whether, then, someone advised him in his difficulty, or he perceived for himself what to do, I know not, but this he did: he posted his army at the place where the river enters the city, and another part of it where the stream issues from the city, and bade his men enter the city by the channel of the Euphrates when they should see it to be fordable. Having so arrayed them and given this command, he himself marched away with those of his army who could not fight; and when he came to the lake, Cyrus dealt with it and with the river just as had the Babylonian queen: drawing off the river by a canal into the lake, which was till now a marsh, he made the stream to sink till its former channel could be forded. When this happened, the Persians who were posted with this intent made their way into Babylon by the channel of the Euphrates, which had now sunk about to the height of the middle of a man's thigh. Now if the Babylonians had known beforehand or learnt what Cyrus was planning, they would have suffered the Persians to enter the city and brought them to a miserable end; for then they would have shut all the gates that opened on the river and themselves mounted up on to the walls that ran along the river

δή τι πλήθος ετρέφετο ὥστε τέσσερες τῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κῶμαι μεγάλαι, τῶν ἄλλων ἐοῦσαι ἀτελέες, τοῖσι κυσὶ προσετετάχατο σιτία παρέχειν. τοιαῦτα μὲν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ὑπῆρχε ἐόντα.

193. Ἡ δὲ γῆ τῶν ᾿Ασσυρίων ὕεται μὲν ὀλίγω, και τὸ έκτρέφον την ρίζαν τοῦ σίτου έστι τοῦτο. άρδόμενον μέντοι έκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ άδρύνεται τε τὸ λήιον και παραγίνεται ο σίτος, ου κατά περ έν Αίνύπτω αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀναβαίνοντος ές τὰς ἀρούρας, ἀλλὰ χερσί τε καὶ κηλωνηίοισι άρδόμενος. ή γάρ Βαβυλωνίη χώρη πάσα, κατά περ ή Αίγυπτίη, κατατέτμηται ές διώρυγας καί ή μεγίστη των διωρύχων έστι νηυσιπέρητος, πρός ήλιον τετραμμένη του χειμερινόν, ἐσέχει δὲ ἐς άλλον ποταμον έκ του Ευφρήτεω, ές τον Τίγρην, παρ' δυ Νίνος πόλις οίκητο. ἔστι δὲ χωρέων αύτη πασέων μακρώ ἀρίστη των ήμεις ίδμεν Δήμητρος καρπον εκφέρειν . . . τὰ γὰρ δὴ ἄλλα δένδρεα οὐδὲ πειραται άρχην φέρειν, οὕτε συκέην ούτε άμπελον ούτε έλαίην. τον δε της Δήμητρος καρπον ώδε αγαθή εκφέρειν έστι ώστε έπι διηκόσια μεν τὸ παράπαν ἀποδιδοῖ, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἄριστα αὐτή έωυτης ἐνείκη, ἐπὶ τριηκόσια ἐκφέρει. τὰ δὲ φύλλα αὐτόθι τῶν τε πυρῶν καὶ τῶν κριθέων τὸ πλάτος γίνεται τεσσέρων εὐπετέως δακτύλων. έκ δε κέγγρου καὶ σησάμου όσον τι δένδρον μέγαθος γίνεται, έξεπιστάμενος μνήμην ου ποιήσομαι, εὐ είδως ὅτι τοῖσι μὴ ἀπιγμένοισι ἐς τὴν Βαβυλωνίην χώρην καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα καρπῶν ἐχόμενα

Stein marks a lacuna after this word, the meaning of τὰ άλλα δένδρεα not being quite clear.

# BOOK I. 192-193

that four great villages of the plain were appointed to provide food for the dogs and eased from all other burdens. Such were the riches of the governor of Babylon.

193. There is but little rain in Assyria. this which nourishes the roots of the corn: but it is irrigation from the river that ripens the crop and brings the grain to fulness: it is not as in Egypt, where the river itself rises and floods the fields: in Assyria they are watered by hand and by swinging beams.1 For the whole land of Babylon, like Egypt, is cut across by canals. The greatest of these is navigable: it runs towards where the sun rises in winter, from the Euphrates to another river, the Tigris, by which stood the city of Ninus. This land is of all known to us by far the most fertile in corn. Trees it does not even essay to grow, fig, vine, or olive, but its corn is so abundant that it vields for the most part two hundred fold, and even three hundred fold when the harvest is best. The blades of the wheat and barley there are easily four fingers broad; and for millet and sesame, I will not say, though it is known to me, to what a height they grow; for I am well aware that even what I have said respecting corn is wholly disbelieved by those who have never visited

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> That is, by the "shadoof," a familiar object to travellers on the Nile; a lever with a bucket attached, revolving on a post.

ές ἀπιστίην πολλην ἀπίκται. γρέωνται δε οὐδεν έλαίω άλλ' ή έκ των σησάμων ποιεύντες, είσι δέ σφι φοίνικες πεφυκότες ανα παν το πεδίον, οί πλεύνες αὐτών καρποφόροι, ἐκ τών καὶ σιτία και οίνον και μέλι ποιεύνται τούς συκέων τρόπον θεραπεύουσι τά τε άλλα καὶ φοινίκων τους έρσενας "Ελληνες καλέουσι, τούτων τον καρπου περιδέουσι τησι βαλανηφόροισι των φοινίκων. ίνα πεπαίνη τέ σφι ο ψην την βάλανον εσδύνων καὶ μὴ ἀπορρέη ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ Φοίνικος. Ψηνας γὰρ δη φέρουσι έν τω καρπω οί έρσενες κατά περ δη οί όλυνθοι.

194. Τὸ δὲ ἀπάντων θῶμα μέγιστόν μοι ἐστὶ τῶν ταύτη μετά γε αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν, ἔρχομαι φράσων τὰ πλοΐα αὐτοῖσι ἐστὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν ποταμον πορευόμενα ές την Βαβυλώνα, έόντα κυκλοτερέα, πάντα σκύτινα, ἐπεὰν γὰρ ἐν τοίσι 'Αρμενίοισι τοίσι κατύπερθε 'Ασσυρίων οἰκημένοισι νομέας ίτέης ταμόμενοι ποιήσωνται, περιτείνουσι τούτοισι διφθέρας στεγαστρίδας έξωθεν έδάφεος τρόπου, ούτε πρύμνην αποκρίνοντες ούτε πρώρην συνάγοντες, άλλ' άσπίδος τρόπον κυκλοτερέα ποιήσαντες καὶ καλάμης πλήσαντες πᾶν τὸ. πλοίον τούτο ἀπιείσι κατά τὸν ποταμὸν φέρεσθαι, φορτίων πλήσαντες μάλιστα δὲ βίκους φοινικηίους κατάγουσι οίνου πλέους. ἰθύνεται δέ ύπό τε δύο πλήκτρων καὶ δύο ἀνδρῶν ὀρθῶν έστεώτων, καὶ δ μὲν ἔσω ἔλκει τὸ πληκτρον δ δὲ έξω ωθέει. ποιέεται δὲ καὶ κάρτα μεγάλα ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα καὶ ἐλάσσω· τὰ δὲ μέγιστα αὐτῶν καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ταλάντων γόμον έχει. ἐν ἐκάστω δε πλοίω όνος ζωός ένεστι, έν δε τοίσι μέζοσι Babylonia. They use no oil save what they make from sesame. There are palm trees there growing all over the plain, most of them yielding fruit, from which food is made and wine and honey. The Assyrians tend these like figs, and chiefly in this respect, that they tie the fruit of the palm called male by the Greeks to the date-bearing palm, that so the gall-fly may enter the dates and the fruit of the palm may not fall; for the male palms, like unripened figs, have gall-flies in their fruit.

194. I will now show what seems to me to be the most marvellous thing in the country, next to the city itself. Their boats which ply on the river and go to Babylon are all of skins, and round. They make these in Armenia, higher up the stream than Assyria. First they cut frames of willow, then they stretch hides over these for a covering, making as it were a hold; they neither broaden the stern nor narrow the prow, but the boat is round, like a shield. They then fill it with reeds and send it floating down the river with a cargo; and it is for the most part palm wood casks of wine that they carry down. Two men standing upright steer the boat, each with a paddle, one drawing it to him, the other thrusting it from him. These boats are of all sizes, some small, some very great; the greatest of them are even of five thousand talents 2 burden. There is a live ass in each boat, or

<sup>1</sup> Sesame-oil or "Benre-oil" is still in common use in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Attic talent = about 58 lbs. avoirdupois; the Aeginetan = about 82.

πλεύνες, έπεαν ων απίκωνται πλέοντες ές την Βαβυλώνα καὶ διαθέωνται τὸν φόρτον, νομέας μέν του πλοίου καὶ τὴν καλάμην πάσαν ἀπ' ὧν έκήρυξαν, τὰς δὲ διφθέρας ἐπισάξαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς όνους ἀπελαύνουσι ές τους Αρμενίους. ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμον γαρ δη ούκ οία τε έστι πλέειν ούδενι τρόπω ύπὸ τάχεος τοῦ ποταμοῦ διὰ γὰρ ταῦτα και ούκ έκ ξύλων ποιεύνται τὰ πλοία άλλ' έκ διφθερέων. ἐπεὰν δὲ τούς ὄνους ἐλαύνοντες ἀπίκωνται όπίσω ές τους 'Αρμενίους, άλλα τρόπω τω

αὐτῶ ποιεῦνται πλοῖα.

195. Τὰ μὲν δή πλοῖα αὐτοῖσι ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα· έσθητι δὲ τοιήδε χρέωνται, κιθώνι ποδηνεκέι λινέω, και έπι τούτον άλλον ειρίνεον κιθώνα έπενδύνει και γλανίδιον λευκον περιβαλλόμενος, ύποδήματα έχων ἐπιχώρια, παραπλήσια τῆσι Βοιωτίησι ἐμβάσι, κομώντες δὲ τὰς κεφαλάς μίτρησι αναδέονται, μεμυρισμένοι παν το σώμα. σφρηγίδα δὲ έκαστος έχει καὶ σκήπτρου γειροποίητον ἐπ' ἐκάστω δὲ σκήπτρω ἔπεστι πεποιημένον η μήλον η ρόδον η κρίνον η αίετος η άλλο τι άνευ γαρ έπισήμου ού σφι νόμος έστι έχειν σκήπτρον.

196. Αύτη μέν δή σφι άρτησις περί τὸ σώμα έστί νόμοι δὲ αὐτοῖσι ὧδε κατεστάσι, ὁ μὲν σοφώτατος όδε κατά γνώμην την ήμετέρην, τω καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν Ἐνετούς πυνθάνομαι χρᾶσθαι. κατά κώμας έκάστας ἄπαξ τοῦ έτεος έκάστου έποιέετο τάδε ως αν αι παρθένοι γενοίατο γάμων ώραιαι, ταύτας όκως συναγάγοιεν πάσας, ές εν χωρίον ἐσάγεσκον άλέας, πέριξ δὲ αὐτὰς ίστατο ομιλος ἀνδρῶν, ἀνιστὰς δὲ κατὰ μίαν ἐκάστην more than one in the larger. So when they have floated down to Babylon and disposed of their cargo, they sell the framework of the boat and all the reeds; the hides are set on the backs of asses, which are then driven back to Armenia, for it is not by any means possible to go up stream by water, by reason of the swiftness of the current; it is for this reason that they make their boats of hides and not of wood. When they have driven their asses back into Armenia they make more boats in the same way.

195. Such then are their boats. For clothing, they wear a linen tunic, reaching to the feet; over this the Babylonian puts on another tunic, of wool, and wraps himself in a white mantle; he wears the shoes of his country, which are like Boeotian sandals. Their hair is worn long, and covered by caps; the whole body is perfumed. Every man has a seal and a carven staff, and on every staff is some image, such as that of an apple or a rose or a lily or an eagle: no one carries a staff without a device.

will now speak of their established customs. The wisest of these, in my judgment, is one which as I have heard is also a custom of the Eneti in Illyria. It is this: once a year in every village all the maidens as they came to marriageable age were collected and brought together into one place, with a crowd of men standing round. Then a crier would stand up and offer them for sale one by one, first

κήρυξ πωλέεσκε, πρώτα μέν την εὐειδεστάτην ἐκ πασέων μετά δέ, όκως αύτη εύρουσα πολλον χρυσίου πρηθείη, ἄλλην αν ἐκήρυσσε ἡ μετ' εκείνην έσκε ευειδεστάτη επωλέοντο δε επί συνοικήσι. όσοι μεν δη έσκον εὐδαίμονες των Βαβυλωνίων ἐπίγαμοι, ὑπερβάλλοντες άλλήλους έξωνέοντο τὰς καλλιστευούσας ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ δήμου έσκου ἐπίγαμοι, ούτοι δὲ εἴδεος μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδέοντο γρηστού, οἱ δ' αν γρήματά τε καὶ αἰσχίονας παρθένους ελάμβανον. ώς γάρ δη διεξέλθοι ό κήρυξ πωλέων τὰς εὐειδεστάτας τῶν παρθένων. ανίστη αν την αμορφεστάτην, η εί τις αὐτέων έμπηρος είη, καὶ ταύτην αν εκήρυσσε, όστις θέλοι έλάχιστον χρυσίου λαβών συνοικέειν αὐτή, ές δ τω τὸ ελάχιστον ὑπισταμένω προσέκειτο. τὸ δὲ αν χρυσίον εγίνετο από των εὐειδέων παρθένων και ούτω αί εύμορφοι τὰς ἀμόρφους και ἐμπήρους έξεδίδοσαν, εκδούναι δε την έωυτου θυγατέρα ότεω βούλοιτο έκαστος οὐκ έξην, οὐδε ἄνευ έγγυητέω ἀπάγεσθαι την παρθένον πριάμενον, άλλ' έγγυητας γρην καταστήσαντα ή μέν συνοικήσειν αὐτή, οὕτω ἀπάγεσθαι. εἰ δὲ μὴ συμφεροίατο, ἀποφέρειν τὸ χρυσίον ἔκειτο νόμος. ἐξῆν δὲ καὶ έξ άλλης έλθόντα κώμης τον βουλόμενον ωνέεσθαι. ὁ μέν νυν κάλλιστος νόμος ουτός σφι ην, οὐ μέντοι νῦν γε διατελέει ἐών, ἄλλο δέ τι ἐξευρήκασι νεωστί γενέσθαι [ίνα μη άδικοίεν αὐτὰς μηδ' είς έτέραν πόλιν άγωνται].1 έπείτε γαρ άλόντες έκακώθησαν καὶ οἰκοφθορήθησαν, πᾶς τις τοῦ δήμου βίου σπανίζων καταπορνεύει τὰ θήλεα τέκνα.

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  The words in brackets do not seem to be relevant here; they might more naturally come after of  $\tau\omega$  à  $\pi d\gamma \epsilon \sigma \theta a\iota$  above.

the fairest of all; and then when she had fetched a great price he put up for sale the next comeliest, selling all the maidens as lawful wives. Rich men of Assyria who desired to marry would outbid each other for the fairest; the commonalty, who desired to marry and cared nothing for beauty, could take the ill-favoured damsels and money therewith; for when the crier had sold all the comeliest, he would put up her that was least beautiful, or crippled, and offer her to whosoever would take her to wife for the least sum, till she fell to him who promised to accept least; the money came from the sale of the comely damsels, and so they paid the dowry of the ill-favoured and the cripples. But a man might not give his daughter in marriage to whomsoever he would, nor might he that bought the girl take her away without giving security that he would indeed make her his wife. And if the two could not agree, it was a law that the money be returned. Men might also come from other villages to buy if they so desired. This then was their best custom; but it does not continue at this time; they have invented a new one lately [that the woman might not be wronged or taken to another city]; since the conquest of Babylon made them afflicted and poor, everyone of the commonalty that lacks a livelihood makes prostitutes of his daughters.

197. Δεύτερος δὲ σοφίη ὅδε ἄλλος σφι νόμος κατέστηκε τοὺς κάμνοντας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἐκφορέουσι οὐ γὰρ δὴ χρέωνται ἰητροῖσι. προσιόντες ὧν πρὸς τὸν κάμνοντα συμβουλεύουσι περὶ τῆς νούσου, εἴ τις καὶ αὐτὸς τοιοῦτο ἔπαθε ὁκοῖον ἄν ἔχη ὁ κάμνων ἡ ἄλλον εἶδε παθόντα, ταῦτα προσιόντες συμβουλεύουσι καὶ παραινέουσι ἄσσα αὐτὸς ποιήσας ἐξέφυγε ὁμοίην νοῦσον ἡ ἄλλον εἶδε ἐκφυγόντα. σιγῆ δὲ παρεξελθεῖν τὸν κάμνοντα οὔ σφι ἔξεστι, πρὶν ἃν ἐπείρηται ἤντινα νοῦσον ἔχει.

198. Ταφαὶ δέ σφι ἐν μέλιτι, θρῆνοι δὲ παραπλήσιοι τοῖσι ἐν Αἰγύπτφ. ὁσάκις δ' αν μιχθῆ γυναικὶ τῆ ἑωυτοῦ ἀνὴρ Βαβυλώνιος, περὶ θυμίημα καταγιζόμενον ἵζει, ἐτέρωθι δὲ ἡ γυνὴ τώυτὸ τοῦτο ποιέει, ὅρθρου δὲ γενομένου λοῦνται καὶ ἀμφότεροι· ἄγγεος γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἄψονται πρὶν ἀν λούσωνται. ταὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ᾿Αράβιοι

199. ¹ 'Ο δὲ δὴ αἴσχιστος τῶν νόμων ἐστὶ τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι ὅδε· δεῖ πᾶσαν γυναῖκα ἐπιχωρίην ἰζομένην ἐς ἱρὸν 'Αφροδίτης ἄπαξ ἐν τῆ ζόη μιχθῆναι ἀνδρὶ ξείνω. πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἀξιεύμεναι ἀναμίσγεσθαι τῆσι ἄλλησι, οἶα πλούτω ὑπερφρονέουσαι, ἐπὶ ζευγέων ἐν καμάρησι ἐλάσασαι πρὸς τὸ ἱρὸν ἑστᾶσι· θεραπηίη δέ σφι ὅπισθε ἔπεται πολλή. αἱ δὲ πλεῦνες ποιεῦσι ὧδε· ἐν τεμένεϊ 'Αφροδίτης κατέαται στέφανον περὶ τῆσι κεφαλῆσι ἔχουσαι θώμιγγος πολλαὶ γυναῖκες· αῖ μὲν γὰρ προσέρχονται, αὶ δὲ ἀπέρχονται.

ποιεῦσι.

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 1}$  Three fifteenth century MSS. omit the whole of this chapter.

### BOOK I. 197-199

197. I come now to the next wisest of their customs: having no use for physicians, they carry the sick into the market-place; then those who have been afflicted themselves by the same ill as the sick man's, or seen others in like case, come near and advise him about his disease and comfort him, telling him by what means they have themselves recovered of it or seen others so recover. None may pass by the sick man without speaking and asking what is his sickness.

198. The dead are embalmed in honey for burial, and their dirges are like to the dirges of Egypt. Whenever a Babylonian has had intercourse with his wife, they both sit before a burnt offering of incense, and at dawn they wash themselves; they will touch no vessel before this is done. This is the custom also in Arabia.

199. The foulest Babylonian custom is that which compels every woman of the land once in her life to sit in the temple of Aphrodite and have intercourse with some stranger. Many women who are rich and proud and disdain to consort with the rest, drive to the temple in covered carriages drawn by teams, and there stand with a great retinue of attendants. But most sit down in the sacred plot of Aphrodite, with crowns of cord on their heads; there is a great multitude of women coming and going; passages marked by line run every way through the crowd, by which the stranger men pass and make their choice.

σχοινοτενέες δε διέξοδοι πάντα τρόπον όδων έγουσι διὰ τῶν γυναικῶν, δι' ὧν οἱ ξείνοι διεξιόντες εκλέγονται ένθα επεαν ίζηται γυνή, οὐ πρότερον απαλλάσσεται ές τὰ οἰκία ή τίς οἱ ξείνων άργύριον έμβαλων ές τὰ γούνατα μιχθή έξω τοῦ ίρου εμβαλόντα δε δεί είπειν τοσόνδε "Επικαλέω τοι την θεον Μύλιττα." Μύλιττα δέ καλέουσι την 'Αφροδίτην 'Ασσύριοι. το δε άργύριον μέγαθος έστι όσον ών ου γάρ μη απώσηται. οὐ γάρ οἱ θέμις ἐστί· γίνεται γὰρ ἱρὸν τοῦτο τὸ άργύριον. τῶ δὲ πρώτω ἐμβαλόντι ἔπεται οὐδὲ άποδοκιμά οὐδένα. ἐπεὰν δὲ μιγθη, ἀποσιωσαμένη τη θεω ἀπαλλάσσεται ές τὰ οἰκία, καὶ τώπὸ τούτου οὐκ οὕτω μέγα τί οἱ δώσεις ώς μιν λάμόσαι μέν νυν είδεός τε έπαμμέναι είσι καὶ μεγάθεος, ταχὺ ἀπαλλάσσονται, ὅσαι δὲ άμορφοι αὐτέων εἰσί, χρόνον πολλον προσμένουσι οὐ δυνάμεναι τὸν νόμον ἐκπλησαι καὶ γὰρ τριέτεα καὶ τετραέτεα μετεξέτεραι χρόνον μένουσι. ένιαχη δέ και της Κύπρου έστι παραπλήσιος τούτω νόμος.

200. Νόμοι μὲν δὴ τοισι Βαβυλωνίοισι οὖτοι κατεστάσι εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτῶν πατριαὶ τρεῖς αι οὐδὲν ἄλλο σιτέονται εἰ μὴ ἰχθὺς μοῦνον, τοὺς ἐπείτε ἄν θηρεύσαντες αὐήνωσι πρὸς ἥλιον, ποιεῦσι τάδε ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς ὅλμον καὶ λεήναντες ὑπέροισι σῶσι διὰ σινδόνος, καὶ δς μὲν ᾶν βούληται αὐτῶν ἄτε μᾶζαν μαξάμενος ἔχει, ὁ δὲ ἄρτου τρόπον

οπτήσας.

201. 'Ως δὲ τῷ Κύρφ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος κατέργαστο, ἐπεθύμησε Μασσαγέτας ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ ποιήσασθαι. τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτο καὶ μέγα λέγεται When a woman has once taken her place there she goes not away to her home before some stranger has cast money into her lap and had intercourse with her outside the temple; but while he casts the money, he must say, "I demand thee in the name of Mylitta" (that is the Assyrian name for Aphrodite). It matters not what be the sum of the money; the woman will never refuse, for that were a sin, the money being by this act made sacred. So she follows the first man who casts it and rejects none. After their intercourse she has made herself holy in the goddess's sight and goes away to her home; and thereafter there is no bribe however great that will get her. So then the women that are fair and tall are soon free to depart, but the uncomely have long to wait because they cannot fulfil the law; for some of them remain for three years, or four. There is a custom like to this in some parts of Cyprus.

200. These are established customs among the Babylonians. Moreover, there are in the country three tribes that eat nothing but fish, which they catch and dry in the sun; then after casting them into a mortar they bray them with pestles and strain all through linen. Then whoever so desires kneads as it were a cake of it and eats it; others bake it like bread.

201. When Cyrus had conquered this nation also, he desired to subdue the Massagetae. These are

είναι καὶ ἄλκιμον, οἰκημένον δὲ πρὸς ἡῶ τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολάς, πέρην τοῦ ᾿Αράξεω ποταμοῦ, ἀντίον δὲ Ἰσσηδόνων ἀνδρῶν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἴτινες καὶ

Σκυθικον λέγουσι τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος εἶναι.

202. Ο δε 'Αράξης λέγεται καὶ μέζων καὶ έλάσσων είναι του Ίστρου νήσους δε έν αὐτώ Λέσβω μεγάθεα παραπλησίας συγνάς φασι είναι. έν δε αὐτησι ἀνθρώπους οἱ σιτέονται μεν ρίζας τὸ θέρος δρύσσοντες παντοίας καρπούς δὲ ἀπὸ δενδρέων έξευρημένους σφι ές φορβήν κατατίθεσθαι ώραίους, και τούτους σιτέεσθαι την χειμερινήν. άλλα δέ σφι έξευρησθαι δένδρεα καρπούς τοιούσδε τινας φέροντα, τούς ἐπείτε αν ἐς τώυτὸ συνέλθωσι κατά είλας καὶ πῦρ ἀνακαύσωνται κύκλω περιιζομένους ἐπιβάλλειν ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ, ὀσφραινομένους δὲ καταγιζομένου τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ἐπιβαλλομένου μεθύσκεσθαι τη όδμη κατά περ "Ελληνας τω οίνω, πλεύνος δὲ ἐπιβαλλομένου τοῦ καρποῦ μᾶλλον μεθύσκεσθαι, ές δ ές δρχησίν τε ανίστασθαι καὶ ές ἀοιδην ἀπικνέεσθαι. τούτων μεν αυτη λέγεται δίαιτα είναι. ὁ δὲ ᾿Αράξης ποταμὸς ῥέει μέν έκ Ματιηνών, όθεν περ ο Γύνδης τον ές τάς διώρυγας τὰς ἐξήκοντά τε καὶ τριηκοσίας διέλαβε ό Κύρος, στόμασι δὲ ἐξερεύγεται τεσσεράκοντα, των τὰ πάντα πλην ένὸς ἐς ἔλεά τε καὶ τενάγεα έκδιδοί έν τοίσι άνθρώπους κατοικήσθαι λέγουσι ίχθυς ώμους σιτεομένους, έσθητι δε νομίζοντας χρασθαι φωκέων δέρμασι, τὸ δὲ ἐν τῶν στομάτων τοῦ Αράξεω ρέει διὰ καθαροῦ ἐς τὴν Κασπίην θάλασσαν.

203. Ἡ δὲ Κασπίη θάλασσα ἐστὶ ἐπ' ἐωυτῆς, οὐ συμμίσγουσα τῆ ἐτέρη θαλάσση. τὴν μὲν γὰρ

# BOOK I. 201-203

said to be a great people and a mighty, dwelling towards the east and the sunrise, beyond the Araxes and over against the Issedones; and some say that

they are a Scythian people.

202. The Araxes is by some said to be greater and by some less than the Ister. It is reported that there are many islands in it as big as Lesbos, and men thereon who in summer live on roots of all kinds that they dig up, and in winter on fruit that they get from trees and store when it is ripe for food; and they know (it is said) of trees which have a fruit whereof this is the effect: assembling in companies and kindling a fire, the people sit round it and throw the fruit into the flames, then the smell of it as it burns makes them drunk as the Greeks are with wine, and more and more drunk as more fruit is thrown on the fire, till at last they rise up to dance and even sing. Such is said to be their way of life. The Araxes 1 flows from the country of the Matieni-as does the Gyndes, which Cyrus divided into the three hundred and sixty channels—and empties itself through forty mouths, whereof all except one issue into bogs and swamps, where men are said to live whose food is raw fish, and their customary dress sealskins. The one remaining stream of the Araxes flows in a clear channel into the Caspian sea.

203. This is a sea by itself, not joined to the other sea. For that whereon the Greeks sail, and the sea

¹ The Araxes of this chapter appears to be, from the description of its course, the modern Aras. But the Araxes of ch. 205, separating Cyrus' kingdom from the Massagetaë, must be either the Oxus (Jihon) or Jaxartes (Sihon), both of which now flow into the Aral Sea. For a full discussion of the question the reader is referred to Essay IX. in the Appendix to Book I. of Rawlinson's Herodotus.

"Ελληνες ναυτίλλονται πάσα και ή έξω στηλέων θάλασσα ή 'Ατλαντίς καλεομένη και ή 'Ερυθρή μία ἐοῦσα τυγγάνει ή δὲ Κασπίη ἐστὶ ἐτέρη ἐπ΄ έωυτης, ἐοῦσα μηκος μὲν πλόου εἰρεσίη χρεωμένω πεντεκαίδεκα ήμερέων, εύρος δέ, τη εύρυτάτη έστι αὐτή ἐωυτής, ὀκτὰ ἡμερέων. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς την έσπέρην φέρουτα της θαλάσσης ταύτης ό Καύκασος παρατείνει, έον ορέων και πλήθει μέγιστον καὶ μεγάθει ύψηλότατον. ἔθνεα δὲ ἀνθρώπων πολλά καὶ παντοία ἐν ἐωυτῶ ἔχει ὁ Καύκασος, τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἀπ' ὕλης ἀγρίης ζώοντα. έν τοίσι καὶ δένδρεα φύλλα τοιῆσδε ἰδέης παρεχόμενα είναι λέγεται, τὰ τρίβοντάς τε καὶ παραμίσγοντας ύδωρ ζωα έωυτοίσι ές την έσθητα έγγράφειν τὰ δὲ ζώα οὐκ ἐκπλύνεσθαι, ἀλλά συγκαταγηράσκειν τῷ ἄλλφ εἰρίφ κατά περ ένυφανθέντα άρχήν. μίξιν δε τούτων των άνθρώπων είναι εμφανέα κατά περ τοίσι προβάτοισι.

204. Τὰ μὲν δὴ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης τῆς Κασπίης καλεομένης ὁ Καύκασος ἀπέργει, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἡῶ τε καὶ ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα πεδίον ἐκδέκεται πλῆθος ἄπειρον ἐς ἄποψιν. τοῦ ῶν δὴ πεδίου τούτου τοῦ μεγάλου οὐκ ἐλαχίστην μοῖραν μετέχουσι οἱ Μασαγέται, ἐπ οῦς ὁ Κῦρος ἔσχε προθυμίην στρατεύσασθαι. πολλά τε γάρ μιν καὶ μεγάλα τὰ ἐπαείροντα καὶ ἐποτρύνοντα ἡν, πρῶτον μὲν ἡ γένεσις, τὸ δοκέειν πλέον τι εἶναι ἀνθρώπου, δεύτερα δὲ ἡ εὐτυχίη ἡ κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους γενομένη ὅκη γὰρ ἰθύσειε στρατεύεσθαι Κῦρος, ἀμήχανον ἦν ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἔθνος

διαφυγείν.

205. \*Ην δε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποθανόντος γυνή των

# BOOK I. 203-205

beyond the pillars of Heracles, which they call Atlantic, and the Red Sea, are all one: but the Caspian is separate and by itself. Its length is what a ship rowed by oars can traverse in fifteen days, and its breadth, where it is broadest, is an eight days' journey. Along its western shore stretches the range of Caucasus, which has more and higher mountains than any other range. Many and all manner of nations dwell in the Caucasus, and the most of them live on the fruits of the wild wood. Here, it is said, are trees growing leaves that men crush and mix with water and use for the painting of figures on their clothing; these figures cannot be washed out, but last as long as the wool, as if they had been woven into it from the first. Men and women here (they say) have intercourse openly, like beasts of the flock.

204. This sea called Caspian is hemmed in to the west by the Caucasus: towards the east and the sunrise there stretches from its shores a boundless plain as far as sight can reach. The greater part of this wide plain is the country of the Massagetae, against whom Cyrus was eager to lead his army. For there were many reasons of weight that heartened and encouraged him so to do: first, his birth, whereby he seemed to be something more than mortal man, and next, his victories in his wars; for no nation that Cyrus undertook to attack could escape from him.

205. Now at this time the Massagetae were ruled

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Μασσαγετέων βασίλεια· Τόμυρίς οἱ ἢν οὔνομα. ταύτην πέμπων ὁ Κῦρος ἐμνᾶτο τῷ λόγω θέλων γυναῖκα ἢν ἔχειν. ἡ δὲ Τόμυρις συνιεῖσα οὐκ αὐτήν μιν μνώμενον ἀλλὰ τὴν Μασσαγετέων βασιληίην, ἀπείπατο τὴν πρόσοδον. Κῦρος δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο, ὡς οἱ δόλω οὐ προεχώρεε, ἐλάσας ἐπὶ τὸν ᾿Αράξεα ἐποιέετο ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος ἐπὶ τοὺς Μασσαγέτας στρατηίην, γεφύρας τε ζευγνύων ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διάβασιν τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ πύργους ἐπὶ πλοίων τῶν διαπορθμευόντων τὸν ποταμὸν

οἰκοδομεόμενος.

206. Έγοντι δέ οἱ τοῦτον τὸν πόνον πέμψασα ή Τόμυρις κήρυκα έλεγε τάδε. " Ω βασιλεῦ Μήδων, παθσαι σπεύδων τὰ σπεύδεις οὐ γὰρ αν είδείης εί τοι ές καιρον έσται ταθτα τελεόμενα παυσάμενος δὲ βασίλευε τῶν σεωυτοῦ, καὶ ἡμέας ἀνέγευ ορέων άρχοντας των περ άρχομεν. οὔκων ἐθελήσεις ύποθήκησι τήσιδε χρασθαι, άλλα πάντως μαλλον ή δι' ήσυχίης είναι σύ δή εί μεγάλως προθυμέαι Μασσαγετέων πειρηθήναι, φέρε μόχθον μεν τον έχεις ζευγνύς τὸν ποταμὸν ἄπες, σὺ δὲ ἡμέων άναχωρησάντων ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τριῶν ἡμερέων όδον διάβαινε ές την ημετέρην εί δ' ημέας βούλεαι ἐσδέξασθαι μᾶλλον ἐς τὴν ὑμετέρην, σὺ τὢυτὸ τοῦτο ποίεε." ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσας ὁ Κῦρος συνεκάλεσε Περσέων τούς πρώτους, συναγείρας δὲ τούτους ἐς μέσον σφι προετίθεε τὸ πρήγμα, συμβουλευόμενος οκότερα ποιέη. των δε κατά τώυτο αί γνωμαι συνεξέπιπτον κελευόντων έσδέκεσθαι Τόμυρίν τε καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτῆς ἐς την χώρην.

by a queen, called Tomyris, whose husband was dead. Cyrus sent a message with a pretence of wooing her for his wife, but Tomyris would have none of this advance, well understanding that he wooed not her but the kingdom of the Massagetae. So when guile availed him nothing Cyrus marched to the Araxes and openly prepared to attack the Massagetae; he bridged the river that his army might cross, and built towers on the pontoons that should carry his men over.

206. But while he was at this work Tomyris sent a herald to him with this message: "Cease, king of the Medes, from that on which you are intent; for you cannot know if the completion of this work will be for your advantage. Cease, and be king of your own country; and be patient to see us ruling those whom we rule. But if you will not take this counsel, and will do all rather than remain at peace, then if you so greatly desire to essay the strength of the Massagetae, do you quit your present labour of bridging the river, and suffer us to draw off three days' journey from the Araxes; and when that is done, cross into our country. Or if you desire rather to receive us into your country, do you then yourself withdraw as I have said." Hearing this, Cyrus assembled the chief among the Persians and laid the matter before them, asking them to advise him which he should do. They all spoke to the same purpose, urging him to suffer Tomyris and her army to enter his country.

207. Παρεών δὲ καὶ μεμφόμενος τὴν γνώμην ταύτην Κροίσος ο Λυδος απεδείκνυτο εναντίην τη προκειμένη γνώμη, λέγων τάδε. "\* Ω Βασιλεύ, είπον μεν και πρότερον τοι ότι επεί με Ζευς έδωκέ τοι, τὸ αν ὁρῶ σφάλμα ἐὸν οἴκω τῶ σῶ, κατὰ δύναμιν ἀποτρέψειν τὰ δὲ μοι παθήματα ἐόντα άγάριτα μαθήματα γέγονε. εί μεν άθάνατος δοκέεις είναι καὶ στρατιής τοιαύτης ἄργειν, οὐδεν αν είη πρήγμα γνώμας έμε σοι αποφαίνεσθαι. έγνωκας ὅτι ἄνθρωπος καὶ σὰ εἶς καὶ ἐτέρων τοιώνδε ἄρχεις, έκείνο πρώτον μάθε, ώς κύκλος των ανθρωπηίων έστι πρηγμάτων, περιφερόμενος δὲ οὐκ ἐᾶ αἰεὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς εὐτυχέειν. ἤδη ὧν ἔχω γνώμην περί του προκειμένου πρήγματος τά έμπαλιν ή ούτοι. εί γαρ έθελήσομεν έσδέξασθαι τούς πολεμίους ές την χώρην, όδε τοι έν αὐτώ κίνδυνος ένι έσσωθείς μέν προσαπολλύεις πάσαν την άρχην. δηλα γάρ δη ὅτι νικῶντες Μασσαγέται οὐ τὸ ὀπίσω φεύξονται ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀρχὰς τὰς σὰς ἐλῶσι. νικῶν δὲ οὐ νικᾶς τοσοῦτον όσον εί διαβάς ές την έκείνων, νικών Μασσαγέτας. έποιο φεύγουσι. τωυτό γαρ αντιθήσω εκείνω, ότι νικήσας τούς αντιουμένους έλας ίθυ της άρχης της Τομύριος. χωρίς τε τοῦ ἀπηγημένου αίσχρον και ούκ άνασχετον Κύρον γε τον Καμβύσεω γυναικί είξαντα ύποχωρήσαι της χώρης. νῦν ὧν μοι δοκέει διαβάντας προελθεῖν ὅσον ἀν έκείνοι ὑπεξίωσι, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τάδε ποιεῦντας πειρασθαι ἐκείνων περιγενέσθαι. ώς γάρ ἐγὰ πυνθάνομαι, Μασσαγέται είσι άγαθών τε Περσικών ἄπειροι καὶ καλών μεγάλων ἀπαθέες. τούτοισι

207. But Croesus the Lydian, who was present, was displeased by their counsel and spoke against it. "Sire," said he, "you have ere now heard from me that since Zeus has given me to you I will to the best of my power turn aside whatever mischance I see threatening your house. And disaster has been my teacher. Now if you deem yourself and the army that you lead to be immortal, it is not for me to give you advice; but if you know that you and those whom you rule are but men, then I must first teach you this: men's fortunes are on a wheel, which in its turning suffers not the same man to prosper for ever. Then, if that be true, I am not of the same mind on the business in hand as these your other counsellors. This is the danger if we agree to suffer the enemy to enter your country: if you lose the battle you lose your empire also, for it is plain that if the Massagetae win they will not retreat back but will march against your provinces. And if you conquer them it is a lesser victory than if you crossed into their country and routed the Massagetae and pursued them; for I balance your chances against theirs, and suppose that when you have worsted your adversaries you will march for the seat of Tomyris' power. And besides what I have shown, it were a thing shameful and not to be borne that Cyrus the son of Cambyses should yield and give ground before a woman. Now therefore it is in my mind that we should cross and go forward as far as they go back, and that then we should endeavour to overcome them by doing as I shall show. As I learn, the Massagetae have no experience of the good things of Persia, nor have they ever fared well in respect of what is greatly desirable. For these men, therefore,

ων τοίσι ανδράσι των προβάτων αφειδέως πολλά κατακόψαντας καὶ σκευάσαντας προθείναι έν τῶ στρατοπέδω τῷ ἡμετέρω δαῖτα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ κρητήρας άφειδέως οίνου άκρήτου καὶ σιτία παντοία. ποιήσαντας δέ ταθτα, υπολιπομένους της στρατιής τὸ φλαυρότατον, τούς λοιπούς αῦτις ἐξαναχωρέειν έπὶ τὸν ποταμόν. ἢν γὰρ ἐγὼ γνώμης μὴ ἀμάρτω, κείνοι ιδόμενοι άγαθά πολλά τρέψονταί τε πρός αὐτὰ καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν λείπεται ἀπόδεξις έργων μεγάλων."

208. Γνώμαι μέν αδται συνέστασαν Κύρος δέ μετείς την προτέρην γνώμην, την Κροίσου δέ έλόμενος, προηγόρευε Τομύρι έξαναγωρέειν ώς αὐτοῦ διαβησομένου ἐπ' ἐκείνην. ἡ μὲν δὴ ἐξανεχώρεε κατά ύπέσχετο πρώτα. Κύρος δὲ Κροίσον ές τὰς γείρας ἐσθεὶς τῷ ἐωυτοῦ παιδὶ Καμβύση, τῷ περ τὴν βασιληίην ἐδίδου, καὶ πολλά ἐτειλάμενός οἱ τιμᾶν τε αὐτὸν καὶ εὖ ποιέειν, ἢν ἡ διάβασις ή ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας μὴ ὀρθωθῆ, ταῦτα έντειλάμενος και άποστείλας τούτους ές Πέρσας. αὐτὸς διέβαινε τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ.

209. Ἐπείτε δὲ ἐπεραιώθη τὸν ᾿Αράξεα, νυκτὸς έπελθούσης είδε όψιν εύδων έν των Μασσαγετέων τη χώρη τοιήνδε εδόκεε ο Κύρος έν τῷ ὕπνῷ ὁρᾶν τῶν Υστάσπεος παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον έχοντα έπὶ τῶν ἄμων πτέρυγας καὶ τουτέων τῆ μὲν την 'Ασίην τη δὲ την Εὐρώπην ἐπισκιάζειν. 'Υστάσπεϊ δὲ τῶ' Αρσάμεος ἐόντι ἀνδρὶ 'Αχαιμενίδη ήν των παίδων Δαρείος πρεσβύτατος, έων τότε ήλικίην ές είκοσί κου μάλιστα έτεα, και ούτος κατελέλειπτο εν Πέρσησι οὐ γὰρ εἰχέ κω ήλικίην στρατεύεσθαι. ἐπεὶ ὧν δὴ ἐξηγέρθη ὁ Κῦρος,

I counsel you to cut up the flesh of many of your sheep and goats into portions unstintingly, and to cook it and serve it as a feast in our camp, providing many bowls of unmixed wine withal and all manner of food. Then let your army withdraw to the river again, leaving behind that part of it which is of least account. For if I err not in my judgment, when the Massagetae see so many good things they will betake them to feasting thereon; and it will be for us then to achieve mighty deeds."

208. So these opinions contended; and Cyrus set aside his former plan and chose that of Croesus; wherefore he bade Tomyris draw her army off, for he would cross (he said) and attack her. Then he gave Croesus to the care of his own son Cambyses, to whom he purposed to leave his sovereignty, charging Cambyses to honour Croesus and entreat him well, if the crossing of the river against the Massagetae should not prosper. With this charge he sent the two back to Persia, and crossed the river, he and his army.

209. Then, being now across the Araxes, he dreamt at night while sleeping in the country of the Massagetae, that he saw the eldest of the sons of Hystaspes wearing wings on his shoulders, the one wing overshadowing Asia and the other Europe. (Hystaspes son of Arsames was an Achaemenid, and Darius was the eldest of his sons, being then about twenty years old; this Darius had been left behind in Persia, being not yet of an age to follow the army.) So when

ἐδίδου λόγον ἐωυτῷ περὶ τῆς ὄψιος. ὡς δέ οἰ ἐδόκεε μεγάλη εἶναι ἡ ὄψις, καλέσας Ὑστάσπεα καὶ ἀπολαβὼν μοῦνον εἶπε "ἸΤστασπες, παῖς σὸς ἐπιβουλεύων ἐμοί τε καὶ τῆ ἐμῆ ἀρχῆ ἑάλωκε. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἀτρεκέως οἶδα, ἐγὼ σημανέω· ἐμεῦ θεοὶ κήδονται καί μοι πάντα προδεικνύουσι τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα. ἤδη ὧν ἐν τῆ παροιχομένη νυκτὶ εὕδων εἶδον τῶν σῶν παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὥμων πτέρυγας καὶ τουτέων τῆ μὲν τὴν ᾿Ασίην τῆ δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπισκιάζειν. οὔκων ἐστὶ μηχανὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψιος ταύτης οὐδεμία τὸ μὴ ἐκεῖνον ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐμοί· σύ νυν τὴν ταχίστην πορεύεο ὀπίσω ἐς Πέρσας καὶ ποίεε ὅκως, ἐπεὰν ἐγὼ τάδε καταστρεψάμενος ἔλθω ἐκεῖ, ὡς μοι καταστήσεις τὸν παίδα ἐς ἔλεγγον."

210. Κύρος μὲν δοκέων οἱ Δαρεῖον ἐπιβουλεύειν ἔλεγε τάδε· τῷ δὲ ὁ δαίμων προέφαινε ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν τελευτήσειν αὐτοῦ ταύτη μέλλοι, ἡ δὲ βασιληίη αὐτοῦ περιχωρέοι ἐς Δαρεῖον. ἀμείβεται δὴ ὧν ὁ Ὑστάσπης τοῖσιδε. "'Ω βασιλεῦ, μὴ εἴη ἀνὴρ Πέρσης γεγονὼς ὅστις τοι ἐπιβουλεύσειε, εἰ δ' ἔστι, ἀπόλοιτο ὡς τάχιστα· δς ἀντὶ μὲν δούλων ἐποίησας ἐλευθέρους Πέρσας εἶναι, ἀντὶ δὲ ἄρχεσθαι ὑπ' ἄλλων ἄρχειν ἀπάντων. εἰ δέ τίς τοι ὄψις ἀπαγγέλλει παῖδα τὸν ἐμὸν νεώτερα βουλεύειν περὶ σέο, ἐγώ τοι παραδίδωμι χρᾶσθαι

αὐτῷ τοῦτο ὅ τι σὰ βούλεαι.

211. 'Υστάσπης μὲν τούτοισι ἀμειψάμενος καὶ διαβὰς τὸν 'Αράξεα ἤιε ἐς Πέρσας φυλάξων Κύρω τὸν παίδα Δαρείον, Κῦρος δὲ προελθὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ 'Αράξεω ἡμέρης ὁδὸν ἐποίεε κατὰ τὰς Κροίσου ὑποθήκας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κύρου τε

Cyrus awoke he considered his vision, and because it seemed to him to be of great import, he sent for Hystaspes and said to him privately, "I find, Hystaspes, that your son is guilty of plotting against me and my sovereignty; and I will tell you how I know this for a certainty. I am a man for whom the gods take thought, and show me beforehand all that is coming. Now this being so, I have seen in a dream in the past night your eldest son with wings on his shoulders, overshadowing Asia with the one and Europe with the other; wherefore it is from this vision most certain that he is plotting against Do you therefore go with all speed back to Persia, and so act that when I come thither after subduing this country you shall bring your son before me to be questioned of this."

210. So spoke Cyrus, thinking that Darius was plotting against him; but in truth heaven was showing him that he himself was to die in the land where he was, and Darius to inherit his kingdom. So then Hystaspes answered him thus:—"Sire, the gods forbid that any Persian born should plot against you! but if such there be, may he speedily perish; for you have made the Persians freemen instead of slaves and rulers of all instead of subjects. But if your vision does indeed tell that my son is planning aught to your hurt, take him; he is yours to use

as pleases you."

211. Having so answered, Hystaspes returned across the Araxes to Persia to watch Darius for Cyrus; and Cyrus, going forward a day's journey from the Araxes, did according to Croesus' advice. After this Cyrus and the sound part of the Persian

καὶ Περσέων τοῦ καθαροῦ στρατοῦ ἀπελάσαντος ὁπίσω ἐπὶ τὸν ᾿Αράξεα, λειφθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἀχρηίου, ἐπελθοῦσα τῶν Μασσαγετέων τριτημορὶς τοῦ στρατοῦ τούς τε λειφθέντας τῆς Κύρου στρατιῆς ἐφόνευε ἀλεξομένους καὶ τὴν προκειμένην ἰδόντες δαῖτα, ὡς ἐχειρώσαντο τοὺς ἐναντίους, κλιθέντες ἐδαίνυντο, πληρωθέντες δὲ φορβῆς καὶ οἴνου ηὖδον. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπελθόντες πολλοὺς μὲν σφέων ἐφόνευσαν, πολλῷ δ᾽ ἔτι πλεῦνας ἐζώγρησαν καὶ ἄλλους καὶ τὸν τῆς βασιλείης Τομύριος παῖδα στρατηγέοντα Μασσαγετέων,

τῶ ούνομα ἢν Σπαργαπίσης.

212. "Η δὲ πυθομένη τά τε περὶ τὴν στρατιὴν γεγονότα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν παίδα, πέμπουσα κήρυκα παρὰ Κῦρον ἔλεγε τάδε. "" Απληστε αἴματος Κῦρε, μηδὲν ἐπαερθῆς τῷ γεγονότι τῷδε πρήγματι, εἰ ἀμπελίνῳ καρπῷ, τῷ περ αὐτοὶ ἐμπιπλάμενοι μαίνεσθε οὕτω ιστε κατιόντος τοῦ οἴνου ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἐπαναπλέειν ὑμῖν ἔπεα κακά, τοιούτῳ φαρμάκῳ δολώσας ἐκράτησας παιδὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐ μάχη κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν. νῦν ὧν μευ εὖ παραινεούσης ὑπόλαβε τὸν λόγον ἀποδούς μοι τὸν παίδα ἄπιθι ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς χώρης ἀζήμιος, Μασσαγετέων τριτημορίδι τοῦ στρατοῦ κατυβρίσας. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ ποιήσεις, ῆλιον ἐπόμνυμί τοι τὸν Μασσαγετέων δεσπότην, ἢ μέν σε ἐγὼ καὶ ἄπληστον ἐόντα αἴματος κορέσω."

213. Κύρος μεν επέων οὐδένα τούτων ἀνενειχθέντων ἐποιέετο λόγον· ὁ δὲ τῆς βασιλείης Τομύριος παῖς Σπαργαπίσης, ὥς μιν ὅ τε οἶνος ἀνῆκε καὶ ἔμαθε ἵνα ἦν κακοῦ, δεηθεὶς Κύρου ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν λυθῆναι ἔτυχε, ὡς δὲ ἐλύθη τε army marched away back to the Araxes, leaving behind those that were useless; whereupon a third part of the host of the Massagetae attacked those of the army who were left behind and slew them despite resistance; then, seeing the banquet spread, when they had overcome their enemies they sat down and feasted, and after they had taken their fill of food and wine they fell asleep. Then the Persians came upon them and slew many and took many more alive, among whom was the son of Tomyris the queen, Spargapises by name, the leader of the

Massagetae.

212. When Tomyris heard what had befallen her army and her son, she sent a herald to Cyrus with this message:- "Bloodthirsty Cyrus, be not uplifted by this that you have done; it is no matter for pride if the fruit of the vine—that fruit whereof you Persians drink even to madness, so that the wine passing into your bodies makes evil words to rise in a flood to your lips-has served you as a drug to master my son withal, by guile and not in fair fight. therefore take this word of good counsel from me: give me back my son and depart unpunished from this country; it is enough that you have done despite to a third part of the host of the Massagetae. But if you will not do this, then I swear by the sun, the lord of the Massagetae, that for all you are so insatiate of blood, I will give you your fill thereof."

213. This message was brought to Cyrus, who cared nothing for it. But Spargapises, the son of the queen Tomyris, when his drunkenness left him and he knew his evil plight, entreated Cyrus that he might be loosed from his bonds; and this was granted

τάχιστα καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἐκράτησε, διεργάζεται ἐωυτόν.

214. Καὶ δὴ οὖτος μὲν τρόπφ τοιούτφ τελευτά: Τόμυρις δέ, ως οἱ Κύρος οὐκ ἐσήκουσε, συλλέξασα πασαν την έωυτης δύναμιν συνέβαλε Κύρω. ταύτην την μάγην, όσαι δη βαρβάρων ανδρών μάγαι έγένοντο, κρίνω ίσχυροτάτην γενέσθαι, και δή και πυνθάνομαι ούτω τούτο γενόμενον. πρώτα μέν γαρ λέγεται αύτους διαστάντας ές άλληλους τοξεύειν, μετά δὲ ώς σφι τὰ βέλεα ἐξετετόξευτο, συμπεσόντας τησι αίχμησί τε καὶ τοίσι έγχειριδίοισι συνέχεσθαι. χρόνον τε δή έπὶ πολλόν συνεστάναι μαχομένους καὶ οὐδετέρους ἐθέλειν φεύγειν τέλος δὲ οἱ Μασσαγέται περιεγένουτο. ή τε δή πολλή της Περσικής στρατιής αὐτοῦ ταύτη διεφθάρη καὶ δη καὶ αὐτὸς Κύρος τελευτά, βασιλεύσας τὰ πάντα ένὸς δέοντα τριήκοντα έτεα. άσκον δὲ πλήσασα αίματος ἀνθρωπηίου Τόμυρις έδίζητο έν τοίσι τεθνεώσι τών Περσέων τον Κύρου νέκυν, ώς δὲ εὖρε, ἐναπῆκε αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐς τὸν ἀσκόν, λυμαινομένη δὲ τῶ νεκρῶ ἐπέλεγε τάδε. "Σύ μεν εμε ζωσάν τε και νικωσάν σε μάχη ἀπώλεσας, παίδα τὸν ἐμὸν έλων δόλω σὲ δ' ἐγώ, κατά περ ήπείλησα, αίματος κορέσω." τὰ μὲν δή κατά την Κύρου τελευτην τοῦ βίου, πολλών λόγων λεγομένων, όδε μοι ό πιθανώτατος είρηται.

215. Μασσαγέται δὲ ἐσθῆτά τε ὁμοίην τῆ Σκυθικῆ φορέουσι καὶ δίαιταν ἔχουσι, ἰππόται δὲ εἰσὶ καὶ ἄνιπποι (ἀμφοτέρων γὰρ μετέχουσι) καὶ τοξόται τε καὶ αἰχμοφόροι, σαγάρις νομίζοντες ἔχειν. χρυσῷ δὲ καὶ χαλκῷ τὰ πάντα χρέωνται·

# BOOK I. 213-215

him; but no sooner was he loosed and had the use of his hands, than he made away with himself.

214. Such was the end of Spargapises. Tomyris, when Cyrus would not listen to her, collected all her power and joined battle with him. This fight I judge to have been the stubbornest of all fights that were ever fought by men that were not Greek; and indeed I have learnt that this was so. For first (it is said) they shot at each other from a distance with arrows; presently, their arrows being all shot away, they rushed upon each other and fought at grips with their spears and their daggers; and for a long time they battled foot to foot and neither would give ground; but at last the Massagetae had the mastery. There perished the greater part of the Persian army, and there fell Cyrus himself, having reigned thirty years in all save one. Tomyris filled a skin with human blood, and sought for Cyrus' body among the Persian dead; when she found it, she put his head into the skin, and spoke these words of insult to the dead man: "Though I live and conquer thee, thou hast undone me, overcoming my son by guile; but even as I threatened, so will I do, and give thee thy fill of blood." Many stories are related of Cyrus' death; this, that I have told, is the worthiest of credence.

215. These Massagetae are like the Scythians in their dress and manner of life. They are both horsemen and footmen (having some of each kind), and spearmen and bowmen; and it is their custom to carry battle-axes. They ever use gold and bronze;

σσα μὲν γὰρ ἐς αἰχμὰς καὶ ἄρδις καὶ σαγάρις, χαλκῷ τὰ πάντα χρέωνται, ὅσα δὲ περὶ κεφαλὴν καὶ ζωστῆρας καὶ μασχαλιστῆρας, χρυσῷ κοσμέονται. ὡς δ' αὕτως τῶν ἵππων τὰ μὲν περὶ τὰ στέρνα χαλκέους θώρηκας περιβάλλουσι, τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς χαλινοὺς καὶ στόμια καὶ φάλαρα χρυσῷ. σιδήρῳ δὲ οὐδ' ἀργύρῳ χρέωνται οὐδέν οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ σφι ἐστὶ ἐν τῆ χώρη, ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς

καὶ ὁ χαλκὸς ἄπλετος.

216. Νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται τοιοίσιδε. γυναίκα μεν γαμέει εκαστος, ταύτησι δε επίκοινα χρέωνται. τὸ γὰρ Σκύθας φασὶ "Ελληνες ποιέειν, οὐ Σκύθαι είσι οι ποιέοντες άλλὰ Μασσαγέται. έπιθυμήση γυναικός Μασσαγέτης άνήρ, τὸν φαρετρεώνα ἀποκρεμάσας πρὸ τῆς ἁμάξης μίσγεται άδεως. ουρος δὲ ήλικίης σφι πρόκειται άλλος μὲν οὐδείς ἐπεὰν δὲ γέρων γένηται κάρτα, οἱ προσήκοντές οι πάντες συνελθόντες θύουσί μιν καί άλλα πρόβατα άμα αὐτῷ, ἐψήσαντες δὲ τὰ κρέα κατευωχέονται. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ὀλβιώτατά σφι νενόμισται, τὸν δὲ νούσω τελευτήσαντα οὐ κατασιτέονται άλλα γη κρύπτουσι, συμφορήν ποιεύμενοι ότι ούκ ίκετο ές το τυθήναι. σπείρουσι δέ οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ κτηνέων ζώουσι καὶ ἰχθύων οὶ δὲ ἄφθονοί σφι ἐκ τοῦ ᾿Αράξεω ποταμοῦ παραγίνονται γαλακτοπόται δ' είσί. θεών δε μοῦνον ήλιον σέβονται, τω θύουσι ίππους. ούτος της θυσίης των θεών τώ ταχίστω πάντων τῶν θνητῶν τὸ τάχιστον δατέονται.

# BOOK I. 215-216

all their spear-points and arrow-heads and battle-axes are of bronze, and gold is the adornment of their headgear and belts and girdles. They treat their horses in like manner, arming their forehands with bronze breastplates and putting gold on reins, bits, and cheekplates. But iron and silver they never use; for there is none at all in their country, but gold and bronze abounds.

216. Now, for their customs: each man marries a wife, but the wives are common to all. The Greeks say this is a Scythian custom; it is not so, but a custom of the Massagetae. There, when a man desires a woman, he hangs his quiver before her waggon, and has intercourse with her, none hindering. Though they set no certain term to life, yet when a man is very old all his kin meet together and kill him, with beasts of the flock besides, then boil the flesh and feast on it. This is held to be the happiest death; when a man dies of a sickness they do not eat him, but bury him in the earth, and lament that he would not live to be killed. They never sow; their fare is their live-stock and the fish which they have in abundance from the Araxes. Their drink is milk. The sun is the only god whom they worship; to him they sacrifice horses; the reason of it is that he is the swiftest of the gods and therefore they give him the swiftest of mortal things.



# BOOK II

VOL. I. T

1. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Κύρου παρέλαβε τὴν βασιληίην Καμβύσης, Κύρου ἐὼν παῖς καὶ Κασσανδάνης τῆς Φαρνάσπεω θυγατρός, τῆς προαποθανούσης Κῦρος αὐτός τε μέγα πένθος ἐποιήσατο καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι προεῖπε πᾶσι τῶν ἦρχε πένθος ποιέεσθαι. ταύτης δὴ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐὼν παῖς καὶ Κύρου Καμβύσης Ἰωνας μὲν καὶ Αἰολέας ὡς δούλους πατρωίους ἐόντας ἐνόμιζε, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἴγυπτον ἐποιέετο στρατηλασίην ἄλλους τε παραλαβὼν τῶν ἦρχε καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐπεκράτεε.

2. Οί δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι, πρὶν μὲν ἡ Ψαμμήτιχον σφέων βασιλεύσαι, ενόμιζον έωυτούς πρώτους γενέσθαι πάντων άνθρώπων ἐπειδή δὲ Ψαμμήτιχος βασιλεύσας ήθέλησε είδεναι οίτινες γενοίατο πρώτοι, ἀπὸ τούτου νομίζουσι Φρύγας προτέρους γενέσθαι έωυτών, τών δὲ ἄλλων έωυτούς. Ψαμμήτιχος δὲ ώς οὐκ ἐδύνατο πυνθανόμενος πόρονοὐδένα τούτου ἀνευρεῖν,οὶ γενοίατο πρώτοι ανθρώπων, ἐπιτεχναται τοιόνδε. δύο νεογνά άνθρώπων των έπιτυχόντων δίδωσι ποιμένι τρέφειν ές τὰ ποίμνια τροφήν τινα τοιήνδε, έντειλάμενος μηδένα αντίον αὐτῶν μηδεμίαν φωνήν ίέναι, έν στέγη δὲ ἐρήμη ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν κέεσθαι αὐτά, καὶ τὴν ώρην ἐπαγινέειν σφι αίγας, πλήσαντα δὲ γάλακτος τάλλα διαπρήσσεσθαι ταῦτα δὲ έποίες τε καὶ ενετέλλετο Ψαμμήτιχος θέλων ἀκοῦ-

# BOOK II

1. After the death of Cyrus Cambyses inherited his throne. He was the son of Cyrus and Cassandane daughter of Pharnaspes, for whom, when she died before him, Cyrus himself mourned deeply and bade all his subjects mourn also. Cambyses was the son of this woman and Cyrus. He considered the Ionians and Aeolians as slaves inherited from his father, and prepared an expedition against Egypt, taking with him, with others subject to him, some of the Greeks

over whom he held sway.

2. Now before Psammetichus became king of Egypt,1 the Egyptians deemed themselves to be the oldest nation on earth. But ever since he desired to learn, on becoming king, what nation was oldest, they have considered that, though they came before all other nations, the Phrygians are older still. Psammetichus, being nowise able to discover by inquiry what men had first come into being, devised a plan whereby he took two newborn children of common men and gave them to a shepherd to bring up among his flocks. He gave charge that none should speak any word in their hearing; they were to lie by themselves in a lonely hut, and in due season the shepherd was to bring goats and give the children their milk and do all else Psammetichus did this, and gave this charge, because he desired to hear what speech

σαι των παιδίων, ἀπαλλαχθέντων των ἀσήμων κυυζημάτων, ήντινα φωνήν ρήξουσι πρώτην περ ών καὶ ἐγένετο. ώς γάρ διέτης χρόνος ἐγεγόνεε ταθτα τω ποιμένι πρήσσοντι, ανοίγοντι την θύρην και εσιόντι τὰ παιδία ἀμφότερα προσπίπτοντα βεκὸς ἐφώνεον, ὀρέγοντα τὰς χεῖρας. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα ἀκούσας ήσυχος ἢν ο ποιμήν ώς δέ πολλάκις φοιτέοντι και έπιμελομένω πολλον ην τούτο το έπος, ούτω δη σημήνας τω δεσπότη ήγαγε τὰ παιδία κελεύσαντος ές όψιν την έκείνου. ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ψαμμήτιχος έπυνθάνετο οίτινες άνθρώπων βεκός τι καλέουσι, πυνθανόμενος δε ευρισκε Φρύγας καλέοντας τον άρτον. ούτω συνεχώρησαν Αλγύπτιοι καλ τοιούτω σταθμησάμενοι πρήγματι τούς Φρύγας πρεσβυτέρους είναι έωυτών. ώδε μέν γενέσθαι τών ίρέων τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τοῦ ἐν Μέμφι ἤκουον δὲ λέγουσι ἄλλα τε μάταια πολλά καὶ ώς γυναικών τὰς γλώσσας ὁ Ψαμμήτιχος ἐκταμὼν τὴν δίαιταν ούτω εποιήσατο των παίδων παρά ταύτησι τησι γυναιξί.

3. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὴν τροφὴν τῶν παίδων τοσαῦτα ἔλεγον, ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἐν Μέμφι ἐλθῶν ἐς λόγους τοῖσι ἰρεῦσι τοῦ Ἡφαίστου. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Θήβας τε καὶ ἐς Ἡλίου πόλιν αὐτῶν τοῦτων εἴνεκεν ἐτραπόμην, ἐθέλων εἰδέναι εἰ συμβήσονται τοῖσι λόγοισι τοῖσι ἐν Μέμφι οἱ γὰρ Ἡλιοπολῖται λέγονται Αἰγυπτίων εἶναι λογιώτατοι. τὰ μέν νυν θεῖα τῶν ἀπηγημάτων οἶα ἤκουον οὐκ εἰμὶ πρόθυμος ἐξηγέεσθαι, ἔξω ἢ τὰ οὐνόματα αὐτῶν μοῦνον, νομίζων πάντας

### BOOK II. 2-3

would first break from the children, when they were past the age of indistinct babbling. And he had his wish; for when the shepherd had done as he was bidden for two years, one day as he opened the door and entered both the children ran to him stretching out their hands and calling "Bekos." When he first heard this he said nothing of it; but coming often and taking careful note, he was ever hearing this same word, till at last he told the matter to his master, and on command brought the children into the king's presence. Psammetichus heard them himself, and inquired to what language this word Bekos might belong; he found it to be a Phrygian word signifying bread. Reasoning from this fact the Egyptians confessed that the Phrygians were older than they. This is the story which I heard from the priests of Hephaestus' 1 temple at Memphis; the Greeks relate (among many foolish tales) that Psammetichus made the children to be reared by women whose tongues he had cut out.

3. Besides this story of the rearing of the children, I heard also other things at Memphis, in converse with the priests of Hephaestus; and I visited Thebes too and Heliopolis for this very purpose, because I desired to know if the people of those places would tell me the same tale as the priests at Memphis; for the people of Heliopolis are said to be the most learned of the Egyptians. Now, for the stories which I heard about the gods, I am not desirous to relate them, saving only the names of the deities; for I

<sup>1</sup> Identified by the Greeks with the Egyptian Ptah.

ἀνθρώπους ἴσον περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπίστασθαι· τὰ δ' ἄν ἐπιμνησθέω αὐτῶν, ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου ἐξαναγκαζόμενος

επιμυησθήσομαι.

4. "Όσα δὲ ἀνθρωπήια πρήγματα, ὧδε ἔλεγον όμολογέοντες σφίσι, πρώτους Αίγυπτίους ανθρώπων απάντων έξευρείν του ένιαυτόν, δυώδεκα μέρεα δασαμένους των ωρέων ές αὐτόν ταῦτα δὲ έξευρείν έκ των αστέρων έλεγον άγουσι δε τοσώδε σοφώτερον Έλλήνων, έμοι δοκέειν, όσω "Ελληνες μεν δια τρίτου έτεος εμβόλιμον επεμβάλλουσι των ώρέων είνεκεν, Αίγύπτιοι δε τριηκοντημέρους άγοντες τούς δυώδεκα μήνας ἐπάγουσι ἀνὰ πᾶν έτος πέντε ήμέρας πάρεξ του άριθμου, καί σφι ό κύκλος των ώρεων ες τωυτό περιιών παραγίνεται. δυώδεκά τε θεών ἐπωνυμίας ἔλεγον πρώτους Αίγυπτίους νομίσαι καὶ "Ελληνας παρὰ σφέων άναλαβείν, βωμούς τε καὶ άγάλματα καὶ νηούς θεοίσι ἀπονείμαι σφέας πρώτους καὶ ζῶα ἐν λίθοισι έγγλύψαι. καὶ τούτων μέν νυν τὰ πλέω έργω έδήλουν ούτω γενόμενα. βασιλεύσαι δὲ πρώτον Αἰγύπτου ἄνθρωπον έλεγον Μίνα· ἐπὶ τούτου, πλην του Θηβαϊκού νομού, πάσαν Αίγυπτον είναι έλος, και αὐτης είναι οὐδεν ὑπερέχον τῶν νῦν ένερθε λίμνης της Μοίριος ἐόντων, ἐς τὴν ἀνάπλοος άπὸ θαλάσσης έπτα ήμερέων έστι άνα τὸν ποταμόν.

5. Καὶ εὖ μοι ἐδόκεον λέγειν περὶ τῆς χώρης δῆλα γὰρ δὴ καὶ μὴ προακούσαντι ἰδόντι δέ, ὅστις γε σύνεσιν ἔχει, ὅτι Αἴγυπτος, ἐς τὴν Ἑλληνες

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> There is much obscurity about the "Twelve Gods." This only appears to be clear, that eight (or nine) gods form the first order of the Egyptian hierarchy, and that there are

hold that no man knows about the gods more than another; and I will say no more about them than what I am constrained to say by the course of my history.

4. But as regarding human affairs, this was the account in which they all agreed: the Egyptians, they said, were the first men who reckoned by years and made the year to consist of twelve divisions of the seasons. They discovered this from the stars (so they said). And their reckoning is, to my mind, a juster one than that of the Greeks; for the Greeks add an intercalary month every third year, so that the seasons may agree; but the Egyptians, reckoning thirty days to each of the twelve months, add five days in every year over and above the number, and so the completed circle of seasons is made to agree with the calendar. Further, the Egyptians (said they) first used the appellations of twelve gods 1 (which the Greeks afterwards borrowed from them); and it was they who first assigned to the several gods their altars and images and temples, and first carved figures on stone. They showed me most of this by The first human king of Egypt, they plain proof. said, was Min. In his time all Egypt save the Thebaic 2 province was a marsh: all the country that we now see was then covered by water, north of the lake Moeris,3 which lake is seven days' journey up the river from the sea.

5. And I think that their account of the country was true. For even though a man has not before been told it he can at once see, if he have sense, that that Egypt to which the Greeks sail is land acquired

twelve of the second rank. See ch. 43, and Rawlinson's essay (ch. 3 in his Appendix to Book II.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The southern part of Upper Egypt.

ναυτίλλονται, ἐστὶ Αἰγυπτίοισι ἐπίκτητός τε γη καὶ δῶρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ τὰ κατύπερθε ἔτι τῆς λίμνης ταύτης μέχρι τριῶν ἡμερέων πλόου, τῆς πέρι ἐκεῖνοι οὐδὲν ἔτι τοιόνδε ἔλεγον, ἔστι δὲ ἔτερον τοιόνδε. Αἰγύπτου γὰρ φύσις ἐστὶ τῆς χώρης τοιήδε. πρῶτα μὲν προσπλέων ἔτι καὶ ἡμέρης δρόμον ἀπέχων ἀπὸ γῆς, κατεὶς καταπειρητηρίην πηλόν τε ἀνοίσεις καὶ ἐν ἔνδεκα ὀργυιῆσι ἔσεαι. τοῦτο μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο δηλοῖ πρόχυσιν τῆς γῆς ἐοῦσαν.

6. Αὖτις δὲ αὐτῆς ἐστι Αἰγύπτου μῆκος τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν ἑξήκοντα σχοῖνοι, κατὰ ἡμεῖς διαιρέομεν εἶναι Αἴγυπτον ἀπὸ τοῦ Πλινθινήτεω κόλπου μέχρι Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, παρ' ἢν τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος τείνει· ταύτης ὧν ἄπο οἱ ἑξήκοντα σχοῖνοι εἰσί. ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ γεωπεῖναι εἰσὶ ἀνθρώπων, ὀργυιῆσι μεμετρήκασι τὴν χώρην, ὅσοι δὲ ἡσσον γεωπεῖναι, σταδίοισι, οἱ δὲ πολλὴν ἔχουσι, παρασάγγησι, οἱ δὲ ἄφθονον λίην, σχοίνοισι. δύναται δὲ ὁ παρασάγγης τριήκοντα στάδια, ὁ δὲ σχοῖνος, μέτρον ἐὸν Αἰγύπτιον, ἑξήκοντα στάδια.

Τ. Οὕτω ἀν εἴησαν Αἰγύπτου στάδιοι έξακόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν. ἐνθεῦτεν μὲν καὶ μέχρι Ἡλίου πόλιος ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν ἐστὶ εὐρέα Αἴγυπτος, ἐοῦσα πᾶσα ὑπτίη τε καὶ ἔνυδρος ¹ καὶ ἰλύς. ἔστι δὲ ὁδὸς ἐς Ἡλίου πόλιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω ἰόντι παραπλησίη τὸ μῆκος τῆ ἐξ ᾿Αθηνέων ὁδῷ τῆ ἀπὸ τῶν δυώδεκα θεῶν τοῦ βωμοῦ φερούση ἔς τε Πῖσαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν νηὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ᾿Ολυμπίου. σμικρόν τι τὸ διά-

All MSS. have ἄνυδρος, which is a strange epithet for the Delta. Modern editors read ἔνυδρος οτ εὕυδρος.

by the Egyptians, given them by the river—not only the lower country but even all the land to three days' voyage above the aforesaid lake, which is of the same nature as the other, though the priests added not this to what they said. For this is the nature of the land of Egypt: firstly, when you approach to it from the sea and are yet a day's run from land, if you then let down a sounding line you will bring up mud and find a depth of eleven fathoms. This shows that the deposit from the land reaches thus far.

- 6. Further, the length of the seacoast of Egypt itself is sixty "schoeni," that is of Egypt as we judge it to be, reaching from the Plinthinete gulf to the Serbonian marsh, which is under the Casian mountain; between these there is this length of sixty schoeni. Men that have scanty land measure by fathoms; those that have more, by furlongs; those that have much land, by parasangs; and those who have great abundance of it, by schoeni. The parasang is of thirty furlongs' length, and the schoenus, which is an Egyptian measure, is of sixty.
- 7. By this reckoning then the seaboard of Egypt will be three thousand and six hundred furlongs in length. Inland from the sea as far as Heliopolis Egypt is a wide land, all flat and watery and marshy. From the sea up to Heliopolis it is a journey about as long as the way from the altar of the twelve gods at Athens to the temple of Olympian Zeus at Pisa. If a reckoning be made there will be seen to be but

φορον εύροι τις αν λογιζόμενος των όδων τουτέων τὸ μὴ ἴσας μῆκος εἰναι, οὐ πλέον πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίων ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐς Πίσαν ἐξ ᾿Αθηνέων καταδεῖ πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίων μὴ εἰναι πεντακοσίων καὶ χιλίων, ἡ δὲ ἐς Ἡλίου πόλιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης

πληροί ές του άριθμου τούτου.

8. 'Απὸ δὲ 'Ηλίου πόλιος ἄνω ἰόντι στεινή ἐστι Αίγυπτος. τη μέν γάρ της 'Αραβίης όρος παρατέταται, φέρον ἀπ' ἄρκτου πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ νότον, αίεὶ ἄνω τείνον ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν καλεομένην θάλασσαν έν τω αι λιθοτομίαι ένεισι αί ές τὰς πυραμίδας κατατμηθείσαι τὰς ἐν Μέμφι. ταύτη μεν λήγον ανακάμπτει ές τὰ είρηται τὸ όρος τη δὲ αὐτὸ έωυτοῦ ἐστι μακρότατον, ὡς ἐγὼ έπυνθανόμην, δύο μηνών αὐτὸ είναι της όδου ἀπὸ ηούς πρός έσπέρην, τὰ δὲ πρός την ηῶ λιβανωτοφόρα αὐτοῦ τὰ τέρματα είναι. τοῦτο μέν νυν τὸ όρος τοιούτο έστί, τὸ δὲ πρὸς Λιβύης τῆς Αἰγύπτου όρος άλλο πέτρινον τείνει, έν τω αί πυραμίδες ένεισι, Ψάμμω κατειλυμένον, κατά τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τοῦ 'Αραβίου τὰ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην φέροντα. τὸ ὧν δὴ ἀπὸ Ἡλίου πόλιος οὐκέτι πολλὸν γωρίου ώς είναι Αἰγύπτου, άλλ' ὅσον τε ἡμερέων τεσσέρων καὶ δέκα 1 ἀναπλόου ἐστὶ στεινή Αἴγυπτος, έουσα των όρεων των είρημενων το μεταξύ πεδιάς μεν γη, στάδιοι δε μάλιστα εδόκεον μοι είναι, τη στεινότατον έστί, διηκοσίων οὐ πλέους έκ τοῦ 'Αραβίου όρεος ές τὸ Λιβυκὸν καλεόμενον. τὸ δ' ενθεύτεν αύτις εύρεα Αίγυπτος εστί. πέφυκε μέν νυν ή χώρη αύτη ούτω.

The MSS have τεσσέρων; but this is inconsistent with ch. 9. The addition of καὶ δέκα makes the figures agree,

roughly.

a little difference of length, not more than fifteen furlongs, between these two journeys; for the journey from Athens to Pisa is fifteen furlongs short of fifteen hundred, which is the tale of furlongs between the

sea and Heliopolis.

8. Beyond and above Heliopolis Egypt is a narrow land. For it is bounded on the one side by the mountains of Arabia, which bear from the north to the south, ever stretching southward towards the sea called the Red Sea. In these mountains are the quarries that were hewn out for the making of the pyramids at Memphis. This way then the mountains turn, and end in the places of which I have spoken; their greatest breadth from east to west, as I learnt, is a two months' journey, and their easternmost boundaries vield frankincense. Such are these mountains. On the side of Libva Egypt is bounded by another range of rocky mountains, wherein are the pyramids; this is all covered with sand, and it runs in the same direction as those Arabian hills that bear southward. Beyond Heliopolis there is no great distance, that is, in Egypt;1 the narrow land has but a length of fourteen days' journey up the river. Between the mountain ranges aforesaid the land is level, and where the plain is narrowest it seemed to me that there were no more than two hundred furlongs between the Arabian mountains and those that are called Libvan. Beyond this Egypt is a wide land again. Such is the nature of this country.

<sup>1</sup> ώς εἶναι Αἰγύπτου; so much of the Nile valley being outside Egypt. But it is possible that the words may mean "no great distance, for Egypt," i.e. no great distance relatively to the size of the country.

9. 'Απὸ δὲ 'Ηλίου πόλιος ἐς Θήβας ἐστὶ ανάπλοος εννέα ήμερέων, στάδιοι δε της όδου έξήκοντα καὶ ὀκτακόσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι, σχοίνων ένὸς καὶ ὀγδώκοντα ἐόντων. οὖτοι συντιθέμενοι οἱ στάδιοι Αἰγύπτου τὸ μὲν παρὰ θάλασσαν ήδη μοι καὶ πρότερον δεδήλωται ότι έξακοσίων τε έστι σταδίων και τρισχιλίων, όσον δέ τι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς μεσόγαιαν μέχρι Θηβέων έστί, σημανέω στάδιοι γαρ είσι είκοσι και έκατον καὶ έξακισγίλιοι. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ Θηβέων ἐς Ἐλεφαντίνην καλεομένην πόλιν στάδιοι γίλιοι καὶ οκτακόσιοι είσί.

10. Ταύτης ὧν της χώρης της εἰρημένης ή πολλή, κατά περ οι ίρέες έλεγον, εδόκεε και αὐτῷ μοι είναι ἐπίκτητος Αίγυπτίοισι. τῶν γὰρ ὀρέων των είρημένων των ύπερ Μέμφιν πόλιν κειμένων τὸ μεταξύ ἐφαίνετό μοι είναι κοτὲ κόλπος θαλάσσης, ώσπερ γε τὰ περὶ "Ιλιον καὶ Τευθρανίην καὶ "Εφεσόν τε καὶ Μαιάνδρου πεδίον, ώς γε είναι σμικρά ταθτα μεγάλοισι συμβαλείν των γάρ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία προσχωσάντων ποταμῶν ένὶ τῶν στομάτων τοῦ Νείλου, ἐόντος πενταστόμου, οὐδείς αὐτῶν πλήθεος πέρι ἄξιος συμβληθήναι έστί. είσι δὲ και άλλοι ποταμοί, οὐ κατά τὸν Νείλον έόντες μεγάθεα, οίτινες έργα ἀποδεξάμενοι μεγάλα είσί των έγω φράσαι έχω ουνόματα καὶ άλλων καὶ οὐκ ἥκιστα 'Αγελώου, δς ρέων δι' 'Ακαρνανίης καὶ έξιεις ές θάλασσαν των Έχινάδων νήσων τὰς ήμισέας ήδη ήπειρον πεποίηκε.

11. Έστι δὲ τῆς Αραβίης χώρης, Αἰγύπτου δὲ οὐ πρόσω, κόλπος θαλάσσης ἐσέχων ἐκ τῆς 9. From Heliopolis to Thebes it is nine days' journey by river, and the distance is four thousand eight hundred and sixty furlongs, or eighty-one schoeni. This then is the sum of all the furlongs in Egypt: the seaboard is three thousand six hundred furlongs long; and I will now declare the distance inland from the sea to Thebes: it is six thousand one hundred and twenty furlongs. And between Thebes and the city called Elephantine there are eighteen

hundred furlongs.

10. The greater portion, then, of this country whereof I have spoken was (as the priests told me, and I myself formed the same judgment) land acquired by the Egyptians; all that lies between the ranges of mountains above Memphis seemed to me to have been once a gulf of the sea, just as the country about Ilion and Teuthrania and Ephesus and the plain of the Maeander, to compare these small things with great. For of the rivers that brought down the stuff to make these lands there is none worthy to be compared for greatness with one of the mouths of the Nile; and the Nile has five mouths. There are also other rivers, not so great as the Nile, that have wrought great effects; I could declare their names, but chief among them is Achelous, which, flowing through Acarnania and issuing into the sea, has already made half of the Echinades islands to be mainland.

11. Now in Arabia, not far from Egypt, there is a gulf of the sea entering in from the sea called Red,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The "sea called Red," it will be remembered, is the sea south and east of Arabia: the gulf entering in from it is our Red Sea. Suppose the Delta to have been once a gulf too, then there would have been two gulfs, both running up into Egypt, their heads not far from each other.

Έρυθρης καλεομένης θαλάσσης, μακρός ούτω δή τι καὶ στεινός ώς έρχομαι φράσων μήκος μέν πλόου άρξαμένω έκ μυχοῦ διεκπλώσαι ές την εὐρέαν θάλασσαν ἡμέραι ἀναισιμοῦνται τεσσεράκοντα είρεσίη χρεωμένω εύρος δέ, τη εύρύτατος έστι ὁ κόλπος, ημισυ ημέρης πλόου. ρηχίη δ' έν αὐτῷ καὶ ἄμπωτις ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην γίνεται. έτερον τοιούτον κόλπον καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον δοκέω γενέσθαι κοτέ, τὸν μὲν ἐκ τῆς βορηίης θαλάσσης κόλπον ἐσέχοντα ἐπ' Αἰθιοπίης, τὸν δὲ 'Αράβιον, τον έργομαι λέξων, έκ της νοτίης φέροντα έπὶ Συρίης, σχεδον μέν άλληλοισι συντετραίνοντας τούς μυγούς, ολίγον δέ τι παραλλάσσοντας της χώρης. εί ων έθελήσει έκτρέψαι το ρέεθρον ό Νείλος ές τούτον τον 'Αράβιον κόλπον, τί μιν κωλύει βέοντος τούτου έκχωσθήναι έντός γε δισμυρίων έτέων; έγω μεν γαρ έλπομαί γε καί μυρίων έντὸς χωσθήναι ἄν κοῦ γε δή έν τῷ προαναισιμωμένω χρόνω πρότερον η έμε γενέσθαι ούκ αν χωσθείη κόλπος καὶ πολλώ μέζων ἔτι τούτου ύπὸ τοσούτου τε ποταμοῦ καὶ ούτω έργατικοῦ:

12. Τὰ περὶ Αἴγυπτον ὧν καὶ τοῖσι λέγουσι αὐτὰ πείθομαι καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτω κάρτα δοκέω εἶναι, ἰδών τε τὴν Αἴγυπτον προκειμένην τῆς ἐχομένης γῆς κογχύλιά τε φαινόμενα ἐπὶ τοῖσι ὅρεσι καὶ ἄλμην ἐπανθέουσαν, ὥστε καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας δηλέεσθαι, καὶ ψάμμον μοῦνον Αἰγύπτου ὅρος τοῦτο τὸ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιος ἔχον, πρὸς δὲ τῆ χώρη οὕτε τῆ ᾿Αραβίη προσούρω ἐούση τὴν Αἴγυπτον προσεικέλην οὕτε τῆ Λιβύη, οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ τῆ Συρίη (τῆς γὰρ ᾿Αραβίης τὰ παρὰ θάλασσαν

of which the length and narrowness is such as I shall show: for length, it is a forty days' voyage for a ship rowed by oars from its inner end out to the wide sea; and for breadth, it is half a day's voyage at the widest. Every day the tide ebbs and flows therein. I hold that where now is Egypt there was once another such gulf; one entered from the northern sea towards Aethiopia, and the other, the Arabian gulf of which I will speak, bore from the south towards Syria; the ends of these gulfs pierced into the country near to each other, and but a little space of land divided them. Now if the Nile choose to turn his waters into this Arabian gulf, what hinders that it be not silted up by his stream in twenty thousand years? nay, I think that ten thousand would suffice for it. Is it then to be believed that in the ages before my birth a gulf even much greater than this could not be made into land by a river so great and so busy?

12. Therefore, as to Egypt, I believe those who so speak, and I am myself fully so persuaded; for I have seen that Egypt projects into the sea beyond the neighbouring land, and shells are plain to view on the mountains and the ground is coated with salt (insomuch that the very pyramids are wasted thereby), and the only sandy mountain in Egypt is that which is above Memphis; moreover, Egypt is like neither to the neighbouring land of Arabia, nor to Libya, no, nor to Syria (for the seaboard of Arabia

Σύροι νέμονται), άλλὰ μελάγγαιόν τε καὶ καταρρηγνυμένην, ὥστε ἐοῦσαν ἰλύν τε καὶ πρόχυσιν ἐξ Αἰθιοπίης κατενηνειγμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. τὴν δὲ Λιβύην ἴδμεν ἐρυθροτέρην τε γῆν καὶ ὑποψαμμοτέρην, τὴν δὲ ᾿Αραβίην τε καὶ Συρίην ἀργιλωδεστέρην τε καὶ ὑπόπετρον ἐοῦσαν.

13. Έλεγον δὲ καὶ τόδε μοι μέγα τεκμήριον περί της γώρης ταύτης οι ίρέες, ώς έπι Μοίριος Βασιλέος, ὅκως ἔλθοι ὁ ποταμὸς ἐπὶ ὀκτώ πήγεας τὸ ἐλάγιστον, ἄρδεσκε Αἴγυπτον τὴν ἔνερθε Μέμφιος καὶ Μοίρι οὔκω ἢν ἔτεα εἰνακόσια τετελευτηκότι ότε των ίρεων ταθτα έγω ήκουον. νῦν δὲ εἰ μὴ ἐπ' ἐκκαίδεκα ἡ πεντεκαίδεκα πήγεας άναβή τὸ ἐλάχιστον ὁ ποταμός, οὐκ ὑπερβαίνει ές την χώρην. δοκέουσί τέ μοι Αίγυπτίων οί ένερθε λίμνης της Μοίριος οἰκέοντες τά τε ἄλλα χωρία καὶ τὸ καλεόμενον Δέλτα, ἡν οὕτω ἡ χώρη αύτη κατά λόγον ἐπιδιδώ ἐς ύψος καὶ τὸ ὅμοιον αποδιδώ ές αύξησιν, μη κατακλύζοντος αύτην του Νείλου πείσεσθαι τον πάντα χρόνον τον ἐπίλοιπον Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ κοτὲ αὐτοὶ "Ελληνας έφασαν πείσεσθαι. πυθόμενοι γάρ ώς ὕεται πασα ή χώρη των Ελλήνων άλλ' οὐ ποταμοίσι άρδεται κατά περ ή σφετέρη, έφασαν "Ελληνας ψευσθέντας κοτε έλπίδος μεγάλης κακώς πεινήσειν. τὸ δὲ ἔπος τοῦτο ἐθέλει λέγειν ώς, εἰ μη έθελήσει σφι ύειν ὁ θεὸς άλλὰ αὐχμῶ διαχρᾶσθαι, λιμώ οί "Ελληνες αίρεθήσονται ου γάρ δή σφι έστι ύδατος οὐδεμία άλλη ἀποστροφή ὅτι μή έκ τοῦ Διὸς μοῦνον.

Stein brackets καl . . . αἔξησιν.

is inhabited by Syrians); it is a land of black and crumbling earth, as if it were alluvial deposit carried down the river from Aethiopia; but we know that the soil of Libya is redder and somewhat sandy, and Arabia and Syria are lands rather of clay and stones.

13. This too that the priests told me concerning Egypt is a strong proof; when Moeris was king, if the river rose as much as eight cubits, it watered all Egypt below Memphis.1 Moeris was not vet nine hundred years dead when I heard this from the priests. But now, if the river rise not at the least to sixteen or fifteen cubits, the land is not flooded. And, to my thinking, the Egyptians who dwell lower down the river than the lake Moeris, and chiefly those who inhabit what is called the Delta-these, if thus this land of theirs rises in such proportion and likewise increases in extent, will (the Nile no longer flooding it) be ever after in the same plight which they themselves once said would be the case of the Greeks; for learning that all the Greek land is watered by rain, and not, like theirs, by river, they said that some day the Greeks would be disappointed of their high hopes, and miserably starve: signifying thereby that should it be heaven's will to send the Greeks no rain and afflict them with drought, famine must come upon them, as receiving all this water from Zeus and having no other resource.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Supposing this statement to be true, Moeris must have been king much more than 900 years before Hdt.; 900 years being much too short a period for a rise of eight cubits in the height of the Nile valley.

14. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐς "Ελληνας Αἰγυπτίοισι όρθως έχοντα είρηται φέρε δε νύν και αὐτοίσι Αίγυπτίοισι ώς έχει φράσω εί σφι θέλοι, ώς καὶ πρότερον είπον, ή χώρη ή ἔνερθε Μέμφιος (αὕτη γαρ έστι ή αὐξανομένη) κατά λόγον τοῦ παροιχομένου γρόνου ες ύνος αὐξάνεσθαι, άλλο τι ή οί ταύτη οἰκέοντες Αίγυπτίων πεινήσουσι; εί μήτε γε ύσεταί σφι ή χώρη μήτε ο ποταμός οίος τ' έσται ές τὰς ἀρούρας ὑπερβαίνειν. ἡ γὰρ δὴ νῦν γε ούτοι ἀπονητότατα καρπὸν κομίζονται ἐκ γῆς τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων πάντων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν Αίγυπτίων οι ούτε αρότρω αναρρηγνύντες αύλακας έχουσι πόνους ούτε σκάλλοντες ούτε άλλο έργαζόμενοι οὐδεν των οἱ ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι περί λήιον πονέουσι, άλλ' έπεάν σφι ο ποταμος αὐτόματος ἐπελθων ἄρση τὰς ἀρούρας, ἄρσας δὲ ἀπολίπη ὀπίσω, τότε σπείρας έκαστος την έωυτοῦ άρουραν έσβάλλει ές αύτην δς, έπεὰν δὲ καταπατήση τησι ύσὶ τὸ σπέρμα, ἄμητον τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου μένει, ἀποδινήσας δὲ τῆσι ὑσὶ τὸν σῖτον ούτω κομίζεται.

15. Εί ὧν βουλόμεθα γνώμησι τῆσι Ἰώνων χρᾶσθαι τὰ περὶ Αἴγυπτον, οἱ φασὶ τὸ Δέλτα μοῦνον εἶναι Αἴγυπτον, ἀπὸ Περσέος καλεομένης σκοπιῆς λέγοντες τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν εἶναι αὐτῆς μέχρι ταριχηίων τῶν Πηλουσιακῶν, τῆ δὴ τεσσεράκοντα εἰσὶ σχοῖνοι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης λεγόντων ἐς μεσογαίαν τείνειν αὐτὴν μέχρι Κερκασώρου πόλιος, κατ ἢν σχίζεται ὁ Νεῖλος ἔς τε Πηλούσιον ῥέων καὶ ἐς Κάνωβον, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα λεγόντων τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὰ μὲν Λιβύης τὰ δὲ ᾿Αραβίης εἶναι, ἀποδεικνύοιμεν ἂν τούτφ τῷ

# BOOK II. 14-15

14. And this saying of the Egyptians about the Greeks was true enough. But now let me show what is the case of the Egyptians themselves: if (as I have already said) the country below Memphis-for it is this which rises-should increase in height in the same degree as formerly, will not the Egyptians who dwell in it go hungry, there being no rain in their country and the river being unable to inundate their fields? Now, indeed, there are no men, neither in the rest of Egypt, nor in the whole world, who get in their produce with so little labour; they have not the toil of ploughing up their land into furrows, nor of hoeing, nor of any other work which other men do to get them a crop; the river rises of itself, waters the fields, and then sinks back again; thereupon each man sows his field and sends swine into it to tread down the seed, and waits for the harvest; then he makes the swine to thresh his grain, and so garners it.

15. Now if we agree with the opinion of the Ionians, namely that nothing but the Delta is Egypt, whereof the seaboard reaches, according to them, from what is called the watchtower of Perseus, forty schoeni to the salting factories of Pelusium, while inland it stretches as far as the city of Cercasorus, where the Nile divides and flows thence to Pelusium and Canobus (all the rest of Egypt being, they say, partly Libya and partly Arabia): if

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> At the southern point of the Delta, where the two main channels of the Nile divide, not far below Cairo.

λόγω γρεώμενοι/ Αίγυπτίοισι ούκ ἐοῦσαν πρότερον χώρην. ήδη γάρ σφι τό γε Δέλτα, ώς αύτοι λέγουσι Αίγύπτιοι και έμοι δοκέει, έστι κατάρρυτον τε καὶ νεωστὶ ώς λόγω είπειν/ άναπεφηνός. εί τοίνυν σφι χώρη γε μηδεμία ύπηρχε, τί περιεργάζοντο δοκέοντες πρώτοι άνθρώπων γεγονέναι; οὐδε έδει σφέας ές διάπειραν των παιδίων ιέναι, τίνα γλωσσαν πρώτην άπήσουσι. άλλ' ούτε Αίγυπτίους δοκέω αμα τω Δέλτα τῶ ὑπὸ Ἰώνων καλεομένω γενέσθαι αἰεί τε είναι έξ οδ ανθρώπων γένος έγένετο, προϊούσης δὲ τῆς χώρης πολλούς μὲν τούς ὑπολειπομένους αὐτῶν γενέσθαι πολλούς δὲ τοὺς ὑποκαταβαίνοντας, τὸ δ' ὧν πάλαι αἱ Θηβαι Αἴγυπτος έκαλέετο, της το περίμετρον στάδιοι είσι είκοσι καὶ έκατὸν καὶ έξακισχίλιοι.

16. Εἰ ὧν ἡμεῖς ὀρθῶς περὶ αὐτῶν γινώσκομεν, Ἰωνες οὐκ εὖ φρονέουσι περὶ Αἰγύπτου· εἰ δὲ ὀρθή ἐστι ἡ γνώμη τῶν Ἰώνων, ελληνάς τε καὶ αὐτοὺς Ἰωνας ἀποδείκνυμι οὐκ ἐπισταμένους λογίζεσθαι, οἱ φαοὶ τρία μόρια εἶναι γῆν πᾶσαν, Εὐρώπην τε καὶ ᾿Ασίην καὶ Λιβύην. τέταρτον γὰρ δή σφεας δεῖ προσλογίζεσθαι Αἰγύπτου τὸ Δέλτα, εἰ μήτε γε ἐστὶ τῆς ᾿Ασίης μήτε τῆς Λιβύης· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Νεῖλός γε ἐστὶ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ὁ τὴν ᾿Ασίην οὐρίζων τῆ Λιβύη, τοῦ Δέλτα δὲ τούτου κατὰ τὸ ὀξὸ περιρρήγνυται ὁ Νεῖλος, ὥστε ἐν τῷ μεταξὸ ᾿Ασίης τε καὶ Λιβύης

γίνοιτ' ἄν.

17. Καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἰώνων γνώμην ἀπίεμεν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὧδε καὶ περὶ τούτων λέγομεν, Αἴγυπτον μὲν πᾶσαν εἶναι ταύτην τὴν ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων οἰκεομέ-

we follow this account, we can show that there was once no country for the Egyptians; for we have seen that (as the Egyptians themselves say, and as I myself judge) the Delta is alluvial land and but lately (so to say) come into being. Then if there was once no country for them, it was but a useless thought that they were the oldest nation on earth, and they needed not to make that trial to see what language the children would first utter. I hold rather that the Egyptians did not come into being with the making of that which Ionians call the Delta: they ever existed since men were first made; and as the land grew in extent many of them spread down over it, and many staved behind. Be that as it may, the Theban province, a land of six thousand one hundred and twenty furlongs in circuit, was of old called Egypt.

16. If then our judgment of this be right, the Ionians are in error concerning Egypt; but if their opinion be right, then it is plain that they and the rest of the Greeks cannot reckon truly, when they divide the whole earth into three parts, Europe, Asia, and Libya; they must add to these yet a fourth part, the Delta of Egypt, if it belong neither to Asia nor to Libya; for by their showing the Nile is not the river that separates Asia and Libya; the Nile divides at the extreme angle of this Delta, so that this land must be between Asia and Libya.

17. Nay, we put the Ionians' opinion aside; and our own judgment concerning the matter is this: Egypt is all that country which is inhabited by

νην κατά περ Κιλικίην την ύπο Κιλίκων καί 'Ασσυρίην την ύπο 'Ασσυρίων, ούρισμα δε 'Ασίη και Λιβύη οίδαμεν ούδεν έον όρθω λόγω εί μη τούς Αίγυπτίων ούρους. εί δὲ τῶ ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων νενομισμένω χρησόμεθα, νομιούμεν Αίγυπτον πάσαν άρξαμένην άπο Καταδούπων τε καὶ Έλεφαντίνης πόλιος δίχα διαιρέεσθαι και άμφοτερέων των επωνυμιέων έχεσθαι τὰ μεν γάρ αὐτης είναι της Λιβύης τὰ δὲ της 'Ασίης. ὁ γὰρ δη Νείλος άρξάμενος έκ των Καταδούπων ρέει μέσην Αίγυπτον σχίζων ές θάλασσαν. μέχρι μέν νυν Κερκασώρου πόλιος ρέει είς έων ο Νείλος, το δε άπο ταύτης της πόλιος σχίζεται τριφασίας όδούς. και η μέν προς ηω τράπεται, το καλέεται Πηλούσιον στόμα, ή δὲ έτέρη τῶν ὁδῶν πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἔγει. τούτο δὲ Κανωβικὸν στόμα κέκληται. ἡ δὲ δὴ ίθέα των όδων τω Νείλω έστι ήδε άνωθεν φερόμενος ές τὸ ὀξὸ τοῦ Δέλτα ἀπικνέεται, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου σχίζων μέσον τὸ Δέλτα ἐς θάλασσαν ἐξιεῖ, ούτε έλαχίστην μοίραν του ύδατος παρεχόμενος ταύτην ούτε ήκιστα ονομαστήν το καλέεται Σεβεννυτικόν στόμα. έστι δὲ καὶ ἔτερα διφάσια στόματα ἀπὸ τοῦ Σεβεννυτικοῦ ἀποσχισθέντα, φέροντα ές θάλασσαν τοίσι οὐνόματα κέεται τάδε, τῷ μὲν Σαϊτικὸν αὐτῶν τῷ δὲ Μενδήσιον. τὸ δὲ Βολβίτινον στόμα καὶ τὸ Βουκολικον οὐκ ίθαγενέα στόματα έστὶ άλλ' όρυκτά.

18. Μαρτυρέει δέ μοι τῆ γνώμη, ὅτι τοσαύτη ἐστὶ Αἴγυπτος ὅσην τινὰ ἐγὰ ἀποδείκνυμι τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ τὸ ᾿Αμμωνος χρηστήριον γενόμενον τὸ ἐγὰ τῆς ἐμεωυτοῦ γνώμης ὕστερον περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐπυθόμην, οἱ γὰρ δὴ ἐκ Μαρέης τε πόλιος

Egyptians, even as Cilicia and Assyria are the countries inhabited by Cilicians and Assyrians severally; and we know of no frontier (rightly so called) below Asia and Libva save only the borders of the Egyptians. But if we follow the belief of the Greeks, we shall consider all Egypt, down from the Cataracts and the city Elephantine,1 to be divided into two parts, and to claim both the names, the one part belonging to Libya and the other to Asia. Now as far as the city Cercasorus the Nile flows in one channel, but after that it parts into three. One of these, which is called the Pelusian mouth, flows eastwards; the second flows westwards, and is called the Canobic mouth. But the direct channel of the Nile, when the river in its downward course reaches the sharp point of the Delta, flows thereafter clean through the middle of the Delta into the sea; in this is seen the greatest and most famous part of its waters, and it is called the Sebennytic mouth. There are also two channels which separate themselves from the Sebennytic and so flow into the sea. by name the Saïtic and the Mendesian. The Bolbitine and Bucolic mouths are not natural but dug channels.

18. My opinion, that the extent of Egypt is such as my argument shows, is attested by the answer which (my judgment being already formed) I heard to have been given concerning Egypt by the oracle of Ammon. The men of the cities of Marea and

On the island opposite Syene (Assuan).

καὶ "Απιος, οἰκέοντες Αἰγύπτου τὰ πρόσουρα Λιβύη, αὐτοί τε δοκέοντες εἶναι Λίβυες καὶ οὐκ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ἀχθόμενοι τῆ περὶ τὰ ἰρὰ θρησκηίη, βουλόμενοι θηλέων βοῶν μὴ ἔργεσθαι, ἔπεμψαν ἐς "Αμμωνα φάμενοι οὐδὲν σφίσι τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίοισι κοινὸν εἶναι οἰκέειν τε γὰρ ἔξω τοῦ Δέλτα καὶ οὐδὲν ὁμολογέειν αὐτοῖσι, βούλεσθαί τε πάντων σφίσι ἐξεῖναι γεύεσθαι. ὁ δὲ θεός σφεας οὐκ ἔα ποιέειν ταῦτα, φὰς Αἴγυπτον εἶναι ταύτην τὴν ὁ Νεῖλος ἐπιὼν ἄρδει, καὶ Αἰγυπτίους εἶναι τούτους οὶ ἔνερθε Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος οἰκέοντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τούτου πίνουσι. οὔτω

σφι ταῦτα ἐχρήσθη.

19. Έπέργεται δὲ ὁ Νείλος, ἐπεὰν πληθύη, οὐ μοῦνον τὸ Δέλτα ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Λιβυκοῦ τε λεγομένου γωρίου είναι καὶ τοῦ 'Αραβίου ἐνιαγη καὶ ἐπὶ δύο ἡμερέων ἐκατέρωθι ὁδόν, καὶ πλέον έτι τούτου καὶ έλασσον, τοῦ ποταμοῦ δὲ φύσιος πέρι ούτε τι τῶν ἰρέων ούτε ἄλλου οὐδενὸς παραλαβεῖν ἐδυνάσθην. πρόθυμος δὲ ἔα τάδε παρ' αὐτῶν πυθέσθαι, ὅ τι κατέρχεται μέν ὁ Νείλος πληθύων ἀπὸ τροπέων των θερινέων άρξάμενος ἐπὶ έκατὸν ἡμέρας, πελάσας δὲ ές τὸν ἀριθμὸν τουτέων τῶν ἡμερέων ὀπίσω ἀπέρχεται ἀπολείπων τὸ ῥέεθρον, ὥστε βραχύς τον χειμώνα άπαντα διατελέει έων μέχρι ου αυτις τροπέων των θερινέων. τούτων ων πέρι οὐδενὸς ούδεν οίος τε εγενόμην παραλαβείν παρά των Αίγυπτίων, ίστορέων αὐτούς ήντινα δύναμιν έχει ο Νείλος τὰ ἔμπαλιν πεφυκέναι τῶν ἄλλων ποταμών ταῦτά τε δή τὰ λελεγμένα βουλόμενος είδεναι ίστόρεον καὶ ὅ τι αύρας ἀποπνεούσας μοῦνος ποταμών πάντων ού παρέχεται.

Apis, in the part of Egypt bordering on Libya, thinking themselves to be not Egyptians but Libyans, and misliking the observance of the religious law which forbade them to eat cows' flesh, sent to Ammon saying that they had no part or lot with Egypt: for they dwelt (said they) outside the Delta and did not consent to the ways of its people, and they wished to be suffered to eat of all foods. But the god forbade them : all the land, he said, watered by the Nile in its course was Egypt, and all who dwelt lower down than the city Elephantine and drank of that river's water were Egyptians.

was the oracle given to them.

19. When the Nile is in flood, it overflows not only the Delta but also the lands called Libyan and Arabian, in places as far as two days' journey from either bank, and sometimes more than this, sometimes less. Concerning its nature, neither from the priests nor from any others could I learn anything. Yet I was zealous to hear from them why it is that the Nile comes down with a rising flood for an hundred days from the summer solstice, and when this tale of days is complete sinks again with a diminishing stream, so that the river is low for the whole winter till the summer solstice again. Concerning this matter none of the Egyptians could tell me anything, when I asked them what power the Nile has to be contrary in nature to all other rivers. Of the matters aforesaid I wished to know, and asked; also. why no airs blow from it as from every other stream.1

<sup>1</sup> Not from the river itself, perhaps; but there is a regular current of air blowing up the valley.

20. 'Αλλά Έλλήνων μεν τινές ἐπίσημοι βουλόμενοι γενέσθαι σοφίην έλεξαν περί του ύδατος τούτου τριφασίας όδούς των τὰς μὲν δύο των όδων οὐδ' ἀξιω μνησθήναι εί μη όσον σημήναι Βουλόμενος μούνον των ή έτέρη μεν λέγει τούς έτησίας ανέμους είναι αίτίους πληθύειν τον ποταμόν, κωλύοντας ές θάλασσαν έκρέειν του Νείλου. πολλάκις δε έτησίαι μεν ούκων επνευσαν, ο δε Νείλος τώυτὸ ἐργάζεται. πρὸς δέ, εἰ ἐτησίαι αίτιοι ήσαν, χρήν καὶ τούς άλλους ποταμούς, όσοι τοίσι έτησίησι άντίοι ρέουσι, όμοίως πάσχειν καὶ κατά τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ Νείλω, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι τοσούτω όσω ελάσσονες εόντες ασθενέστερα τὰ ρεύματα παρέχονται. είσὶ δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν τῆ Συρίη ποταμοί πολλοί δὲ ἐν τῆ Λιβύη, οἱ οὐδὲν τοιούτο πάσχουσι οίον τι καὶ ὁ Νείλος.

21. Ἡ δ' ἐτέρη ἀνεπιστημονεστέρη μεν ἐστὶ της λελεγμένης, λόγω δε είπειν θωμασιωτέρη ή λέγει ἀπὸ τοῦ 'Ωκεανοῦ δέοντα αὐτὸν ταῦτα μηγανασθαι, του δε 'Ωκεανου γην περί πασαν

ρέειν.

22. Ἡ δὲ τρίτη τῶν ὁδῶν πολλὸν ἐπιεικεστάτη έοῦσα μάλιστα έψευσται λέγει γὰρ δη οὐδ' αὕτη οὐδέν, φαμένη τὸν Νείλον ρέειν ἀπὸ τηκομένης γιόνος δς ρέει μεν έκ Λιβύης δια μέσων Αίθιόπων, εκδιδοί δε ές Αίγυπτον. κώς ών δήτα δέοι αν από γιόνος, από των θερμοτάτων ρέων ές τα ψυχρότερα τὰ πολλά ἐστι; ἀνδρί γε λογίζεσθαι τοιούτων πέρι οίω τε έοντι, ως ούδε οίκος άπο γιόνος μιν ρέειν, πρώτον μέν και μέγιστον μαρτύριον οι άνεμοι παρέχονται πνέοντες άπο των

20. But some of the Greeks, wishing to be notable for cleverness, put forward three opinions about this river; of which there are two that I would not even mention, save to show only what they are. One of these will have it that the etesian winds 1 are the cause of the rivers being in flood, because they hinder the Nile from flowing out into the sea. But there are many times when the etesian winds do not blow, vet the Nile does the same as before. And further, if the etesian winds were the cause, then the other rivers which flow contrary to those winds should be affected in like manner even as is the Nile, and all the more, inasmuch as being smaller they have a weaker current. Yet there are many rivers in Syria and in Libya, which are nowise in the same case as the Nile.

21. The second opinion is less grounded on knowledge than that afore-mentioned, though it is more marvellous to the ear: by it, the river effects what it does because it flows from the Ocean, which flows round all the world.

22. The third opinion is the most plausible by far, yet is of all the most in error. It has no more truth in it than the others. According to this, the Nile flows from where snows melt; but it flows from Libya through the midst of Ethiopia, and issues out into Egypt; how then can it flow from snow, seeing that it comes from the hottest places to lands that are for the most part colder? nay, a man who can reason about such matters will find his chief proof, that there is no likelihood of the river's flowing from snow, in this—that the winds blowing from Libya and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The regular N.W. winds which blow in summer from the Mediterranean.

χωρέων τουτέων θερμοί· δεύτερον δὲ ὅτι ἄνομβρος ἡ χώρη καὶ ἀκρύσταλλος διατελέει ἐοῦσα, ἐπὶ δὲ χιόνι πεσούση, πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ ὖσαι ἐν πέντε ἡμέρησι, ὥστε, εἰ ἐχιόνιζε, ὕετο ἄν ταῦτα τὰ χωρία· τρίτα δὲ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὑπὸ τοῦ καὑματος μέλανες ἐόντες. ἰκτῖνοι δὲ καὶ χελιδόνες δι ἔτεος ἐόντες οὐκ ἀπολείπουσι, γέρανοι δὲ φεύγουσαι τὸν χειμῶνα τὸν ἐν τῆ Σκυθικῆ χώρη γινόμενον φοιτῶσι ἐς χειμασίην ἐς τοὺς τόπους τούτους. εἰ τοίνυν ἐχιόνιζε καὶ ὅσον ὧν ταύτην τὴν χώρην δι' ἡς τε ῥέει καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἄρχεται ῥέων ὁ Νεῖλος, ἡν ἄν τούτων οὐδέν, ὡς ἡ ἀνάγκη ἐλέγχει.

23. Ὁ δὲ περὶ τοῦ 'Ωκεανοῦ λέξας ἐς ἀφανὲς τὸν μῦθον ἀνενείκας οὐκ ἔχει ἔλεγχον οὐ γὰρ τινὰ ἔγωγε οἶδα ποταμὸν 'Ωκεανὸν ἐόντα, "Ομηρον δὲ ἢ τινὰ τῶν πρότερον γενομένων ποιητέων δοκέω

τὸ ούνομα ευρόντα ές ποίησιν εσενείκασθαι.

24. Εἰ δὲ δεῖ μεμψάμενον γνώμας τὰς προκειμένας αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν ἀφανέων γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι, φράσω δι ὅ τι μοι δοκέει πληθύνεσθαι ὁ Νεῖλος τοῦ θέρεος τὴν χειμερινὴν ὥρην ἀπελαυνόμενος ὁ ἥλιος ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαίης διεξόδου ὑπὸ τῶν χειμώνων ἔρχεται τῆς Λιβύης τὰ ἄνω. ὡς μέν νυν ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ δηλῶσαι, πᾶν εἴρηται τῆς γὰρ ἄν ἀγχοτάτω τε ἢ χώρης οὖτος ὁ θεὸς καὶ κατὰ ἤντινα, ταύτην οἰκὸς διψῆν τε ὑδάτων μάλιστα καὶ τὰ ἐγχώρια ῥεύματα μαραίνεσθαι τῶν ποταμῶν.

25. Ως δὲ ἐν πλέονι λόγφ δηλῶσαι, ὧδε ἔχει. διεξιῶν τῆς Λιβύης τὰ ἄνωμό ἥλιος τάδε ποιέει- ἄτε διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνοψ αἰθρίου τε ἐόντος τοῦ

Ethiopia are hot. And the second proof is, that the country is ever without rain and frost; but after snow has fallen there must needs be rain within five days; so that were there snow there would be rain in these lands. And the third proof is, that the men of the country are black by reason of the heat. Moreover, kites and swallows live there all the year round, and cranes, flying from the wintry weather of Scythia, come every year to these places to winter there. Now, were there but the least fall of snow in this country through which the Nile flows and whence it rises, none of these things would happen, as necessity proves.

23. The opinion about the Ocean is grounded in obscurity and needs no disproof; for I know of no river of Ocean; and I suppose that Homer or some older poet invented this name and brought it into

his poetry.

24. If, having condemned the opinions proposed, I must now set forth what I myself think about these obscure matters, I will show what I suppose to be the cause of the Nile being in flood in the summer. During the winter the sun is driven by the storms from his customary course and passes over the inland parts of Libya. Now to make the shortest conclusion, that is all that need be said; for to whatever country this god is nearest, or over it, it is to be thought that that land is the thirstiest and that the rivers in it are diminished.

25. But stated at greater length, the truth is as I shall show. In his passage over the inland parts of Libya—the air being ever clear in that region, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> It does not seem to be known what authority there is for this assertion.

ήέρος τοῦ κατά ταῦτα τὰ χωρία καὶ ἀλεεινής τής χώρης ἐούσης καὶ ἀνέμων ψυχρών, διεξιων ποιέει ολόν περ καὶ τὸ θέρος έωθε ποιέειν ὶων τὸ μέσον τοῦ οὐρανοῦς ἔλκει γὰρ ἐπ' ἐωυτὸν τὸ ὕδωρ, έλκύσας δὲ ἀπωθέει ἐς τὰ ἄνω χωρία, ὑπολαμβάνοντες δε οί άνεμοι καὶ διασκιδυάντες τήκουσι. καὶ είσὶ οἰκότως οἱ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς χώρης πνέοντες, ο τε νότος καὶ ὁ λίψ, ἀνέμων πολλον τῶν πάντων ὑετιώτατοι. δοκέει δέ μοι οὐδὲ πᾶν τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐπέτειον ἐκάστοτε ἀποπέμπεσθαι τοῦ Νείλου ο ήλιος, άλλα και υπολείπεσθαι περί έωυτόν. πρηϋνομένου δε τοῦ χειμώνος \ἀπέρχεται ό ηλιος ές μέσον τον ουρανον οπίσω, και το ενθεύτεν ήδη όμοίως ἀπὸ πάντων ἔλκει τῶν ποταμῶν. τέως δὲ οἱ μὲν ὀμβρίου ὕδατος συμμισγομένου πολλοῦ αὐτοῖσι, ἄτε ύομένης τε τῆς χώρης καὶ κεχαραδρωμένης, ρέουσι μεγάλοι του δε θέρεος των τε όμβρων ἐπιλειπόντων αὐτούς καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου έλκομενοι ασθενέες είσί. ὁ δε Νείλος έων άνομβρος, ελκόμενος δε ύπὸ τοῦ ήλίου μοῦνος ποταμών τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, οἰκότως αὐτὸς έωυτοῦ ρέει πολλώ ύποδεέστερος ή του θέρεος τότε μέν γάρ μετά πάντων των ύδάτων ίσον έλκεται, τὸν δε χειμώνα μούνος πιέζεται. Α αργιώνει

26. Οὕτω τὸν ἥλιον νενόμικα τούτων αἴτιον εἶναι. αἴτιος δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς οὕτος κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ τὸν ἡέρα ξηρὸν τὸν ταὕτῆ εἶναι, διακαίων τὴν διέξοδον ἐωυτοῦ οὕτω τῆς Λιβύης τὰ ἄνω θέρος αἰεὶ κατέχει. εἰ δὲ ἡ στάσις ἤλλακτο τῶν ὡρέων, καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τῆ μὲν νῦν ὁ βορέης τε καὶ ὁ χειμων ἐστᾶσι, ταύτη μὲν τοῦ νότον ἦν ἡ στάσις καὶ τῆς μεσαμβρίης, τῆ δὲ ὁ νότος νῦν

land warm and the winds cool-the sun does what he was wont to do in the summer in passing through the middle of the heaven: he draws the water to himself, and having so drawn it, expels it away to the inland regions, and the winds catch it and scatter and dissolve it; and, as is to be supposed, those that blow from that country, the south and the south-west, are the most rainy of all winds. Yet I think that the sun never lets go all the water that he yearly draws up from the Nile, but keeps some back near to himself. Then as the winter becomes milder, the sun returns back to the middle of the heaven, and after that he draws from all rivers alike. Meantime the other rivers are swollen to high flood by the much water from the sky that falls into them, because the country is rained upon and cut into gullies; but in the summer they are low, lacking the rain and being drawn up too by the sun. But the Nile being fed by no rain, and being the only river in winter drawn up by the sun, at this time falls far short of the height that he had in summer; which is but natural; for in summer all other waters too and not his alone are attracted to the sun, but in the winter it is he alone who is afflicted.

26. I am persuaded therefore that the sun is the cause of these matters. The dryness of the air in these parts is also caused by the sun, to my thinking, because he burns his passage through it; so it is that it is always summer in the inland part of Libya. But were the stations of the seasons changed, so that the south wind and the summer had their station where now the north wind and winter are set, and the north wind was where the south wind is

ἔστηκε, ταύτη δὲ ὁ βορέης, εἰ ταῦτα οὕτω εἰχε, ὁ ἤλιος ᾶν ἀπελαυνόμενος ἐκ μέσου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ τοῦ βορέω ἤιε ᾶν τὰ ἄνω τῆς Εὐρώπης κατά περ νῦν τῆς Λιβύης ἔρχεται, διεξιόντα δ' ἄν μιν διὰ πάσης Εὐρώπης ἔλπομαι ποιέειν ᾶν τὸν Ἱστρον τά περ νῦν ἐργάζεται τὸν Νείλον.

27. Της αυρης δε πέρι, ὅτι οὐκ ἀποπνέει, τήνδε ἔχω γνώμην, ὡς κάρτα ἀπὸ θερμέων χωρέων οὐκος ἐστι οὐδεν ἀποπνέειν, αυρη δε ἀπὸ ψυχροῦ

τινος φιλέει πνέειν.

28. Ταῦτα μέν νυν ἔστω ὡς ἔστι τε καὶ ὡς ἀρχὴν έγένετο τοῦ δὲ Νείλου τὰς πηγάς οὕτε Αίγυπτίων ούτε Λιβύων ούτε Ελλήνων των έμοι ἀπικομένων ές λόγους ούδεις υπέσχετο είδέναι, εί μη έν Αἰγύπτω ἐν Σάι πόλι ὁ γραμματιστής τῶν ἰρῶν χρημάτων της 'Αθηναίης, ούτος δ' έμοιγε παίζειν εδόκεε φάμενος είδεναι άτρεκέως έλεγε δε ώδε. είναι δύο όρεα ες όξυ τὰς κορυφάς ἀπηγμένα. μεταξύ Συήνης τε πόλιος κείμενα της Θηβαίδος και Έλεφαντίνης, οὐνόματα δὲ είναι τοίσι όρεσι τῶ μὲν Κρῶφι τῶ δὲ Μῶφι τὰς ὧν δὴ πηγὰς τοῦ Νείλου ἐούσας ἀβύσσους ἐκ τοῦ μέσου τῶν ὁρέων τούτων ρέειν, καὶ τὸ μὲν ημισυ τοῦ ὕδατος έπ' Αίγύπτου ρέειν καὶ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον, τὸ δ' ἔτερον ήμισυ ἐπ' Αἰθιοπίης τε καὶ νότου. ὡς δὲ άβυσσοι είσὶ αἱ πηγαί, ἐς διάπειραν ἔφη τούτου Ψαμμήτιχου Αἰγύπτου βασιλέα ἀπικέσθαι πολλέων γάρ αὐτὸν χιλιάδων οργυιέων πλεξάμενον κάλον κατείναι ταύτη καὶ οὐκ ἐξικέσθαι ἐς Βυσσόν. ούτω μεν δή ο γραμματιστής, εί άρα ταῦτα γινόμενα έλεγε, ἀπέφαινε, ώς έμε κατανοέειν, δίνας

now,—if this were so, the sun when driven from mid-heaven by the winter and the north wind would pass over the inland parts of Europe as he now passes over Libya, and I think that in his passage over all Europe he would work the same effect on the Ister as he now does on the Nile.

27. And for the reason why no air blows from the river, this is my opinion: it is not natural that any air blow from very hot places; airs ever come from that which is very cold.

28. Be these matters, then, as they are and as they were made to be in the beginning. But as to the sources of the Nile, none that conversed with me, neither Egyptian, nor Libyan, nor Greek, professed to know them, except only the recorder of the sacred treasures of Athene in the Egyptian city of Sais. He, I thought, jested with me when he said that he had exact knowledge; but this was his story:-Between the city of Syene in the Thebaid and Elephantine there are two hills with sharp peaks, the one called Crophi and the other Mophi. The springs of the Nile, which are unfathomed, rise between these hills: and half the water flows towards Egypt northwards, the other half southwards towards Ethiopia. That this source cannot be fathomed, Psammetichus king of Egypt proved by experiment: for he had a rope woven of a thousand fathoms' length and let down into the spring, but he could not reach to the bottom. Thus, then, if the recorder spoke truth, he showed, as I think, that here are

τινὰς ταύτη ἐούσας ἰσχυρὰς καὶ παλιρροίην, οἶα δὲ ἐμβάλλοντος τοῦ ὕδατος τοῦσι ὅρεσι, μὴ δύνασθαι κατιεμένην καταπειρητηρίην ἐς βυσσὸν ἰέναι.

29. "Αλλου δε οὐδενὸς οὐδεν εδυνάμην πυθέσθαι. άλλα τοσόνδε μεν άλλο επί μακρότατον επυθόμην, μέχρι μέν Έλεφαντίνης πόλιος αὐτόπτης έλθών, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀκοῆ ήδη ίστορέων. ἀπὸ Έλεφαντίνης πόλιος ἄνω ἰόντι ἄναντες ἐστὶ χωρίον ταύτη ὧν δεῖ τὸ πλοῖον διαδήσαντας αμφοτέρωθεν κατά περ βούν πορεύεσθαι ην δέ άπορραγή τὸ πλοίον, οἴχεται Φερόμενον ὑπὸ ἰσχύος τοῦ ρόου. τὸ δὲ γωρίον τοῦτο ἐστὶ ἐπ' ἡμέρας τέσσερας πλόος, σκολιός δὲ ταύτη κατά περ ό Μαίανδρος έστι ο Νείλος σχοίνοι δε δυώδεκα είσι ούτοι τούς δεί τούτω τῶ τρόπω διεκπλῶσαι. καὶ έπειτα ἀπίξεαι ές πεδίον λείον, έν τῶ νῆσον περιρρέει ὁ Νείλος Ταχομψω ούνομα αὐτή ἐστι. οίκέουσι δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ Ἐλεφαντίνης ἄνω Αἰθίοπες ήδη καὶ τῆς νήσου τὸ ήμισυ, τὸ δὲ ήμισυ Αἰγύπτιοι. έχεται δὲ τῆς νήσου λίμνη μεγάλη, τὴν πέριξ την διεκπλώσας νομάδες Αίθίοπες νέμονται ές του Νείλου το ρέεθρον ήξεις, το ές την λίμνην ταύτην ἐκδιδοῖ. καὶ ἔπειτα ἀποβὰς παρὰ τὸν ποταμον οδοιπορίην ποιήσεαι ήμερέων τεσσεράκοντα· σκόπελοί τε γάρ ἐν τῷ Νείλω ὀξέες ἀνέχουσι καὶ χοιράδες πολλαί εἰσι, δι' ὧν οὐκ οἰά τε έστὶ πλέειν. διεξελθών δὲ ἐν τῆσι τεσσεράκοντα ήμέρησι τούτο τὸ χωρίον, αὐτις ἐς ἔτερον πλοίον έσβας δυώδεκα ήμέρας πλεύσεαι, καὶ ἔπειτα ήξεις ές πόλιν μεγάλην τη ούνομα έστι Μερόη λέγεται δὲ αύτη ἡ πόλις είναι μητρόπολις τῶν ἄλλων

strong eddies and an upward flow of water, and the rushing of the stream against the hills makes the sounding-line when let down unable to reach the bottom.

29. From no other man could I learn anything. But this much I learnt by the farthest inquiry that I could make, by my own travel and sight as far as the city of Elephantine, and beyond that by question and hearsay:-Beyond Elephantine, the land rises. Here one must pass with the boat roped on both sides as men harness an ox; and if the rope break, the boat is carried away by the strength of the This part of the river is a four days' journey by boat, and the Nile here is winding like the Maeander; a length of twelve schoeni must be passed in the aforesaid fashion. After that you will come to a level plain, where there is an island in the Nile, called Tachompso. Above Elephantine the country now begins to be inhabited by Ethiopians, and half the people of the island are Ethiopians and half Egyptians. Near to the island is a great lake, on the shores of which dwell nomad Ethiopians, Having crossed this, you will come to the stream of the Nile, which issues into this lake. Then you will disembark and journey along the river bank for forty days; for there are sharp projecting rocks in the Nile and many reefs, through which no boat can pass. Having traversed this part in forty days as I have said, you will take boat again and so travel for twelve days till you come to a great city called Meroe, which is said to be the capital of all Ethiopia.

Αιθιόπων. οί δ' εν ταύτη Δία θεῶν καὶ Διόνυσον μούνους σέβονται, τούτους τε μεγάλως τιμῶσι, καί σφι μαντήιον Διὸς κατέστηκε στρατεύονται δὲ ἐπεάν σφεας ὁ θεὸς οὖτος κελεύη διὰ θεσπισμά-

των, καὶ τη αν κελεύη, ἐκείσε.

30. Από δὲ ταύτης της πόλιος πλέων ἐν ἴσω γρόνω άλλω ήξεις ές τους αυτομόλους έν όσω περ έξ Έλεφαντίνης ήλθες ές την μητρόπολιν την Αίθιόπων, τοίσι δὲ αὐτομόλοισι τούτοισι ούνομα έστι 'Ασμάχ, δύναται δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος κατὰ τὴν Ελλήνων γλώσσαν οι έξ άριστερής χειρός παριστάμενοι βασιλέι. ἀπέστησαν δε αθται τέσσερες καὶ είκοσι μυριάδες Αίγυπτίων τῶν μαχίμων ές τους Αιθίοπας τούτους δι' αιτίην τοιήνδε. έπλ Ψαμμητίχου βασιλέος φυλακαί κατέστησαν έν τε 'Ελεφαντίνη πόλι πρὸς Αἰθιόπων καὶ ἐν Δάφνησι τῆσι Πηλουσίησι ἄλλη πρὸς Αραβίων τε καὶ 'Ασσυρίων, καὶ ἐν Μαρέη πρὸς Λιβύης ἄλλη. έτι δὲ ἐπ' ἐμεῦ καὶ Περσέων κατά ταὐτά αί φυλακαί έχουσι ώς και έπι Ψαμμητίχου ήσαν. καὶ γὰρ ἐν Ἐλεφαντίνη Πέρσαι φρουρέουσι καὶ έν Δάφνησι. τους ών δη Αίγυπτίους τρία έτεα φρουρήσαντας ἀπέλυε οὐδεὶς τῆς φρουρῆς οἱ δὲ βουλευσάμενοι καὶ κοινῷ λόγω χρησάμενοι πάντες άπο του Ψαμμητίχου άποστάντες ήισαν ές Αίθιοπίην. Ψαμμήτιχος δὲ πυθόμενος ἐδίωκε ώς δὲ κατέλαβε, εδέετο πολλά λέγων καί σφεας θεούς πατρωίους ἀπολιπείν οὐκ ἔα καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναίκας. των δε τινά λέγεται δέξαντα το αίδοιον

<sup>1</sup> The Greek equivalents for Amun and Osiris.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Herodotus' account of the Nile in this chapter is for the most part vague and untrustworthy. He is right as to the

people of the place worship no other gods but Zeus and Dionysus 1; these they greatly honour, and they have a place of divination sacred to Zeus; they send out armies whenever and whithersoever this god by oracle commands them.<sup>2</sup>

30. From this city you will make a journey by water of equal distance with that by which you came from Elephantine to the capital city of Ethiopia, and you will come to the land of the Deserters. These Deserters are called Asmach, which signifies, in our language, those who stand on the left hand of the king. These once, to the number of two hundred and forty thousand Egyptians of fighting age, revolted and joined themselves to the Ethiopians. The reason was this:-In the reign of Psammetichus there were garrisons posted at Elephantine on the side of Ethiopia, at Daphnae of Pelusium on the side of Arabia and Assyria, and at Marea on the side of Libya. And still in my time the Persians hold these posts as they were held in the days of Psammetichus; there are Persian guards at Elephantine and at Daphnae. Now the Egyptians had been on guard for three years, and none came to relieve them; so taking counsel and making common cause, they revolted from Psammetichus and went to Ethiopia, Psammetichus heard of it and pursued after them; and when he overtook them he besought them with many words not to desert the gods of their fathers and their children and wives. Then one of them, so the story goes, said, pointing to his manly part,

current above Elephantine, as those who have made the passage between the Assuan Dam and Assuan will realise. But the conditions have of course been entirely altered by the construction of the dam.

εἰπεῖν, ἔνθα ἂν τοῦτο ἢ, ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖσι ἐνθαῦτα καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας. οὖτοι ἐπείτε ἐς Αἰθιοπίην ἀπίκοντο, διδοῦσι σφέας αὐτοὺς τῷ Αἰθιόπων βασιλέι, ὁ δὲ σφέας τῷδε ἀντιδωρέεται ἢσάν οἱ διάφοροι τινὲς γεγονότες τῶν Αἰθιόπων τούτους ἐκέλευε ἐξελόντας τὴν ἐκείνων γῆν οἰκέειν. τούτων δὲ ἐσοικισθέντων ἐς τοὺς Αἰθίοπας ἡμερώτεροι γεγόνασι Αἰθίοπες, ἤθεα μαθόντες Αἰγύπτια.

31. Μέχρι μέν νυν τεσσέρων μηνῶν πλόου καὶ όδοῦ γινώσκεται ὁ Νεῖλος πάρεξ τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτφ ρεύματος τοσοῦτοι γὰρ ουμβαλλομένω μῆνες εὐρίσκονται ἀναισιμούμενοι ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πορευομένω ἐς τοὺς αὐτομόλους τούτους, ρέει δὲ ἀπὸ ἐσπέρης τε καὶ ἡλίου δυσμέων. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε οὐδεὶς ἔχει σαφέως Φράσαι· ἔρημος γὰρ ἐστὶ ἡ

χώρη αύτη ύπὸ καύματος.

32. 'Αλλά τάδε μεν ήκουσα ανδρών Κυρηναίων φαμένων έλθειν τε έπὶ τὸ "Αμμωνος χρηστήριον καὶ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς λόγους Ἐτεάρχω τῶ Αμμωνίων Βασιλέι, και κως έκ λόγων άλλων απικέσθαι ές λέσχην περί του Νείλου, ώς ούδεις αὐτοῦ οίδε τὰς πηγάς, καὶ τὸν Ἐτέαρχον φάναι ἐλθεῖν κοτε παρ' αὐτὸν Νασαμώνας ἄνδρας. τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτο έστι μέν Λιβυκόν, νέμεται δε την Σύρτιν τε καί την προς ηω χώρην της Σύρτιος ούκ έπὶ πολλόν. απικομένους δε τους Νασαμώνας και είρωτωμένους εί τι έχουσι πλέον λέγειν περί των έρήμων της Λιβύης, φάναι παρά σφίσι γενέσθαι άνδρων δυναστέων παίδας ύβριστάς, τους άλλα τε μηγανάσθαι ανδρωθέντας περισσά και δή και αποκληρώσαι πέντε έωυτών όψομένους τὰ ἔρημα τῆς Λιβύης, καὶ εἴ τι πλέον ἴδοιεν τῶν τὰ μακρότατα ἰδομένων.

that wherever this should be they would have wives and children. So they came to Ethiopia, and gave themselves up to the king of the country; who, to make them a gift in return, bade them dispossess certain Ethiopians with whom he was at feud, and occupy their land. These Ethiopians then learnt Egyptian customs and have become milder-mannered by intermixture with the Egyptians.

31. For as far as a distance of four months' travel, then, by land and water, there is knowledge of the Nile, besides the part of it that is in Egypt. So many months, as reckoning shows, lasts the journey from Elephantine to the country of the Deserters aforesaid. Beyond this none has clear knowledge to declare; for all that country is desert,

by reason of heat.

32. But this I heard from certain men of Cyrene. who told me that they had gone to the oracle of Ammon, and there conversed with Etearchus king of the Ammonians, and that from other matters of discourse they came to speak of the Nile, how no one knows the source of it. Then Etearchus told them that once he had been visited by certain Nasamonians. These are a Libyan people, inhabiting the country of the Syrtis and the country a little way to the east of the Syrtis. When these Nasamonians on their coming were questioned if they brought any news concerning the Libvan desert, they told Etearchus that there had been among them certain sons of their chief men, proud and violent youths, who, when they came to man's estate, besides planning other wild adventures. had chosen by lot five of their company to visit the deserts of Libya, and see what they might beyond the utmost range of travellers. It must be known

της γαρ Λιβύης τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν βορηίην θάλασσαν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι Σολόεντος άκρης, ή τελευτά της Λιβύης, παρήκουσι παρά πάσαν Λίβυες και Λιβύων έθνεα πολλά, πλην όσον Έλληνες καὶ Φοίνικες έγουσι τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης τε καὶ των ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατηκόντων ανθρώπων, τὰ κατύπερθε θηριώδης ἐστὶ ἡ Λιβύη. τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε της θηριώδεος ψάμμος τε ἐστὶ καὶ άνυδρος δεινώς καὶ έρημος πάντων. είπαι ών τούς νεηνίας αποπεμπομένους ύπο των ηλίκων, ύδασί τε καὶ σιτίοισι εὖ ἐξηρτυμένους, ἰέναι τὰ πρῶτα μέν διὰ τῆς οἰκεομένης, ταύτην δὲ διεξελθόντας ές την θηριώδεα άπικέσθαι, έκ δὲ ταύτης την έρημον διεξιέναι, την όδον ποιευμένους προς ζέφυρον άνεμον, διεξελθόντας δε χώρον πολλον ψαμμώδεα καὶ ἐν πολλησι ἡμέρησι ἰδείν δή κοτε δένδρεα ἐν πεδίω πεφυκότα, καί σφεας προσελθόντας άπτεσθαι τοῦ ἐπεόντος ἐπὶ τῶν δενδρέων καρποῦ, ἀπτομένοισι δέ σφι ἐπελθεῖν ἄνδρας μικρούς, μετρίων ελάσσονας ανδρών, λαβόντας δε άγειν σφέας. φωνής δὲ οὖτε τι τής ἐκείνων τοὺς Νασαμώνας γινώσκειν ούτε τους άγοντας των Νασαμώνων. άγειν τε δη αὐτούς δι' έλέων μεγίστων, και διεξελθόντας ταῦτα ἀπικέσθαι ἐς πόλιν ἐν τῆ πάντας είναι τοίσι ἄγουσι τὸ μέγαθος ἴσους, χρώμα δὲ μέλανας. παρά δε την πόλιν ρέειν ποταμόν μέγαν, ρέειν δε άπο έσπέρης αὐτὸν πρὸς ήλιον ἀνατέλλοντα, φαίνεσθαι δὲ ἐν αὐτῶ κροκοδείλους.

33. 'Ο μεν δη τοῦ 'Αμμωνίου 'Ετεάρχου λόγος ε΄ς τοῦτό μοι δεδηλώσθω, πλην ὅτι ἀπονοστῆσαί τε ε΄φασκε τοὺς Νασαμῶνας, ὡς οἱ Κυρηναῖοι ἔλεγον, καὶ ἐς τοὺς οὖτοι ἀπίκοντο ἀνθρώπους, γόητας εἶναι

that all the northern seacoast of Libya-from Egypt as far as the promontory of Soloeis, which is the end of Libya-is inhabited all along by Libyans, many tribes of them, except the part held by Greeks and Phoenicians; the region of Libya above the sea and the men of the seacoast is infested by wild beasts; and farther inland than the wild-beast country all is sand, exceeding waterless and wholly desert. This then was the story told by the young men :-When they left their companions, being well supplied with water and provisions, they journeyed first through the inhabited country, and having passed this they came to the region of wild beasts. After this, they travelled over the desert, towards the west, and crossed a wide sandy region, till after many days they saw trees growing in a plain; when they came to these and were plucking the fruit of the trees, they were met by little men of stature smaller than common, who took them and led them away. The Nasamonians did not know these men's language nor did the escort know the language of the Nasamonians. The men led them across great marshes. which having crossed they came to a city where all the people were of like stature with the escort, and black. A great river ran past this city, from the west towards the rising sun; crocodiles could be seen in it.

33. This is enough to say concerning the story told by Etearchus the Ammonian; except that he said that the Nasamonians returned—as the men of Cyrene told me—and that the people to whose

ἄπαντας. τὸν δὲ δὴ ποταμὸν τοῦτον τὸν παραρρέοντα καὶ Ἐτέαρχος συνεβάλλετο εἶναι Νεῖλον, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ λόγος οὕτω αἰρέει. ῥέει γὰρ ἐκ Λιβύης ὁ Νεῖλος καὶ μέσην τάμνων Λιβύην, καὶ ὡς ἐγὼ συμβάλλομαι τοῖσι ἐμφανέσι τὰ μὴ γινωσκόμενα τεκμαιρόμενος, τῷ Ἰστρῷ ἐκ τῶν ἴσων μέτρων ὁρμᾶται. Ἰστρος τε γὰρ ποταμὸς ἀρξάμενος ἐκ Κελτῶν καὶ Πυρήνης πόλιος ῥέει μέσην σχίζων τὴν Εὐρώπην οἱ δὲ Κελτοὶ εἰσὶ ἔξω Ἡρακλέων στηλέων, ὁμουρέουσι δὲ Κυνησίοισι, οἱ ἔσχατοι πρὸς δυσμέων οἰκέουσι τῶν ἐν τῆ Εὐρώπη κατοικημένων τελευτῷ δὲ ὁ Ἰστρος ἐς θάλασσαν ῥέων τὴν τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου διὰ πάσης Εὐρώπης, τῷ Ἰστρίην οἱ Μιλησίων οἰκέουσι ἄποικοι.

34. 'Ο μὲν δὴ 'Ιστρος, ρέει γὰρ δι' οἰκεομένης, πρὸς πολλῶν γινώσκεται, περὶ δὲ τῶν τοῦ Νείλου πηγέων οὐδεὶς ἔχει λέγειν· ἀοίκητός τε γὰρ καὶ ἔρημος ἐστὶ ἡ Λιβύη δι' ἡς ρέει. περὶ δὲ τοῦ ρεύματος αὐτοῦ, ἐπ' ὅσον μακρότατον ἱστορεῦντα ἡν ἐξικέσθαι, εἴρηται· ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον. ἡ δὲ Αἴγυπτος τῆς ὀρεινῆς Κιλικίης μάλιστά κη ἀντίη κέεται· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἐς Σινώπην τὴν ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ πέντε ἡμερέων ἰθέα ὁδὸς εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρί· ἡ δὲ Σινώπη τῷ Ίστρῳ ἐκδιδόντι ἐς θάλασσαν ἀντίον κέεται. οὕτω τὸν Νεῖλον δοκέω διὰ πάσης τῆς Λιβύης διεξιόντα ἐξισοῦσθαι τῷ Ίστρῳ.

35. Νείλου μέν νυν πέρι τοσαθτα εἰρήσθω· ἔρχομαι δὲ περὶ Αἰγύπτου μηκυνέων τὸν λόγον, ὅτι πλεῖστα θωμάσια ἔχει ἡ ἡ ἄλλη πᾶσα χώρη καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἐκ τῶν ἴσων μέτρων is an obscure expression. What Hdt. appears to mean is, that as the Nile (according to him)

country they came were all wizards; as to the river that ran past the city, Etearchus guessed it to be the Nile; and that is but reasonable. For the Nile flows from Libya, and right through the midst of that country; and as I guess, reasoning as to things unknown from visible signs, it takes its rise from the same measure of distance as the Ister. That river flows from the land of the Celtae and the city of Pyrene through the very midst of Europe; now the Celtae dwell beyond the pillars of Heracles, being neighbours of the Cynesii, who are the westernmost of all nations inhabiting Europe. The Ister, then, flows clean across Europe and ends its course in the Euxine sea, at Istria, which is inhabited by Milesian colonists.

34. As it flows through inhabited country, its course is known to many; but none can speak of the source of the Nile; for Libya, through which it runs, is uninhabited and desert. Concerning its course I have told all that I could learn by inquiry; and it issues into Egypt. Now Egypt lies about opposite to the mountainous part of Cilicia; whence it is a straight five days' journey for an unburdened man to Sinope on the Euxine; and Sinope lies over against the place where the Ister falls into the sea. Thus I suppose the course of the Nile in its passage through Libya to be like the course of the Ister.

35. It is sufficient to say this much concerning the Nile. But concerning Egypt I will now speak at length, because nowhere are there so many marvellous things, nor in the whole world beside are there to

flows first from W. to E. and then turns northward, so the Danube flows first from W. to E. and then (as he says) from N. to S.; and so the rivers in a manner correspond: one crosses Africa, the other Europe.

έργα λόγου μέζω παρέχεται πρὸς πάσαν χώρην

τούτων είνεκα πλέω περί αὐτῆς εἰρήσεται.

Αἰγύπτιοι ἄμα τῶ οὐρανῶ τῶ κατὰ σφέας ἐόντι έτεροίω και τω ποταμώ φύσιν άλλοίην παρεχομένω η οι άλλοι ποταμοί, τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἔμπαλιν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἀνθρώποισι ἐστήσαντο ἤθεά τε καὶ νόμους έν τοίσι αι μέν γυναίκες άγοράζουσι καί καπηλεύουσι, οί δὲ ἄνδρες κατ' οἴκους ἐόντες ύφαίνουσι δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἄνω τὴν υφαίνουσι. κρόκην ωθέοντες, Αίγύπτιοι δε κάτω. τὰ ἄχθεα οί μεν άνδρες έπὶ τῶν κεφαλέων φορέουσι, αί δὲ γυναίκες έπὶ των ώμων. οὐρέουσι αἱ μὲν γυναίκες ορθαί, οί δὲ ἄνδρες κατήμενοι. εὐμαρείη χρέωνται έν τοίσι οἴκοισι, ἐσθίουσι δὲ ἔξω ἐν τῆσι ὁδοίσι έπιλέγοντες ώς τὰ μὲν αἰσχρὰ ἀναγκαῖα δὲ ἐν ἀποκρύφω έστι ποιέειν χρεόν, τὰ δὲ μη αισχρά ἀναφανδόν, ίραται γυνή μέν ούδεμία ούτε έρσενος θεοῦ οὕτε θηλέης, ἄνδρες δὲ πάντων τε καὶ πασεων. τρέφειν τούς τοκέας τοίσι μέν παισί ούδεμία ἀνάγκη μη βουλομένοισι, τήσι δὲ θυγατράσι πασα ανάγκη καὶ μη βουλομένησι.

36. Οἱ ἱρέες τῶν θεῶν τῆ μὲν ἄλλη κομέουσι, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δὲ ξυρῶνται. τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἀνθρώποισι νόμος ἄμα κήδεϊ κεκάρθαι τὰς κεφαλὰς τοὺς μαλιστα ἱκνέεται, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ὑπὸ τοὺς θανάτους ἀνιεῖσι τὰς τρίχας αὕξεσθαι τάς τε ἐν τῆ κεφαλῆ καὶ τῷ γενείῳ, τέως ἐξυρημένοι. τοῖσι μὲν ἄλλοισι ἀνθρώποισι χωρὶς θηρίων ἡ δίαιτα ἀποκέκριται, Αἰγυπτίοισι δὲ ὁμοῦ θηρίοισι ἡ δίαιτα ἐστί. ἀπὸ πυρῶν καὶ κριθέων ὧλλοι ζώουσι, Αἰγυπτίων δὲ τῷ ποιευμένῳ ἀπὸ τούτων τὴν ζόην ὄνειδος μέγιστον ἐστί, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ ὀλυρέων ποιεῦνται σιτία,

be seen so many works of unspeakable greatness; therefore I shall say the more concerning Egypt.

As the Egyptians have a climate peculiar to themselves, and their river is different in its nature from all other rivers, so have they made themselves customs and laws of a kind contrary to those of all other men. Among them, the women buy and sell, the men abide at home and weave; and whereas in weaving all others push the woof upwards, the Egyptians push it downwards. Men carry burdens on their heads, women on their shoulders. Women make water standing, men sitting. They relieve nature indoors, and eat out of doors in the streets, giving the reason, that things unseemly but necessary should be done in secret, things not unseemly should be done openly. No woman is dedicated to the service of any god or goddess; men are dedicated to all deities male or female. Sons are not compelled against their will to support their parents, but daughters must do so though they be unwilling.

36. Everywhere else, priests of the gods wear their hair long; in Egypt they are shaven. With all other men, in mourning for the dead those most nearly concerned have their heads shaven; Egyptians are shaven at other times, but after a death they let their hair and beard grow. The Egyptians are the only people who keep their animals with them in the house. Whereas all others live on wheat and barley, it is the greatest disgrace for an Egyptian so to live; they make food from a coarse grain which some call

τὰς ζειὰς μετεξέτεροι καλέουσι. Φυρώσι τὸ μὲν σταίς τοίσι ποσί, τον δέ πηλον τήσι χερσί, και την κόπρον άναιρέονται, τὰ αίδοία ώλλοι μέν έωσι ώς έγενοντο, πλην όσοι άπο τούτων εμαθον. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ περιτάμνονται. είματα τῶν μὲν ανδρών εκαστος έχει δύο, των δε γυναικών εν έκάστη, των ίστίων τους κρίκους και τους κάλους οί μεν άλλοι έξωθεν προσδέουσι, Αίγύπτιοι δε έσωθεν. γράμματα γράφουσι καὶ λογίζονται ψήφοισι "Ελληνες μεν από των αριστερών έπὶ τα δεξιὰ φέροντες την χείρα, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιών έπὶ τὰ ἀριστερά καὶ ποιεύντες ταύτα αὐτοὶ μεν φασί επί δεξιά ποιέειν, "Ελληνας δε επ' άριστερά. διφασίοισι δὲ γράμμασι χρέωνται, καὶ τὰ

μέν αὐτῶν ίρὰ τὰ δὲ δημοτικά καλέεται.

37. Θεοσεβέες δὲ περισσώς ἐόντες μάλιστα πάντων άνθρώπων νόμοισι τοιοίσιδε χρέωνται. έκ γαλκέων ποτηρίων πίνουσι, διασμώντες άνά πάσαν ήμέρην, οὐκ ο μέν ο δ' οὔ, ἀλλὰ πάντες. είματα δε λίνεα φορέουσι αίει νεόπλυτα, επιτηδεύοντες τοῦτο μάλιστα, τά τε αίδοια περιτάμνονται καθαρειότητος είνεκεν, προτιμώντες καθαροί είναι ή εύπρεπέστεροι. oi de ipées ξυρώνται παν τὸ σώμα διὰ τρίτης ήμέρης, ίνα μήτε φθείρ μήτε άλλο μυσαρον μηδέν έγγίνηταί σφι θεραπεύουσι τους θεούς. ἐσθήτα δὲ φορέουσι οί ίρέες λινέην μούνην καὶ ὑποδήματα βύβλινα. άλλην δέ σφι ἐσθήτα οὐκ ἔξεστι λαβείν οὐδὲ ύποδήματα άλλα. λούνται δὲ δὶς τῆς ἡμέρης έκάστης ψυχρώ καὶ δὶς ἐκάστης νυκτός, ἄλλας τε θρησκηίας επιτελέουσι μυρίας ώς είπειν λόγω. πάσγουσι δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὰ οὐκ ὀλίγα· οὕτε τι γὰρ

spelt. They knead dough with their feet, and gather mud and dung with their hands. The Egyptians and those who have learnt it from them are the only people who practise circumcision. Every man has two garments, every woman only one. The rings and sheets of sails are made fast elsewhere outside the boat, but inside it in Egypt. The Greeks write and calculate by moving the hand from left to right; the Egyptians do contrariwise; yet they say that their way of writing is towards the right, and the Greek way towards the left. They use two kinds of writing; one is called sacred, the other common.<sup>1</sup>

37. They are beyond measure religious, more than any other nation; and these are among their customs:-They drink from cups of bronze, which they cleanse out daily; this is done not by some but by all. They are especially careful ever to wear newlywashed linen raiment. They practise circumcision for cleanliness' sake; for they set cleanness above seemliness. Their priests shave the whole body every third day, that no lice or aught else that is foul may infest them in their service of the gods. The priests wear a single linen garment and sandals of papyrus2: they may take no other kind of clothing or footwear. Twice a day and twice every night they wash in cold water. Their religious observances are (if I may so say) innumerable. But also they receive many benefits: they neither consume nor spend aught of

2 On this plant, see ch. 92.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Three kinds, really: hieroglyphic, hieratic (derived from hieroglyphic), and demotic, a simplified form of hieratic. See Rawlinson's essay, ch. 5, in his Appendix to Book II.

τῶν οἰκηίων τρίβουσι οὕτε δαπανῶνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ σιτία σφι ἐστὶ ἱρὰ πεσσόμενα, καὶ κρεῶν βοέων καὶ χηνέων πληθός τι ἐκάστω γίνεται πολλὸν ἡμέρης ἐκάστης, δίδοται δέ σφι καὶ οἰνος ἀμπέλινος· ἰχθύων δὲ οὕ σφι ἔξεστι πάσασθαι. κυάμους δὲ οὕτε τι μάλα σπείρουσι Αἰγύπτιοι ἐν τῆ χώρη, τούς τε γινομένους οὕτε τρώγουσι οὕτε ἔψοντες πατέονται, οἱ δὲ δὴ ἱρέες οὐδὲ ὁρέοντες ἀνέχονται, νομίζοντες οὐ καθαρὸν εἶναί μιν ὅσπριον. ἱρᾶται δὲ οὐκ εἶς ἑκάστου τῶν θεῶν ἀλλὰ πολλοί, τῶν εἶς ἐστι ἀρχιερεύς· ἐπεὰν δέ τις ἀποθάνη, τούτου ὁ παῖς ἀντικατίσταται.

38. Τούς δε βούς τούς έρσενας του Ἐπάφου είναι νομίζουσι, καὶ τούτου είνεκα δοκιμάζουσι αὐτούς ὧδε τρίχα ἡν καὶ μίαν ἴδηται ἐπεοῦσαν μέλαιναν, οὐ καθαρὸν είναι νομίζει. δίζηται δὲ ταθτα έπὶ τούτω τεταγμένος τῶν τις ίρέων καὶ όρθου έστεωτος του κτήνεος και υπτίου, και την γλώσσαν έξειρύσας, εί καθαρή των προκειμένων σημηίων, τὰ ἐγὼ ἐν ἄλλω λόγω ἐρέω· κατορά δὲ και τάς τρίχας της ουρής εί κατά φύσιν έχει πεφυκυίας. ην δε τούτων πάντων ή καθαρός, σημαίνεται βύβλω περί τὰ κέρεα είλίσσων καὶ έπειτα γην σημαντρίδα ἐπιπλάσας ἐπιβάλλει τὸν δακτύλιον, καὶ ούτω ἀπάγουσι. ἀσήμαντον δὲ θύσαντι θάνατος ή ζημίη ἐπικέεται. δοκιμάζεται μέν νυν τὸ κτηνος τρόπω τοιώδε, θυσίη δέ σφι ήδε κατέστηκε.

39. 'Αγαγόντες τὸ σεσημασμένον κτῆνος πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν ὅκου ὰν θύωσι, πῦρ ἀνακαίουσι, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ οἶνον κατὰ τοῦ ἰρηίου ἐπισπείσαντες καὶ ἐπικαλέσαντες τὸν θεὸν σφάζουσι. σφά-

# BOOK II. 37-39

their own; sacred food is cooked for them, to each man is brought every day flesh of beeves and geese in great abundance, and wine of grapes too is given to them. They may not eat fish. The Egyptians sow no beans in their country; if any grow, they will not eat them either raw or cooked; the priests cannot endure even to see them, considering beans an unclean kind of pulse. Many (not one alone) are dedicated to the service of each god. One of these is the high priest; and when a high priest dies his

son succeeds to his office.

38. They hold that bulls belong to Epaphus, and therefore test them thus to see if there be as much as one black hair on them; if there be, the bull is deemed not pure; one of the priests, appointed to this task, examines the beast, making it to stand and to lie, and drawing out its tongue, to know whether it bear none of the stated signs which I shall declare hereafter.2 He looks also to the hairs of the tail, to see if they grow naturally. If it be pure in all these respects, the priest marks it by wrapping papyrus round the horns, then smears it with sealing-earth and stamps it with his ring; and after this they lead the bull away. But the penalty is death for sacrificing a bull that the priest has not marked. Such is the manner of proving the beast; I will now show how it is sacrificed.

39. Having brought the marked beast to the altar where the sacrifice is to be, they kindle a fire; then they pour wine on the altar over the victim and call upon the god; then they cut its throat, and

2 iii. 28.

<sup>1</sup> Epaphus is the Greek form of Apis or Hapi, the bull-god of Memphis.

ξαντες δὲ ἀποτάμνουσι τὴν κεφαλήν. σῶμα μὲν δὴ τοῦ κτήνεος δείρουσι, κεφαλή δὲ κείνη πολλὰ καταρησάμενοι φέρουσι, τοῖσι μὲν αν ἢ ἀγορὴ καὶ Ἑλληνές σφι ἔωσι ἐπιδήμιοι ἔμποροι, οῖ δὲ φέροντες ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἀπ' ὧν ἔδοντο, τοῖσι δὲ αν μὴ παρέωσι Ἑλληνες, οῖ δ' ἐκβάλλουσι ἐς τὸν ποταμόν· καταρῶνται δὲ τάδε λέγοντες τῆσι κεφαλῆσι, εἴ τι μέλλοι ἡ σφίσι τοῖσι θύουσι ἡ Αἰγύπτω τῆ συναπάση κακὸν γενέσθαι, ἐς κεφαλὴν ταύτην τραπέσθαι. κατὰ μέν νυν τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν θυομένων κτηνέων καὶ τὴν ἐπίσπεισιν τοῦ οἴνου πάντες Αἰγύπτιοι νόμοισι τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι χρέωνται ὁμοίως ἐς πάντα τὰ ἰρά, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ νόμου οὐδὲ ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ἐμψύχου κεφαλῆς γεύσεται Αἰγυπτίων οὐδείς.

καῦσις ἄλλη περὶ ἄλλο ἱρόν σφι κατέστηκε την δ' ὧν μεγίστην τε δαίμονα ήγηνται εἶναι καὶ μεγίστην οἱ ὁρτην ἀνάγουσι, ταύτην ἔρχομαι ἐρέων . . . . ¹ ἐπεὰν ἀποδείρωσι τὸν βοῦν, κατευξάμενοι κοιλίην μὲν κείνην πᾶσαν ἐξ ὧν εἶλον, σπλάγχνα δὲ αὐτοῦ λείπουσι ἐν τῷ σώματι καὶ

40. Ἡ δὲ δὴ ἐξαίρεσις τῶν ἱρῶν καὶ ἡ

την πιμελήν, σκέλεα δὲ ἀποτάμνουσι καὶ την δσφύν ἄκρην καὶ τοὺς ὅμους τε καὶ τον τράχηλον. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα τοῦ βοὸς πιμπλασι ἄρτων καθαρῶν καὶ μέλιτος καὶ ἀσταφίδος καὶ σύκων καὶ λιβανωτοῦ καὶ σμύρνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θυωμάτων, πλήσαντες δὲ τούτων καταγίζουσι, ἔλαιον ἄφθονον καταχέοντες τρονηστεύσαντες δὲ θύουσι, καιομένων δὲ τῶν ἱρῶν

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> There is an obvious lacuna; probably the name of the goddess (Isis) was given here.

having so done they sever the head from the body. They flay the carcase of the victim, then invoke many curses on its head and carry the same away. Where there is a market, and Greek traders in the place, the head is taken to the market and sold; where there are no Greeks, it is thrown into the river. The imprecation which they utter over the heads is, that whatever ill threatens themselves, who sacrifice, or the whole of Egypt, may fall upon that head. In respect of the heads of sacrificed beasts and the libation of wine, the practice of all Egyptians is the same in all sacrifices; and from this ordinance no Egyptian will taste of the head of anything that had life.

40. But in regard to the disembowelling and burning of the victims, there is a different way for each sacrifice. I will now, however, speak of that goddess whom they deem the greatest, and in whose honour they keep highest festival. The ox being flayed, after prayer made as aforesaid they take out the whole stomach, leaving the entrails in the carcase and the fat, and cut off the legs, the end of the loin, the shoulders, and the neck. Having done this, they fill what remains of the carcase of the ox with pure bread, honey, raisins, figs, frankincense, myrrh, and other kinds of incense, and then burn it, pouring much oil on it. They fast before the sacrifice, and while it is burning they all make lamentation; and when their

ταῦτα οὕτω σφι νενομοθέτηται κτείνουσι γὰρ δὴ οὐδὲ ταῦτα.

42. "Οσοι μέν δη Διος Θηβαιέος ίδουνται ίρον η νομού του Θηβαίου είσί, ούτοι μέν νυν πάντες δίων ἀπεγόμενοι αίγας θύουσι. θεούς γάρ δη οὐ τούς αύτους απαντες όμοίως Αιγύπτιοι σέβονται, πλην "Ισιός τε καὶ 'Οσίριος, τον δη Διόνυσον είναι λέγουσι τούτους δε όμοίως απαντές σέβονται. ότοι δὲ τοῦ Μένδητος ἔκτηνται ίρον ἡ νομοῦ τοῦ Μενδησίου είσί, ούτοι δὲ αίγων ἀπεχόμενοι ὄις θύουσι. Θηβαΐοι μέν νυν καὶ όσοι διὰ τούτους όων ἀπέγονται, διὰ τάδε λέγουσι τὸν νόμον τύνδε σφίσι τεθήναι. Ἡρακλέα θελήσαι πάντως ιδέσθαι του Δία, και του ούκ εθέλειν οφθήναι υπ' οὐτοῦ· τέλος δέ, ἐπείτε λιπαρέειν τὸν Ἡρακλέα, -άδε τὸν Δία μηχανήσασθαι κριὸν ἐκδείραντα τροσχέσθαι τε την κεφαλήν αποταμόντα τοῦ κριού καὶ ἐνδύντα τὸ νάκος ούτω οἱ ἐωυτὸν ἐπιδέξαι. ἀπὸ τούτου κριοπρόσωπον τοῦ Διὸς τώγαλμα ποιεύσι Αἰγύπτιοι, ἀπὸ δὲ Αἰγυπτίων Αμμώνιοι, ἐόντες Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ Αἰθιόπων άποικοι καὶ φωνήν μεταξύ αμφοτέρων νομίζοντες. δοκέειν δέ μοι, καὶ τὸ οὔνομα 'Αμμώνιοι ἀπὸ τοῦδε σφίσι την επωνυμίην εποιήσαντο 'Αμούν γάρ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι τὸν Δία. τοὺς δὲ κριοὺς οὐ θύουσι Θηβαίοι, άλλ' είσί σφι ίρολ διὰ τοῦτο. μιη δε ημέρη του ενιαυτού, εν όρτη του Διός, κριον ένα κατακόψαντες καὶ ἀποδείραντες κατά τώυτὸ ενδύουσι τώγαλμα τοῦ Διός, καὶ ἔπειτα ἄλλο

# BOOK II. 41-42

respecting these also; for they, too, may not be killed.

42. All that have among them a temple of Zeus of Thebes, or are of the Theban province, sacrifice goats but will not touch sheep. For no gods are worshipped in common by the whole of Egypt save only Isis and Osiris, whom they say to be Dionysus; these are worshipped by all alike. Those who have a temple of Mendes 1 or are of the Mendesian province sacrifice sheep, but will not touch goats. The Thebans, and those who by the Theban example will not touch sheep give the following reason for their ordinance: Heracles 2 (they say) would by all means look upon Zeus, and Zeus would not be seen by him. At last, being earnestly entreated by Heracles, Zeus contrived a device, whereby he showed himself wearing the head and the fleece of a ram which he had flaved and beheaded. It is from this that the Egyptian images of Zeus have a ram's head; and in this the Egyptians are imitated by the Ammonians, who are colonists from Egypt and Ethiopia and speak a language compounded of the tongues of both countries. It was from this, I think, that the Ammonians got their name too; for Amun is the Egyptian name for Zeus. The Thebans, then, hold rams sacred for this reason, and do not sacrifice them. But on one day in the year, at the festival of Zeus, they cut in pieces and flay a single ram and put the fleece on the image of Zeus, as in the story; then

to monuments. Here Mendes apparently = Osiris.

<sup>2</sup> The Greeks identified with Heracles an Egyptian god Shu (called at Thebes Chonsu-Neferhotep, 'Αγαθοδαίμων').

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Mendes, Greek form of Binded, a town in the Delta where Osiris was worshipped in the form of a ram, according to monuments. Here Mendes apparently = Osiris.

ἄγαλμα Ἡρακλέος προσάγουσι πρὸς αὐτό. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες τύπτονται οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἄπαντες τὸν κριὸν καὶ ἔπειτα ἐν ἱρῆ θήκη θάπτουσι αὐτόν.

43. Ἡρακλέος δὲ πέρι τόνδε τὸν λόγον ἤκουσα, ότι είη των δυώδεκα θεών του έτέρου δὲ πέρι Ήρακλέος, τον Έλληνες οίδασι, ούδαμη Αίγύπτου έδυνάσθην ἀκοῦσαι. καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε οὐ παρ' Έλλήνων έλαβον τὸ οὔνομα Αἰγύπτιοι τοῦ Ἡρακλέος, άλλά "Ελληνες μάλλον παρ' Αίγυπτίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων οὖτοι οἱ θέμενοι τῷ Αμφιτρύωνος γόνω τούνομα Ἡρακλέα, πολλά μοι καὶ ἄλλα τεκμήρια έστὶ τοῦτο οὕτω ἔχειν, ἐν δὲ καὶ τόδε, ότι τε τοῦ Ἡρακλέος τούτου οἱ γονέες ἀμφότεροι ήσαν 'Αμφιτρύων καὶ 'Αλκμήνη γεγονότες τὸ ανέκαθεν απ' Αλγύπτου, καλ διότι Αλγύπτιοι ούτε Ποσειδέωνος ούτε Διοσκούρων τὰ οὐνόματα φασί είδεναι, οὐδε σφι θεοί ούτοι εν τοίσι ἄλλοισι θεοίσι ἀποδεδέχαται. καὶ μὴν εἴ γε παρ' Έλλήνων έλαβον ούνομά τευ δαίμονος, τούτων ούκ ήκιστα άλλα μάλιστα έμελλον μνήμην έξειν, εί περ καί τότε ναυτιλίησι έχρέωντο και ήσαν Έλλήνων τινές ναυτίλοι, ώς έλπομαί τε καὶ έμη γνώμη αίρεει ωστε τούτων αν και μαλλον των θεών τα οὐνόματα έξεπιστέατο Αἰγύπτιοι ή τοῦ Ἡρακλέος. άλλά τις άρχαίος έστι θεός Αίγυπτίοισι Ήρακλέης ώς δε αυτοί λέγουσι, έτεα έστι έπτακισχίλια καὶ μύρια ἐς "Αμασιν βασιλεύσαντα, έπείτε έκ των όκτω θεων οι δυώδεκα θεοί έγενοντο τῶν Ἡρακλέα ἔνα νομίζουσι.

44. Καὶ θέλων δὲ τούτων πέρι σαφές τι εἰδέναι έξ ὧν οἰόν τε ἦν, ἔπλευσα καὶ ἐς Τύρον τῆς they bring an image of Heracles near to it. Having done this, all that are about the temple mourn for the ram, and presently bury it in a sacred coffer.

43. Concerning Heracles, I heard it said that he was one of the twelve gods. But I could nowhere in Egypt hear anything concerning the other Heracles, whom the Greeks know. I have indeed many proofs that the name of Heracles did not come from Hellas to Egypt, but from Egypt to Hellas (and in Hellas to those Greeks who gave the name Heracles to the son of Amphitryon); and this is the chief among them-that Amphitryon and Alcmene, the parents of this Heracles, were both by descent Egyptian; 1 and that the Egyptians deny knowledge of the names of Poseidon and the Dioscuri, nor are these gods reckoned among the gods of Egypt. Yet had they got the name of any deity from the Greeks, it was these more than any that they were like to remember, if indeed they were already making sea voyages and the Greeks too had seafaring men, as I suppose and judge; so that the names of these gods would have been even better known to the Egyptians than the name of Heracles. Nay, Heracles is a very ancient god in Egypt; as the Egyptians themselves say, the change of the eight gods to the twelve, of whom they deem Heracles one, was made seventeen thousand years before the reign of Amasis.

44. Moreover, wishing to get clear knowledge of this matter whence it was possible so to do, I took

As grandchildren of Perseus, for whose Egyptian origin see 91.

Φοινίκης, πυνθανόμενος αὐτόθι είναι ίρὸν Ἡρακλέος άγιον, καὶ είδον πλουσίως κατεσκευασμένον άλλοισί τε πολλοίσι αναθήμασι, καὶ ἐν αὐτῶ ήσαν στήλαι δύο, ή μεν χρυσου ἀπέφθου, ή δε σμαράγδου λίθου λάμποντος τὰς νύκτας μέγαθος. ές λόγους δὲ ἐλθών τοῖσι ἱρεῦσι τοῦ θεοῦ εἰρόμην όκόσος χρόνος είη έξ οῦ σφι τὸ ίρὸν ίδρυται. εύρον δέ οὐδὲ τούτους τοίσι "Ελλησι συμφερομένους έφασαν γαρ αμα Τύρφ οἰκιζομένη καὶ τὸ ίρον του θεου ίδρυθήναι, είναι δε έτεα άπ' ου Τύρον οἰκέουσι τριηκόσια καὶ δισχίλια. είδον δὲ έν τη Τύρω καὶ άλλο ίρον Ἡρακλέος ἐπωνυμίην έχοντος Θασίου είναι ἀπικόμην δὲ καὶ ἐς Θάσον, έν τη εύρον ίρον Ήρακλέος ύπο Φοινίκων ίδρυμένον, οί κατ' Εὐρώπης ζήτησιν ἐκπλώσαντες Θάσον έκτισαν καὶ ταῦτα καὶ πέντε γενεῆσι ανδρών πρότερα έστὶ ή τὸν 'Αμφιτρύωνος Ήρακλέα έν τη Ελλάδι γενέσθαι. τὰ μέν νυν ίστορημένα δηλοί σαφέως παλαιον θεον Ηρακλέα έόντα, καὶ δοκέουσι δέ μοι οῦτοι ὀρθότατα Έλλήνων ποιέειν, οι διξά Ἡράκλεια ίδρυσάμενοι έκτηνται, καὶ τῶ μὲν ὡς ἀθανάτω 'Ολυμπίω δὲ ἐπωνυμίην θύουσι, τῶ δὲ ἐτέρω ὡς ήρωι έναγίζουσι.

45. Λέγουσι δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἀνεπισκέπτως οἱ "Ελληνες, εὐήθης δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὅδε ὁ μῦθος ἐστὶ τὸν περὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέος λέγουσι, ὡς αὐτὸν ἀπικόμενον ἐς Αἴγυπτον στέψαντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ὑπὸ πομπῆς ἐξῆγον ὡς θύσοντες τῷ Διί· τὸν δὲ τέως μὲν ἡσυχίην ἔχειν, ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Tyrian god Melkart.

# BOOK II. 44-45

ship to Tyre in Phoenice, where I heard that there was a very holy temple of Heracles.1 There I saw it, richly equipped with many other offerings, besides that in it there were two pillars, one of refined gold, one of emerald, a great pillar that shone in the night-time; and in converse with the priests I asked how long it was since their temple was built. I found that neither did their account tally with the belief of the Greeks; for they said that the temple of the god was founded when Tyre first became a city. and that was two thousand three hundred years since. At Tyre I saw yet another temple of that Heracles called the Thasian. Then I went to Thasos, too, where I found a temple of Heracles built by the Phoenicians, who made a settlement there when they voyaged to discover Europe; now they did so as much as five generations before the birth in Hellas of Heracles the son of Amphitryon. Therefore, what I have discovered by inquiry plainly shows that Heracles is an ancient god. And further: those Greeks, I think, are most in the right, who have established and practise two worships of Heracles, sacrificing to one Heracles as to an immortal, and calling him the Olympian, but to the other bringing offerings as to a dead hero.2

45. But among the many ill-considered tales told by the Greeks, this is a very foolish story which they relate about Heracles—how when he came to Egypt the Egyptians crowned him and led him out in a procession to sacrifice him to Zeus; and for a while (they say) he followed quietly, but when they began

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> There is a dual Heracles in the Odyssey, xi. 601 seqq. An είδωλον of him is seen in the world of the dead; but "he himself" is an immortal among the gods of heaven.

κατάρχοντο, ες άλκην τραπόμενον πάντας σφέας καταφονεύσαι. εμοί μέν νυν δοκέουσι ταῦτα λέγοντες της Αίγυπτίων φύσιος καὶ τῶν νόμων πάμπαν ἀπείρως ἔχειν οἱ "Ελληνες: τοῖσι γὰροὐδὲ κτήνεα ὁσίη θύειν ἐστὶ χωρὶς ὑῶν καὶ ἐρσένων βοῶν καὶ μόσχων, ὅσοι ᾶν καθαροὶ ἔωσι, καὶ χηνῶν, κῶς ᾶν οὖτοι ἀνθρώπους θύοιεν; ἔτι δὲ ἔνα ἐόντα τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ ἔτι ἄνθρωπον, ὡς δὴ φασί, κῶς φύσιν ἔχει πολλὰς μυριάδας φονεῦσαι; καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων τοσαῦτα ἡμῦν εἰποῦσι καὶ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἡρώων εἰμενείη εἴη.

46. Τὰς δὲ δὴ αίγας καὶ τοὺς τράγους τῶνδε είνεκα οὐ θύουσι Αίγυπτίων οἱ εἰρημένοι τὸν Πάνα των δκτω θεων λογίζονται είναι οἱ Μενδήσιοι, τούς δὲ ὀκτώ θεούς τούτους προτέρους τών δυώδεκα θεών φασι γενέσθαι. γράφουσί τε δή καὶ γλύφουσι οἱ ζωγράφοι καὶ οἱ ἀγαλματοποιοὶ τοῦ Πανὸς τώγαλμα κατά περ "Ελληνες αἰγοπρόσωπον καὶ τραγοσκελέα, οὔτι τοιοῦτον νομίζοντες είναι μιν άλλα όμοιον τοισι άλλοισι θεοίσι ότευ δὲ είνεκα τοιούτον γράφουσι αὐτόν, οὔ μοι ήδιον έστι λέγειν. σέβονται δὲ πάντας τοὺς αίγας οί Μενδήσιοι, καὶ μάλλον τοὺς ἔρσενας τῶν θηλέων. καὶ τούτων οἱ αἰπόλοι τιμὰς μέζονας ἔχουσι: ἐκ δὲ τούτων ένα μάλιστα, όστις ἐπεὰν ἀποθάνη, πένθος μέγα παντί τῷ Μενδησίω νομῷ τίθεται. καλέεται δὲ ὅ τε τράγος καὶ ὁ Πὰν Αίγυπτιστὶ Μένδης. έγένετο δὲ ἐν τῶ νομῶ τούτω ἐπ' ἐμεῦ τοῦτο τὸ τέρας γυναικί τράγος ἐμίσγετο ἀναφανδόν, τοῦτο ές ἐπίδεξιν ἀνθρώπων ἀπίκετο.

47. "Υν δὲ Λίγύπτιοι μιαρὸν ἥγηνται θηρίον είναι, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἤν τις ψαύση αὐτῶν παριὼν

the first rites of sacrifice upon him at the altar, he resisted and slew them all. Now it seems to me that by this story the Greeks show themselves wholly ignorant of the nature and customs of the Egyptians; for how should they sacrifice men, who are forbidden to sacrifice even the lower animals, save only swine and bulls and bull-calves, if they be unblemished, and geese? Moreover, Heracles being alone, and only a man too, as they say, how is it natural that he should slay a countless multitude? So much I say of this matter; may no god or hero be displeased with me therefor!

46. This is the reason why the Egyptians of whom I have spoken sacrifice no goats, male or female: the Mendesians reckon Pan among the eight gods, who, they say, were before the twelve gods. Now in their painting and sculpture the image of Pan is made as among the Greeks with the head and the legs of a goat; not that he is deemed to be in truth such, or unlike to other gods; but why they so present him I have no wish to say. The Mendesians hold all goats sacred, the male even more than the female, and goatherds are held in especial honour: one he-goat is most sacred of all; when he dies it is ordained that there should be great mourning in all the Mendesian province. In the Egyptian language Mendes is the name both for the he-goat and for Pan. In my lifetime a monstrous thing happened in this province, a woman having open intercourse with a he-goat. This came to be publicly known.

47. Swine are held by the Egyptians to be unclean beasts. Firstly, if an Egyptian touch a hog in

ύος, αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἱματίοισι ἀπ' ὧν ἔβαψε ἐωυτὸν Βάς ές του ποταμόν τούτο δε οί συβωται εόντες Αἰγύπτιοι ἐγγενέες ἐς ἱρὸν οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτω έσεργονται μούνοι πάντων, οὐδέ σφι ἐκδίδοσθαι ούδεις θυγατέρα εθέλει ούδ άγεσθαι εξ αύτων. άλλ' ἐκδίδονταί τε οἱ συβώται καὶ ἄγονται ἐξ άλλήλων. τοίσι μέν νυν άλλοισι θεοίσι θύειν ύς οὐ δικαιεύσι Αἰγύπτιοι, Σελήνη δὲ καὶ Διονύσω μούνοισι τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου, τῆ αὐτῆ πανσελήνω, τούς δς θύσαντες πατέονται των κρεών. διότι δὲ τοὺς ὖς ἐν μὲν τῆσι ἄλλησι ὁρτῆσι ἀπεστυγήκασι έν δὲ ταύτη θύουσι, ἔστι μὲν λόγος περί αὐτοῦ ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων λεγόμενος, ἐμοὶ μέντοι ἐπισταμένω ούκ εύπρεπέστερος έστι λέγεσθαι. θυσίη δὲ ήδε τῶν ὑῶν τῆ Σελήνη ποιέεται ἐπεὰν θύση, την ούρην ἄκρην καὶ τὸν σπληνα καὶ τὸν ἐπίπλοον συνθεὶς ὁμοῦ κατ' ὧν ἐκάλυψε πάση τοῦ κτήνεος τῆ πιμελη τῆ περί τὴν νηδὺν γινομένη, καὶ ἔπειτα καταγίζει πυρί· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κρέα σιτέονται έν τη πανσελήνω έν τη αν τα ίρα θύσωσι, ἐν ἄλλη δὲ ἡμέρη οὐκ αν ἔτι γευσαίατο. οί δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν ὑπ' ἀσθενείης βίου σταιτίνας πλάσαντες ὖς καὶ ὀπτήσαντες ταύτας θύουσι.

48. Τῷ δὲ Διονύσῷ τῆς ὁρτῆς τῆ δορπίη χοῖρον πρὸ τῶν θυρέων σφάξας ἔκαστος διδοῖ ἀποφέρεσθαι τὸν χοῖρον αὐτῷ τῷ ἀποδομένῷ τῶν συβωτέων. τὴν δὲ ἄλλην ἀνάγουσι ὁρτὴν τῷ Διονύσῷ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι πλὴν χορῶν κατὰ ταὐτὰ σχεδὸν πάντα "Ελλησι· ἀντὶ δὲ φαλλῶν ἄλλα σφι ἐστὶ ἐξευρημένα, ὅσον τε πηχυαῖα ἀγάλματα νευρόσπαστα, τὰ περιφορέουσι κατὰ κώμας γυναῖκες, νεῦον τὸ αἰδοῖον, οὐ πολλῷ τεῷ ἔλασσον

# BOOK II, 47-48

passing by, he goes to the river and dips himself in it, clothed as he is; and secondly, swineherds, native born Egyptians though they be, are alone of all men forbidden to enter any Egyptian temple; nor will any give a swineherd his daughter in marriage, nor take a wife from their women; but swineherds intermarry among themselves. Nor do the Egyptians think right to sacrifice swine to any god save the Moon and Dionysus; to these they sacrifice their swine at the same time, in the same season of full moon; then they eat of the flesh. The Egyptians have an account of the reason why they sacrifice swine at this festival. yet abominate them at others: I know it, but it is not fitting that I should relate it. But this is how they sacrifice swine to the Moon: the sacrificer lays the end of the tail and the spleen and the caul together and covers them up with all the fat that he finds about the belly, then burns all with fire; as for the rest of the flesh, they eat it at the time of full moon when they sacrifice the victim; but they will not taste it on any other day. Poor men, having but slender means, mould swine of dough, which they then bake and sacrifice.

48. To Dionysus, on the evening of his festival, everyone offers a porker which he kills before his door and then gives to the swineherd himself who has sold it, for him to take away. The rest of the festival of Dionysus is ordered by the Egyptians much as it is by the Greeks, except for the dances; but in place of the phallus they have invented the use of puppets a cubit long moved by strings, which are carried about the villages by women, the male member moving and near as big as the rest of the

έὸν τοῦ ἄλλου σώματος: προηγέεται δὲ αὐλός, αὶ δὲ ἔπονται ἀείδουσαι τὸν Διόνυσον. διότι δὲ μέζον τε ἔχει τὸ αἰδοῖον καὶ κινέει μοῦνον τοῦ σώματος,

έστι λόγος περί αὐτοῦ ίρὸς λεγόμενος.

49. "Ηδη ων δοκέει μοι Μελάμπους ο Αμυθέωνος της θυσίης ταύτης ούκ είναι άδαης άλλ' έμπειρος. "Ελλησι γαρ δη Μελάμπους έστι δ έξηγησάμενος τοῦ Διονύσου τό τε οὔνομα καὶ τὴν θυσίην καὶ την πομπην του φαλλού άτρεκέως μέν οὐ πάντα συλλαβών τον λόγον έφηνε, άλλ' οί ἐπιγενόμενοι τούτω σοφισταί μεζόνως εξέφηναν τον δ' ών φαλλον τον τω Διονύσω πεμπόμενον Μελάμπους έστὶ ὁ κατηγησάμενος, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου μαθόντες ποιεύσι τὰ ποιεύσι Ελληνες. ἐγὰ μέν νυν φημί Μελάμποδα γενόμενον ἄνδρα σοφὸν μαντικήν τε έωυτω συστήσαι και πυθόμενον απ' Αίγύπτου άλλα τε πολλά ἐσηγήσασθαι Έλλησι καὶ τὰ περί του Διόνυσου, ολίγα αὐτῶν παραλλάξαντα. ού γάρ δη συμπεσείν γε φήσω τά τε έν Αίγύπτω ποιεύμενα τῶ θεῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖσι "Ελλησι ὁμότροπα γάρ αν ήν τοίσι "Ελλησι καὶ οὐ νεωστὶ έσηγμένα. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ φήσω ὅκως Αἰγύπτιοι παρ' Έλλήνων έλαβον ή τοῦτο ή άλλο κού τι νόμαιον. πυθέσθαι δέ μοι δοκέει μάλιστα Μελάμπους τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον παρὰ Κάδμου τε τοῦ Τυρίου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ Φοινίκης ἀπικομένων ές την νθν Βοιωτίην καλεομένην χώρην.

50. Σχεδον δε καὶ πάντων τὰ οὐνόματα τῶν θεῶν εξ Αἰγύπτου ελήλυθε ες τὴν Ἑλλάδα. διότι μεν γὰρ εκ τῶν βαρβάρων ἤκει, πυνθανόμενος οὕτω εὑρίσκω εόν δοκέω δ΄ ὧν μάλιστα ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπίχθαι. ὅτι γὰρ δὴ μὴ Ποσειδέωνος καὶ Διοσ-

body; a flute-player goes before, the women follow after, singing of Dionysus. There is a sacred legend which gives the reason for the appearance and

motions of these puppets.

49. Now, this being so, it seems to me that Melampus son of Amytheon was not ignorant but had attained knowledge of this sacrifice. For it was Melampus who taught the Greeks the name of Dionysus, and the way of sacrificing to him, and the phallic procession; I would not in strictness say that he showed them completely the whole matter, for the later teachers added somewhat to his showing: but it was from him that the Greeks learnt to bear the phallus along in honour of Dionysus, and they got their present practice from his teaching. I think, then, that Melampus showed himself a cunning man, in that he set himself up for a prophet, and his teaching of the worship of Dionysus, besides much else, came from Egypt with but slight change; for I will not admit that it is a chance agreement between the Egyptian ritual of Dionysus and the Greek; for were that so, the Greek ritual would be of a Greek nature and not but lately introduced. Nor yet will I hold that the Egyptians took either this or any other custom from the Greeks. But I believe that Melampus learnt the worship of Dionysus chiefly from Cadmus of Tyre and those who came with Cadmus from Phoenice to the land now called Boeotia.

50. Indeed, wellnigh all the names of the gods came to Hellas from Egypt. For I am assured by inquiry that they have come from foreign parts, and I believe that they came chiefly from Egypt. Except the names of Poseidon and the Dioscuri, as I have

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κούρων, ώς καὶ πρότερόν μοι ταῦτα εἴρηται, καὶ Ἡρης καὶ Ἱστίης καὶ Θέμιος καὶ Χαρίτων καὶ Νηρηίδων, τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν Αἰγυπτίοισι αἰεί κοτε τὰ οὐνόματα ἐστὶ ἐν τῆ χώρη. λέγω δὲ τὰ λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι. τῶν δὲ οὔ φασι θεῶν γινώσκειν τὰ οὐνόματα, οὖτοι δέ μοι δοκέουσι ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν ὀνομασθῆναι, πλὴν Ποσειδέωνος τοῦτον δὲ τὸν θεὸν παρὰ Λιβύων ἐπύθοντο οὐδαμοὶ γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς Ποσειδέωνος οὔνομα ἔκτηνται εἰ μὴ Λίβυες καὶ τιμῶσι τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον αἰεί. νομί-

ζουσι δ' ὧν Αἰγύπτιοι οὐδ' ήρωσι οὐδέν.

51. Ταθτα μέν νυν καὶ άλλα πρὸς τούτοισι, τὰ έγω φράσω, "Ελληνες ἀπ' Αίγυπτίων νενομίκασι. τοῦ δὲ Ερμέω τὰ ἀγάλματα ὀρθὰ ἔγειν τὰ αίδοῖα ποιεύντες οὐκ ἀπ' Αίγυπτίων μεμαθήκασι, ἀλλ' άπο Πελασγών πρώτοι μέν Ελλήνων άπάντων 'Αθηναίοι παραλαβόντες, παρά δὲ τούτων ὧλλοι. 'Αθηναίοισι γὰρ ήδη τηνικαθτα ές "Ελληνας τελέουσι Πελασγοί σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο ἐν τῆ χώρη, όθεν περ καί "Ελληνες ήρξαντο νομισθήναι. όστις δὲ τὰ Καβείρων ὄργια μεμύηται, τὰ Σαμοθρήικες έπιτελέουσι παραλαβόντες παρά Πελασγών, ούτος ώνηρ οίδε τὸ λέγω την γαρ Σαμοθρηίκην οίκεον πρότερον Πελασγοί ούτοι οί περ 'Αθηναίοισι σύνοικοι εγένοντο, καὶ παρὰ τούτων Σαμοθρήικες τὰ ὄργια παραλαμβάνουσι. ὀρθὰ ὧν ἔγειν τὰ αίδοια τάγάλματα του Έρμέω Αθηναίοι πρώτοι Ελλήνων μαθόντες παρά Πελασγών ἐποιήσαντο οι δε Πελασγοί ίρου τινα λόγου περί αὐτοῦ έλεξαν, τὰ ἐν τοῖσι ἐν Σαμοθρηίκη μυστηρίοισι δεδήλωται.

52. Έθυον δὲ πάντα πρότερον οἱ Πελασγοὶ θεοῖσι ἐπευχόμενοι, ὡς ἐγὼ ἐν Δωδώνη οἰδα ἀκού-

already said, and Here, and Hestia, and Themis, and the Graces and the Nereids, the names of all the gods have ever existed in Egypt. I say but what the Egyptians themselves say. The gods whose names they say they do not know were, as I think, named by the Pelasgians, save only Poseidon, of whom they learnt knowledge from the Libyans. Alone of all nations the Libyans have had among them the name of Poseidon from the first, and they have ever honoured this god. The Egyptians did not so; nor

do they worship heroes.

51. These customs then and others besides, which I shall show, were taken by the Greeks from the Egyptians. It was not so with the ithyphallic images of Hermes; the making of these came from the Pelasgians, from whom the Athenians were the first of all Greeks to take it, and then handed it on to others. For the Athenians were then already counted as Greeks when the Pelasgians came to dwell in the land with them, and thereby began to be considered as Greeks. Whoever has been initiated into the rites of the Cabeiri, which the Samothracians learnt from the Pelasgians and now practice, he understands what my meaning is. Samothrace was formerly inhabited by those Pelasgians who came to dwell among the Athenians, and it is from them that the Samothracians take their rites. The Athenians, then, were the first Greeks to make ithyphallic images of Hermes, and this they did because the Pelasgians taught them. The Pelasgians told a certain sacred tale about this, which is set forth in the Samothracian mysteries.

52. Formerly, in their sacrifices, the Pelasgians called upon gods (this I know, for I was told at

σας, ἐπωνυμίην δὲ οὐδ' οὔνομα ἐποιεῦντο οὐδενὶ αὐτῶν οὐ γὰρ ἀκηκοεσάν κω. θεοὺς δὲ προσωνόμασαν σφέας άπο του τοιούτου, ὅτι κόσμο θέντες τὰ πάντα πρήγματα καὶ πάσας νομάς έπειτα δὲ χρόνου πολλοῦ διεξελθόντος ἐπύθοντο ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀπικόμενα τὰ οὐνόματα των θεών των άλλων. Διονύσου δὲ ὕστερον πολλω έπύθοντο. καὶ μετά γρόνον έγρηστηριάζοντο περί των οὐνομάτων ἐν Δωδώνη τὸ γὰρ δὴ μαντήιον τούτο νενόμισται άρχαιότατον των έν Έλλησι χρηστηρίων είναι, καὶ ἡν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον μοῦνου. ἐπεὶ ὧν ἐχρηστηριάζοντο ἐν τῆ Δωδώνη οί Πελασγοί εἰ ἀνέλωνται τὰ οὐνόματα τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ήκοντα, άνείλε το μαντήιον χρασθαι. ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου ἔθυον τοῖσι οὐνόμασι τῶν θεῶν χρεώμενοι· παρὰ δὲ Πελασγῶν "Ελληνες έξεδέξαντο υστερον.

53. Ένθεν δὲ ἐγένοντο ἔκαστος τῶν θεῶν, εἴτε αἰεὶ ἤσαν πάντες, ὁκοῖοί τε τινὲς τὰ εἴδεα, οὐκ ἤπιστέατο μέχρι οὖ πρώην τε καὶ χθὲς ὡς εἰπεῖν λόγω. Ἡσίοδον γὰρ καὶ "Ομηρον ήλικίην τετρακοσίοισι ἔτεσι δοκέω μευ πρεσβυτέρους γενέσθαι καὶ οὖ πλέοσι· οὖτοι δὲ εἰσὶ οἱ ποιήσαντες θεογονίην "Ελλησι καὶ τοῖσι θεοῖσι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας δόντες καὶ τιμάς τε καὶ τέχνας διελόντες καὶ εἴδεα αὐτῶν σημήναντες· οἱ δὲ πρότερον ποιηταὶ λεγόμενοι τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν γενέσθαι ὕστερον, ἔμοιγε δοκέειν, ἐγένοντο. τούτων τὰ μὲν πρῶτα αἱ Δωδωνίδες ἱρεῖαι λέγουσι, τὰ δὲ ὕστερα τὰ ἐς Ἡσίοδόν

τε καὶ "Ομηρον ἔχοντα ἐγὼ λέγω.

54. Χρηστηρίων δὲ πέρι τοῦ τε ἐν "Ελλησι καὶ

Dodona) without giving name or appellation to any; for they had not as yet heard of such. They called them gods 1 because all things and the due assignment thereof were by them set in order. Then, after a long while, they learnt the names first of the rest of the gods, which came to them from Egypt, and, much later, the name of Dionysus; and presently they inquired of the oracle at Dodona concerning the names; for this place of divination is held to be the most ancient in Hellas, and at that time it was the only one. When the Pelasgians, then, inquired at Dodona if they should adopt the names that had come from foreign parts, the oracle bade them use the names. From that time onwards they used the names of the gods in their sacrifices; and the Greeks received these later from the Pelasgians.

53. But whence each of the gods came into being, or whether they had all for ever existed, and what outward forms they had, the Greeks knew not till (so to say) a very little while ago; for I suppose that the time of Hesiod and Homer was not more than four hundred years before my own; and these are they who taught the Greeks of the descent of the gods, and gave to all their several names, and honours, and arts, and declared their outward forms. But those poets who are said to be older than Hesiod and Homer were, to my thinking, of later birth. The earlier part of all this is what the priestesses of Dodona tell: the later, that which concerns Hesiod

and Homer, is what I myself sav.

54. But as concerning the oracles in Hellas, and

<sup>1</sup> On the supposition that bebs meant "a disposer," connected with θεσμός, τίθημι, etc.

τοῦ ἐν Λιβύη τόνδε Αἰγύπτιοι λόγον λέγουσι. ἔφασαν οἱ ἱρέες τοῦ Θηβαιέος Διὸς δύο γυναῖκας ἱρείας ἐκ Θηβέων ἐξαχθῆναι ὑπὸ Φοινίκων, καὶ τὴν μὲν αὐτέων πυθέσθαι ἐς Λιβύην πρηθεῖσαν τὴν δὲ ἐς τοὺς Έλληνας ταύτας δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας εἶναι τὰς ἱδρυσαμένας τὰ μαντήια πρώτας ἐν τοῖσι εἰρημένοισι ἔθνεσι. εἰρομένου δέ μευ ὁκόθεν οὕτω ἀτρεκέως ἐπιστάμενοι λέγουσι, ἔφασαν πρὸς ταῦτα ζήτησιν μεγάλην ἀπὸ σφέων γενέσθαι τῶν γυναικῶν τουτέων, καὶ ἀνευρεῖν μὲν σφέας οὐ δυνατοὶ γενέσθαι, πυθέσθαι δὲ ὕστερον ταῦτα περὶ

αὐτέων τά περ δη ἔλεγον.

55. Ταθτα μέν νυν των έν Θήβησι ίρέων ήκουον. τάδε δὲ Δωδωναίων φασί αι προμάντιες δύο πελειάδας μελαίνας έκ Θηβέων των Αίγυπτιέων άναπταμένας την μέν αὐτέων ές Λιβύην την δέ παρά σφέας ἀπικέσθαι, ίζομένην δέ μιν ἐπὶ φηγὸν αὐδάξασθαι φωνή ἀνθρωπηίη ὡς χρεὸν εἴη μαντήιον αὐτόθι Διὸς γενέσθαι, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑπολαβεῖν θείον είναι τὸ ἐπαγγελλόμενον αὐτοίσι, καί σφεας έκ τούτου ποιήσαι. την δέ ές τούς Λίβυας οίγομένην πελειάδα λέγουσι 'Αμμωνος χρηστήριον κελεύσαι τους Λίβυας ποιέειν έστι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο Δωδωναίων δὲ αἱ ἱρεῖαι, τῶν τῆ πρεσβυ-Diós. τάτη ούνομα ήν Προμένεια, τη δὲ μετὰ ταύτην Τιμαρέτη, τη δε νεωτάτη Νικάνδρη, έλεγον ταῦτα: συνωμολόγεον δέ σφι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Δωδωναῖοι οἱ περί το ίρον.

56. Έγω δ' ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν γνώμην τήνδε εἰ ἀληθέως οἱ Φοίνικες ἐξήγαγον τὰς ἱρὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν μὲν αὐτέων ἐς Λιβύην τὴν δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπέδοντο, δοκέειν ἐμοί, ἡ γυνὴ αὕτη τῆς

that one which is in Libya, this is the account given by the Egyptians. The priests of Zeus of Thebes told me that two priestesses had been carried away from Thebes by Phoenicians; one of them (so, they said, they had learnt) was taken away and sold in Libva, and the other in Hellas: these women, they said, were the first founders of places of divination in the countries aforesaid. When I asked them how it was that they could speak with so certain knowledge, they said in reply that their people had sought diligently for these women, and had never been able to find them, but had learnt later the tale which was

now told to me.

55. That, then, I heard from the Theban priests: and what follows, is told by the prophetesses of Dodona: to wit, that two black doves had come flying from Thebes in Egypt, one to Libya and one to Dodona: this last settled on a beech tree, and uttered there human speech, declaring that there must be there a place of divination from Zeus; the people of Dodona understood that the message was divine, and therefore they established the oracular shrine. The dove which came to Libva bade the Libvans (so they say) to make an oracle of Ammon; this also is sacred to Zeus. Such was the tale told by the Dodonaean priestesses, of whom the eldest was Promeneia and the next in age Timarete, and the youngest Nicandra: and the rest of the servants of the temple at Dodona likewise held it true.

56. But this is my own belief about it. Phoenicians did in truth carry away the sacred women and sell one in Libya and one in Hellas, then to my thinking the part of what is now Hellas, but

νῦν Ἑλλάδος, πρότερον δὲ Πελασγίης καλευμένης τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης, πρηθῆναι ἐς Θεσπρωτούς, ἔπειτα δουλεύουσα αὐτόθι ἱδρύσασθαι ὑπὸ φηγῷ πεφυκυίη ἰρὸν Διός, ὥσπερ ἢν οἰκὸς ἀμφιπολεύουσαν ἐν Θήβησι ἱρὸν Διός, ἔνθα ἀπίκετο, ἐνθαῦτα μνήμην αὐτοῦ ἔχειν' ἐκ δὲ τούτου χρηστήριον κατηγήσατο, ἐπείτε συνέλαβε τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν' φάναι δὲ οἱ ἀδελφεὴν ἐν Λιβύη πεπρῆσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν Φοινίκων ὑπ' ὧν καὶ αὐτὴ ἐπρήθη.

57. Πελειάδες δέ μοι δοκέουσι κληθήναι πρὸς Δωδωναίων ἐπὶ τοῦδε αἱ γυναῖκες, διότι βάρβαροι ἡσαν, ἐδόκεον δέ σφι ὁμοίως ὅρνισι φθέγγεσθαι μετὰ δὲ χρόνον τὴν πελειάδα ἀνθρωπηίη φωνἢ αὐδάξασθαι λέγουσι, ἐπείτε συνετά σφι ηὕδα ἡ γυνή εως δὲ ἐβαρβάριζε, ὅρνιθος τρόπον ἐδόκε έ σφι φθέγγεσθαι, ἐπεὶ τέω ἂν τρόπω πελειάς γε ἀνθρωπηίη φωνἢ φθέγξαιτο; μέλαιναν δὲ λέγοντες εἶναι τὴν πελειάδα σημαίνουσι ὅτι Αἰγυπτίη ἡ γυνὴ ἦν.

58. Ἡ δὲ μαντηίη ἢ τε ἐν Θήβησι τῆσι Αἰγυπτίησι καὶ ἐν Δωδώνη παραπλήσιαι ἀλλήλησι
τυγχάνουσι ἐοῦσαι. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱρῶν ἡ μαντικὴ ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπιγμένη. πανηγύρις δὲ ἄρα
καὶ πομπὰς καὶ προσαγωγὰς πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων
Αἰγύπτιοι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιησάμενοι, καὶ παρὰ τούτων
"Ελληνες μεμαθήκασι. τεκμήριον δέ μοι τούτου
τόδε· αἱ μὲν γὰρ φαίνονται ἐκ πολλοῦ τευ χρόνου
ποιεύμεναι, αἱ δὲ Ἑλληνικαὶ νεωστὶ ἐποιήθησαν.

59. Πανηγυρίζουσι δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι οὐκ ἄπαξ τοῦ

was formerly called Pelasgia, where this last was sold, was Thesprotia; and presently, being there in slavery, she established a shrine of Zeus under a growing beech tree; for it was reasonable that as she had been a handmaid of the temple of Zeus at Thebes she should remember that temple in the land to which she had come. After this she taught divination, as soon as she understood the Greek language; and she said that her sister had been sold in Libya

by the same Phoenicians who sold her.

57. I suppose that these women were called "doves" by the people of Dodona because they spoke a strange language, and the people thought it like the cries of birds; presently the woman spoke what they could understand, and that is why they say that the dove uttered human speech; as long as she spoke in her foreign language, they thought her voice was like the voice of a bird. For how could a dove utter the speech of men? The tale that the dove was black signifies that the woman was Egyptian.<sup>1</sup>

58. The fashions of divination at Thebes of Egypt and Dodona are like to one another; moreover the practice of divining from the sacrificed victim has also come from Egypt. It would seem too that the Egyptians were the first people to establish solemn assemblies, and processions, and services; the Greeks learnt all this from them. I hold this proved, because the Egyptian ceremonies are manifestly very

ancient, and the Greek are of late origin.

59. The Egyptians hold solemn assemblies not

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Perhaps Herodotus' explanation is right. But the name "doves" may be purely symbolic; thus priestesses of Demeter and Artemis were sometimes called Bees,

ένιαυτοῦ, πανηγύρις δὲ συχνάς, μάλιστα μὲν καὶ προθυμότατα ἐς Βούβαστιν πόλιν τῆ ᾿Αρτέμιδι, δεύτερα δὲ ἐς Βούσιριν πόλιν τῆ ἸΓι ἐν ταύτη γὰρ δὴ τῆ πόλι ἐστὶ μέγιστον ἸΓιος ἱρόν, ἴδρυται δὲ ἡ πόλις αὕτη τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐν μέσφ τῷ Δέλτα: ἸΓις δὲ ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν Δημήτηρ. τρίτα δὲ ἐς Σάιν πόλιν τῆ ᾿Αθηναίη πανηγυρίζουσι, τέταρτα δὲ ἐς Ἡλίον πόλιν τῷ Ἡλίφ, πέμπτα δὲ ἐς Βουτοῦν πόλιν τῆ Λητοῦ, ἕκτα δὲ ἐς

Πάπρημιν πόλιν τῷ "Αρεϊ.

60. Ές μέν νυν Βούβαστιν πόλιν ἐπεὰν κομίζωνται, ποιεύσι τοιάδε. πλέουσί τε γάρ δη άμα άνδοες γυναιξί και πολλόν τι πλήθος έκατέρων έν έκάστη βάρι αι μέν τινές των γυναικών κρόταλα έχουσαι κροταλίζουσι, οἱ δὲ αὐλέουσι κατὰ πάντα τον πλόον, αί δε λοιπαί γυναίκες και άνδρες αείδουσι καὶ τὰς χείρας κροτέουσι. ἐπεὰν δὲ πλέουτες κατά τινα πόλιν άλλην γένωνται, έγχρίμψαντες την βάριν τη γη ποιεύσι τοιάδε αι μέν τινές των γυναικών ποιεύσι τά περ είρηκα, αί δέ τωθάζουσι βοώσαι τὰς ἐν τῆ πόλι ταύτη γυναίκας. αὶ δὲ ὀργέονται, αὶ δὲ ἀνασύρονται ἀνιστάμεναι. ταθτα παρά πάσαν πόλιν παραποταμίην ποιεθσι έπεαν δε απίκωνται ές την Βούβαστιν, ορτάζουσι μεγάλας ἀνάγοντες θυσίας, καὶ οίνος ἀμπέλινος αναισιμούται πλέων έν τη όρτη ταύτη η έν τω απαντι ενιαυτώ τω επιλοίπω. συμφοιτώσι δέ, ο τι άνηρ και γυνή έστι πλην παιδίων, και ές έβδομήκοντα μυριάδας, ώς οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λέγουσι.

61. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ταύτη ποιέεται, ἐν δὲ Βουσίρι πόλι ὡς ἀνάγουσι τῆ Ἰσι τὴν ὁρτήν, εἴρηται πρότερον μοι τύπτονται μὲν γὰρ δὴ μετὰ τὴν θυσίην

once in the year, but often. The chiefest of these and the most zealously celebrated is at the town of Bubastis in honour of Artemis, and the next is that in honour of Isis at Busiris. This town is in the middle of the Egyptian Delta, and there is in it a very great temple of Isis, who is in the Greek language, Demeter. The third greatest festival is at Sais in honour of Athene; the fourth is the festival of the sun at Heliopolis, the fifth of Leto at Buto, and

the sixth of Ares at Papremis.

60. When the people are on their way to Bubastis they go by river, men and women together, a great number of each in every boat. Some of the women make a noise with rattles, others play flutes all the way, while the rest of the women, and the men, sing and clap their hands. As they journey by river to Bubastis, whenever they come near any other town they bring their boat near the bank; then some of the women do as I have said, while some shout mockery of the women of the town; others dance. and others stand up and expose their persons. This they do whenever they come beside any riverside town. But when they have reached Bubastis, they make a festival with great sacrifices, and more wine is drunk at this feast than in the whole year beside. Men and women (but not children) are wont to assemble there to the number of seven hundred thousand, as the people of the place say.

61. Such is their practice there; I have already told how they keep the feast of Isis at Busiris. There, after the sacrifice, all the men and women

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Bubastis in the Delta, the "city of Pasht," where the cat-headed goddess Pasht (identified by Herodotus with Artemis) was worshipped.

πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι, μυριάδες κάρτα πολλαὶ ἀνθρώπων τὸν δὲ τύπτονται, οὔ μοι ὅσιον ἐστὶ λέγειν. ὅσοι δὲ Καρῶν εἰσι ἐν Αἰγύπτω οἰκέοντες, οὖτοι δὲ τοσούτω ἔτι πλέω ποιεῦσι τούτων ὅσω καὶ τὰ μέτωπα κόπτονται μαχαίρησι, καὶ τούτω εἰσὶ

δήλοι ότι είσι ξείνοι και ούκ Αίγύπτιοι.

62. Ές Σάιν δὲ πόλιν ἐπεὰν συλλεχθέωσι, τῆς θυσίης ἐν τῆ νυκτὶ λύχνα καίουσι πάντες πολλὰ ὑπαίθρια περὶ τὰ δώματα κύκλω· τὰ δὲ λύχνα ἐστὶ ἐμβάφια ἔμπλεα άλὸς καὶ ἐλαίου, ἐπιπολῆς δὲ ἔπεστι αὐτὸ τὸ ἐλλύχνιον, καὶ τοῦτο καίεται παννύχιον, καὶ τῆ ὁρτῆ οὕνομα κέεται λυχνοκατη. οῖ δ' ὰν μὴ ἔλθωσι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐς τὴν πανήγυριν ταύτην, φυλάσσοντες τὴν νύκτα τῆς θυσίης καίουσι καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντες τὰ λύχνα, καὶ οὕτω οὐκ ἐν Σάι μούνη καίεται ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν Αἴγυπτον. ὅτευ δὲ εἴνεκα φῶς ἔλαχε καὶ τιμὴν ἡ νὐξ αὕτη, ἔστι ἱρὸς περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγος λεγόμενος.

63. Ές δὲ Ἡλίου τε πόλιν καὶ Βουτοῦν θυσίας μούνας ἐπιτελέουσι φοιτέοντες. ἐν δὲ Παπρήμι θυσίας μὲν καὶ ἱρὰ κατά περ καὶ τῆ ἄλλη ποιεῦσι εὖτ ἀν δὲ γίνηται καταφερης ὁ ἤλιος, ὀλίγοι μὲν τινὲς τῶν ἰρέων περὶ τὤγαλμα πεπονέαται, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ξύλων κορύνας ἔχοντες ἐστᾶσι τοῦ ἱροῦ ἐν τῆ ἐσόδω, ἄλλοι τε εὐχωλὰς ἐπιτελέοντες πλεῦνες χιλίων ἀνδρῶν, ἔκαστοι ἔχοντες ξύλα καὶ οὖτοι, ἐπὶ τὰ ἔτερα άλέες ἐστᾶσι. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἐὸν ἐν νηῷ μικρῷ ξυλίνω κατακεχρυσωμένω προεκκομίζουσι τῆ προτεραίη ἐς ἄλλο οἴκημα ἰρόν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ὀλίγοι οἱ περὶ τὤγαλμα λελειμμένοι ἔλκουσι τετράκυκλον ἄμαξαν ἄγουσαν τὸν νηόν τε καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ νηῷ ἐνεὸν ἄγαλμα, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐῶσι

lament, in countless numbers; but it were profane for me to say who it is for whom they lament. Carian dwellers in Egypt do even more than this, for they cut their foreheads with knives; showing thereby, that they are not Egyptians but strangers.

62. When they assemble at Sais, on the night of the sacrifice, they keep lamps burning in the open air round about their houses. These lamps are saucers full of salt and oil, the wick floating thereon, and burning all night. This is called the Feast of Lamps. Egyptians who do not come to this assemblage are careful on the night of sacrifice to keep their own lamps burning, and so they are alight not only at Sais but throughout all Egypt. A sacred tale is told showing why this night is thus lit up and honoured.

63. When the people go to Heliopolis and Buto they offer sacrifice only. At Papremis sacrifice is offered and rites performed as elsewhere; but when the sun is sinking, while a few of the priests are left to busy themselves with the image, the greater number of them beset the entrance of the temple, with clubs of wood in their hands; they are confronted by more than a thousand men, all performing vows and all carrying wooden clubs like the rest. The image of the god, in a little wooden gilt casket, is carried on the day before this from the temple to another sacred chamber. The few who are left with the image draw a four-wheeled cart carrying it in its casket; the other priests stand in the temple porch and prevent its

έν τοίσι προπυλαίοισι έστεωτες έσιέναι, οί δέ εύγωλιμαίοι τιμωρέοντες τω θεω παίουσι αύτούς άλεξομένους. ἐνθαῦτα μάχη ξύλοισι καρτερή γίνεται κεφαλάς τε συναράσσονται, και ώς έγω δοκέω πολλοί και ἀποθνήσκουσι ἐκ τῶν τρωμάτων ου μέντοι οί γε Αιγύπτιοι έφασαν ἀποθνήσκειν οὐδένα. την δὲ πανήγυριν ταύτην ἐκ τοῦδε νομίσαι φασί οἱ ἐπιχώριοι οἰκέειν ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τούτω του "Αρεος την μητέρα, και τον "Αρεα άπότροφου γενόμενον ελθείν εξανδρωμένον εθέλοντα τή μητρί συμμίξαι, καὶ τούς προπόλους τής μητρός, οία ούκ όπωπότας αὐτὸν πρότερον, οὐ περιοράν παριέναι άλλα άπερύκειν, τον δε έξ άλλης πόλιος άγαγόμενον άνθρώπους τούς τε προπόλους τρηχέως περισπείν καὶ ἐσελθείν παρὰ την μητέρα. ἀπὸ τούτου τῶ Αρεϊ ταύτην την πληγήν έν τη όρτη νενομικέναι φασί.

64. Καὶ τὸ μὴ μίσγεσθαι γυναιξὶ ἐν ἱροῖσι μηδὲ ἀλούτους ἀπὸ γυναικῶν ἐς ἱρὰ ἐσιέναι οὖτοι εἰσὶ οἱ πρῶτοι θρησκεύσαντες. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι σχεδὸν πάντες ἄνθρωποι, πλὴν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων, μίσγονται ἐν ἱροῖσι καὶ ἀπὸ γυναικῶν ἀνιστάμενοι ἄλουτοι ἐσέρχονται ἐς ἱρόν, νομίζοντες ἀνθρώπους εἶναι κατά περ τὰ ἄλλα κτήνεα καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἄλλα κτήνεα ὁρᾶν καὶ ὀρνίθων γένεα ὀχευόμενα ἔν τε τοῖσι νηοῖσι τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἐν τοῖσι τεμένεσι εἰ ὧν εἶναι τῷ θεῷ τοῦτο μὴ φίλον, οὐκ ἄν οὐδὲ τὰ κτήνεα ποιέειν. οὖτοι μέν νυν τοιαῦτα ἐπιλέγοντες ποιεῦσι ἔμοιγε οὐκ ἀρεστά Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ θρησκεύουσι περισσῶς τά

τε άλλα περί τὰ ίρὰ καὶ δή καὶ τάδε.

65. Έοθσα ή Αίγυπτος δμουρος τη Λιβύη οὐ

# BOOK II. 63-65

entrance; the votaries take the part of the god, smite the priests, and are resisted. There is hard fighting with clubs, and heads are broken, and as I think (though the Egyptians told me no life was lost), many die of their wounds. The assemblage, say the people of the country, took its rise thus:—The mother of Ares dwelt in this temple; Ares had been reared away from her, and when he grew to manhood came to hold converse with his mother; but as her attendants, never having seen him before, kept him off and would not suffer him to pass, Ares brought men from another town, roughly handled the attendants, and gained access to his mother. From this, they say, arose this custom of a battle of blows at the festival.<sup>1</sup>

64. Further, it was the Egyptians who first made it a matter of religious observance not to have intercourse with women in temples, nor enter a temple after such intercourse without washing. Nearly all other men are less careful in this matter than are the Egyptians and Greeks, and hold a man to be like any other animal; for beasts and birds (they say) are seen to mate both in the temples and the sacred precincts; now were this displeasing to the god neither would the beasts do so. This is the reason given by others for practices which I for my part mislike; but the Egyptians in this and in all other matters are exceeding strict against desecration of their temples.

65. Though Egypt has Libva on its borders, it is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> It is uncertain what Egyptian deity Herodotus identifies with Ares. In a Greek papyrus, "Ares" is the equivalent for the Egyptian Anhur, a god, apparently, not clearly differentiated from "Shu" or "Heracles."

μάλα θηριώδης έστί τὰ δὲ έόντα σφι άπαντα ίρα νενόμισται, καὶ τὰ μὲν σύντροφα αὐτοῖσι τοίσι ανθρώποισι, τα δε ού, των δε είνεκεν ανείται τὰ θηρία ιρὰ εἰ λέγοιμι, καταβαίην ἂν τῶ λόγω ές τὰ θεῖα πρήγματα, τὰ έγω φεύγω μάλιστα άπηγέεσθαι τὰ δὲ καὶ είρηκα αὐτῶν ἐπιψαύσας. άναγκαίη καταλαμβανόμενος είπον. νόμος δε έστλ περί των θηρίων ώδε έχων μελεδωνοί άποδεδέγαται της τροφής χωρίς εκάστων καὶ έρσενες καὶ θήλεαι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, τῶν παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς έκδέκεται την τιμήν, οι δέ έν τησι πόλισι εκαστοι εὐχὰς τάσδε σφι ἀποτελέουσι εὐχόμενοι τῷ θεῷ τοῦ αν ή τὸ θηρίον, ξυρώντες των παιδίων ή πασαν την κεφαλην ή το ημισυ ή το τρίτον μέρος της κεφαλής, ίστασι σταθμώ πρός άργύριον τὰς τρίχας τὸ δ' ἀν έλκύση, τοῦτο τῆ μελεδωνῶ τῶν θπρίων διδοί, ή δὲ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τάμνουσα ἰχθῦς παρέχει βορήν τοίσι θηρίοισι. τροφή μέν δή αὐτοῖσι τοιαύτη ἀποδέδεκται τὸ δ' ἄν τις τῶν θηρίων τούτων ἀποκτείνη, ἡν μὲν ἐκών, θάνατος ή ζημίη, ην δε άξκων, αποτίνει ζημίην την αν οί ίρεες τάξωνται. δς δ' αν ίβιν η ίρηκα αποκτείνη, ήν τε έκων ήν τε ἀέκων, τεθνάναι ἀνάγκη.

66. Πολλών δὲ ἐόντων ὁμοτρόφων τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι θηρίων πολλῷ ἂν ἔτι πλέω ἐγίνετο, εἰ μὴ κατελάμβανε τοὺς αἰελούρους τοιάδε ἐπεὰν τέκωσι αἱ θήλεαι, οὐκέτι φοιτέουσι παρὰ τοὺς ἔρσενας οἱ δὲ διζήμενοι μίσγεσθαι αὐτῆσι οὐκ ἔχουσι. πρὸς ὧν ταῦτα σοφίζονται τάδε ἀρπάζοντες ἀπὸ τῶν θηλέων καὶ ὑπαιρεόμενοι τὰ τέκνα κτείνουσι, κτείναντες μέντοι οὐ πατέονται αῖ

not a country of many animals. All of them are held sacred; some of these are part of mens' households and some not: but were I to declare the reason why they are dedicated, I should be brought to speak of matters of divinity, of which I am especially unwilling to treat; I have never touched upon such save where necessity has compelled me. But I will now show how it is customary to deal with the animals. Men and women are appointed guardians to provide nourishment for each kind severally; a son inherits this office from his father. Townsmen in each place, when they pay their vows, make prayer to the god to whom the animal is dedicated, shaving the whole or the half or the third part of their children's heads, and weighing the hair in a balance against a sum of silver; then whatever be the weight in silver of the hair is given to the female guardian of the creatures, who buys fish with it and feeds them therewith. Thus is food provided for them. Whoever kills one of these creatures with intention is punished with death; if he kill by mischance he pays whatever penalty the priests appoint. Whoever kills an ibis or a hawk, with intention or without, must die for it.

66. There are many household animals; and there would be many more, were it not for what happens to the cats. When the females have kittened they will not consort with the males; and these seek them but cannot get their will of them; so their device is to steal and carry off and kill the kittens (but they do not eat what they have killed). The mothers,

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δὲ στερισκόμεναι τῶν τέκνων, ἄλλων δὲ ἐπιθυμέουσαι, οὕτω δὴ ἀπικνέονται παρὰ τοὺς ἔρσενας φιλότεκνον γὰρ τὸ θηρίον. πυρκαίῆς δὲ γενομένης θεῖα πρήγματα καταλαμβάνει τοὺς αἰελούρους οἱ μὲν γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι διαστάντες φυλακὰς ἔχουσι τῶν αἰελούρων, ἀμελήσαντες σβεννύναι τὸ καιόμενον, οἱ δὲ αἰέλουροι διαδύνοντες καὶ ὑπερθρώσκοντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐσάλλονται ἐς τὸ πῦρ. ταῦτα δὲ γινόμενα πένθεα μεγάλα τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους καταλαμβάνει. ἐν ὁτέοισι δ' ἄν οἰκίοισι αἰέλουρος ἀποθάνη ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, οἱ ἐνοικέοντες πάντες ξυρῶνται τὰς ὀφρύας μούνας, παρ ὁτέοισι δ' ἄν κύων, πᾶν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν κεφαλήν.

67. 'Απάγονται δὲ οἱ αἰέλουροι ἀποθανόντες ἐς ἱρὰς στέγας, ἔνθα θάπτονται ταριχευθέντες, ἐν Βουβάστι πόλι τὰς δὲ κύνας ἐν τῆ ἐωυτῶν ἔκαστοι πόλι θάπτουσι ἐν ἱρῆσι θήκησι. ὡς δὲ αὕτως τῆσι κυσὶ οἱ ἰχνευταὶ θάπτονται. τὰς δὲ μυγαλᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἔρηκας ἀπάγουσι ἐς Βουτοῦν πόλιν, τὰς δὲ ἴβις ἐς Έρμέω πόλιν, τὰς δὲ ἄρκτους ἐούσας σπανίας καὶ τοὺς λύκους οὐ πολλῷ τεῷ ἐόντας ἀλωπέκων μέζονας αὐτοῦ θάπτουσι τῆ ἂν εὐρεθέωσι κείμενοι.

68. Τῶν δὲ κροκοδείλων φύσις ἐστὶ τοιήδε. τοὺς χειμεριωτάτους μῆνας τέσσερας ἐσθίει οὐδέν, ἐὸν δὲ τετράπουν χερσαῖον καὶ λιμναῖον ἐστί. τίκτει μὲν γὰρ ຜὰ ἐν γῆ καὶ ἐκλέπει, καὶ τὸ πολλὸν τῆς ἡμέρης διατρίβει ἐν τῷ ξηρῷ, τὴν δὲ νύκτα πᾶσαν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ θερμότερον γὰρ δή ἐστι τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς τε αἰθρίης καὶ τῆς δρόσου. πάντων δὲ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν θνητῶν τοῦτο ἐξ ἐλαχίστου μέγιστον γίνεται τὰ μὲν γὰρ ψὰ χηνέων οὐ πολλῷ μέζονα τίκτει, καὶ ὁ νεοσσὸς κατὰ λόγον

deprived of their young and desiring to have more will then consort with the males; for they are creatures that love offspring. And when a fire breaks out very strange things happen to the cats. The Egyptians stand round in a broken line, thinking more of the cats than of quenching the burning; but the cats slip through or leap over the men and spring into the fire. When this happens, there is great mourning in Egypt. Dwellers in a house where a cat has died a natural death shave their eyebrows and no more; where a dog has so died, the head and the whole body are shaven.

67. Dead cats are taken away into sacred buildings, where they are embalmed and buried, in the town of Bubastis; bitches are buried in sacred coffins by the townsmen, in their several towns; and the like is done with ichneumons. Shrewmice and hawks are taken away to Buto, ibises to the city of Hermes. There are but few bears, and the wolves are little bigger than foxes; both these are buried wherever

they are found lying.

68. I will now show what kind of creature is the crocodile. For the four winter months it eats nothing. It has four feet, and lives both on land and in the water, for it lays eggs and hatches them out on land, and it passes the greater part of the day on dry ground, and the night in the river, the water being warmer than the air and dew. No mortal creature known to us grows from so small a beginning to such greatness; for its eggs are not much bigger than goose eggs, and the young crocodile is of a bigness answering

τοῦ ωροῦ γίνεται, αὐξανόμενος δὲ γίνεται καὶ ἐς έπτακαίδεκα πήχεας καὶ μέζων έτι. έχει δὲ όφθαλμούς μεν ύός, όδόντας δε μεγάλους καί Ι γαυλιόδοντας κατά λόγον του σώματος. γλώσσαν δέ μούνον θηρίων ούκ έφυσε, ούδε κινέει την κάτω γνάθον, άλλα και τούτο μούνον θηρίων την άνω γνάθον προσάγει τη κάτω. έχει δὲ καὶ όνυχας καρτερούς και δέρμα λεπιδωτον άρρηκτον έπι του νώτου. τυφλον δὲ ἐν ὕδατι, ἐν δὲ τῆ αίθρίη δευδερκέστατον. άτε δή ων έν ύδατι δίαιταν ποιεύμενον, τὸ στόμα ἔνδοθεν Φορέει πᾶν μεστον βδελλέων. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἄλλα ὄρνεα καὶ θηρία φεύγει μιν, ὁ δὲ τροχίλος εἰρηναίον οἱ ἐστὶ άτε ώφελεομένω πρὸς αὐτοῦ· ἐπεὰν γὰρ ἐς τὴν γην έκβη έκ του ύδατος ο κροκόδειλος καὶ έπειτα χάνη (ἔωθε γὰρ τοῦτο ὡς ἐπίπαν ποιέειν πρὸς τὸν ζέφυρον), ενθαῦτα ὁ τροχίλος εσδύνων ες τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ καταπίνει τὰς βδέλλας ὁ δὲ ώφελεύμενος ήδεται καὶ οὐδὲν σίνεται τὸν τροχίλον.

69. Τοίσι μὲν δὴ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἱροί εἰσι οἱ κροκόδειλοι, τοίσι δὲ οὕ, ἀλλ' ἄτε πολεμίους περιέπουσι οἱ δὲ περί τε Θήβας καὶ τὴν Μοίριος λίμνην οἰκέοντες καὶ κάρτα ἤγηνται αὐτοὺς εἰναι ἱρούς ἐκ πάντων δὲ ἔνα ἐκάτεροι τρέφουσι κροκόδειλον δεδιδαγμένον εἰναι χειροήθεα, ἀρτήματά τε λίθινα χυτὰ καὶ χρύσεα ἐς τὰ ὧτα ἐνθέντες καὶ ἀμφιδέας περὶ τοὺς ἐμπροσθίους πόδας, καὶ σιτία ἀποτακτὰ διδόντες καὶ ἰρήια, καὶ περιέποντες ώς κάλλιστα ζῶντας ἀποθανόντας δὲ θάπτουσι ταριχεύοντες ἐν ἰρῆσι θήκησι. οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἑλεφαντίνην πόλιν οἰκέοντες καὶ ἐσθίουσι αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἡγεόμενοι ἱροὺς εἶναι. καλέονται δὲ οὐ κροκόδειλοι

thereto, but it grows to a length of seventeen cubits and more. It has eyes like pigs' eyes, and great teeth and tusks answering to the bigness of its body. It is the only animal that has no tongue. Nor does it move the lower jaw. It is the only creature that brings the upper jaw down upon the lower. It has also strong claws, and a scaly impenetrable hide on its back. It is blind in the water, but very keen of sight in the air. Since it lives in the water, its mouth is all full within of leeches. All birds and beasts flee from it, except only the sandpiper. with which it is at peace, because this bird does the crocodile a service; for whenever the crocodile comes ashore out of the water and then opens its mouth (and this it does for the most part to catch the west wind), the sandpiper goes into its mouth and eats the leeches; the crocodile is pleased by this service and does the sandpiper no harm.

69. Some of the Egyptians hold crocodiles sacred, others do not so, but treat them as enemies. The dwellers about Thebes and the lake Moeris deem them to be very sacred. There, in every place one crocodile is kept, trained to be tame; they put ornaments of glass and gold on its ears and bracelets on its forefeet, provide for it special food and offerings, and give the creatures the best of treatment while they live; after death the crocodiles are embalmed and buried in sacred coffins. But about Elephantine they are not held sacred, and are even eaten. The Egyptians do not call them crocodiles, but champsae.

άλλα γάμψαι κροκοδείλους δὲ "Ιωνες ωνόμασαν, είκάζοντες αὐτῶν τὰ εἴδεα τοῖσι παρὰ σφίσι γινομένοισι κροκοδείλοισι τοίσι έν τήσι αίμασιήσι.

70. 'Αγραι δὲ σφέων πολλαὶ κατεστάσι καὶ παντοίαι ή δ' ων έμοινε δοκέει άξιωτάτη άπηγήσιος είναι, ταύτην γράφω. Επεαν νώτον ύὸς δελεάση περί άγκιστρον μετιεί ές μέσον τον ποταμόν. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ γείχεος τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔγων δέλφακα ζωήν ταύτην τύπτει. επακούσας δὲ τῆς φωνής ο κροκόδειλος ίεται κατά την φωνήν, έντυγων δὲ τω νώτω καταπίνει οἱ δὲ ελκουσι. έπεαν δε εξελκυσθή ες γήν, πρώτον απάντων ό θηρευτής πηλώ κατ' ων έπλασε αὐτοῦ τοὺς όφθαλμούς τουτο δέ ποιήσας κάρτα εύπετέως τὰ λοιπά χειρούται, μη ποιήσας δε τούτο σύν πόνω.

71. Οί δὲ ἵπποι οἱ ποτάμιοι νομῶ μὲν τῶ Παπρημίτη ίροί είσι, τοῖσι δὲ ἄλλοισι Αίγυπτίοισι ούκ ίροι, φύσιν δε παρέχονται ίδέης τοιήνδε. τετράπουν ἐστί, δίχηλον, όπλαὶ βοός, σιμόν, λοφιήν έχον ίππου, χαυλιόδοντας φαίνον, ουρήν ίππου και φωνήν, μέγαθος όσον τε βούς ο μέγιστος τὸ δέρμα δ' αὐτοῦ ούτω δή τι παγύ ἐστι ώστε αύου γενομένου ξυστά ποιέεσθαι άκόντια

έξ αὐτοῦ.

72. Γίνονται δὲ καὶ ἐνύδριες ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ, τὰς ίρας ήγηνται είναι. νομίζουσι δέ και των ίχθύων τον καλεύμενον λεπιδωτον ίρον είναι και την έγχελυν, ίρους δὲ τούτους τοῦ Νείλου φασί είναι,

καὶ τῶν ὀρνίθων τοὺς χηναλώπεκας.

73. "Εστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὅρνις ἱρός, τῷ οὖνομα φοίνιξ. έγω μέν μιν ούκ είδον εί μη όσον γραφή. καὶ γὰρ δη καὶ σπάνιος ἐπιφοιτα σφι, δι' ἐτέων. The Ionians called them crocodiles, from their likeness to the lizards which they have in their walls.1

70. There are many and various ways of crocodile hunting; I will write only of that one way which I think most worthy of mention: - The hunter baits a hook with a chine of pork, and lets it float into the midst of the river; he himself stays on the bank with a young live pig, which he beats. Hearing the cries of the pig, the crocodile goes after the sound, and meets the chine, which it swallows: then the hunters pull the line. When the crocodile is drawn ashore. first of all the hunter smears its eyes over with mud: when this is done the quarry is very easily mastered. which, without that, is no light matter.

71. River horses are sacred in the province of Papremis, but not elsewhere in Egypt. For their outward form, they are four-footed, with cloven hoofs like oxen; their noses are blunt; they are maned like horses, with tusks showing, and have a horse's tail and a horse's neigh; their bigness is that of the biggest oxen. Their hide is so thick that when it is

dried spearshafts are made of it.

72. Otters also are found in the river, which the Egyptians deem sacred; and they hold sacred that fish too which is called the scale-fish, and the eel. These, and the fox-goose 2 among birds, are said to be sacred to the god of the Nile.

73. Another bird also is sacred; it is called the phoenix. I myself have never seen it, but only pictures of it; for the bird comes but seldom into Egypt,

2 Or "Nile-goose."

<sup>1</sup> κροκόδειλος is Ionic for a lizard; the commoner word is σαύρα or σαῦρος. χάμψα is the Egyptian "em-suh," a name which survives in the Arabic "timsah," i.e. em-suh with the feminine article prefixed.

ώς Ήλιοπολίται λέγουσι, πεντακοσίων φοιτάν δὲ τότε φασὶ ἐπεάν οἱ ἀποθάνη ὁ πατήρ. ἔστι δέ, εί τη γραφή παρόμοιος, τοσόσδε καὶ τοιόσδε τὰ μέν αὐτοῦ χρυσόκομα τῶν πτερῶν τὰ δὲ ἐρυθρὰ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα αἰετώ περιήγησιν ὁμοιότατος καὶ τὸ μέγαθος. τοῦτον δὲ λέγουσι μηχανᾶσθαι τάδε, έμοι μέν ού πιστά λέγοντες έξ Αραβίης όρμώμενον ές τὸ ίρὸν τοῦ Ἡλίου κομίζειν τὸν πατέρα ἐν σμύρνη έμπλάσσοντα καὶ θάπτειν έν τοῦ Ἡλίου τω ίρω, κομίζειν δε ούτω πρώτον τής σμύρνης ώου πλάσσειν όσον τε δυνατός έστι φέρειν, μετά δὲ πειράσθαι αὐτὸ φορέοντα, ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀποπειρηθή, ούτω δη κοιλήναντα τὸ ώὸν τὸν πατέρα ἐς αὐτὸ έντιθέναι, σμύρνη δὲ άλλη έμπλάσσειν τοῦτο κατ' ο τι του ωου εκκοιλήνας ενέθηκε τον πατέρα. έσκειμένου δέ τοῦ πατρὸς γίνεσθαι τώυτο βάρος. έμπλάσαντα δὲ κομίζειν μιν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ἐς τοῦ Ήλίου το ίρου. ταθτα μέν τοθτον τον δρνιν λένουσι ποιέειν.

74. Είσὶ δὲ περὶ Θήβας ἱροὶ ὄφιες, ἀνθρώπων οὐδαμῶς δηλήμονες, οἱ μεγάθεϊ ἐόντες μικροὶ δύο κέρεα φορέουσι πεφυκότα ἐξ ἄκρης τῆς κεφαλῆς τοὺς θάπτουσι ἀποθανόντας ἐν τῷ ἰρῷ τοῦ Διός τούτου γὰρ σφέας τοῦ θεοῦ φασι εἶναι ἰρούς.

75. "Εστι δὲ χῶρος τῆς 'Αραβίης κατὰ Βουτοῦν πόλιν μάλιστά κη κείμενος, καὶ ἐς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἢλθον πυνθανόμενος περὶ τῶν πτερωτῶν ὀφίων ἀπικόμενος δὲ εἶδον ὀστέα ὀφίων καὶ ἀκάνθας πλήθεῖ μὲν ἀδύνατα ἀπηγήσασθαι, σωροὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἀκανθέων καὶ μεγάλοι καὶ ὑποδεέστεροι καὶ ἔλάσσονες ἔτι τούτων, πολλοὶ δὲ ἦσαν οὖτοι. ἔστι δὲ ὁ χῶρος οὖτος, ἐν τῷ αἱ ἄκανθαι κατακεχύαται,

once in five hundred years, as the people of Heliopolis say. It is said that the phoenix comes when his father dies. If the picture truly shows his size and appearance, his plumage is partly golden and partly red. He is most like an eagle in shape and bigness. The Egyptians tell a tale of this bird's devices which I do not believe. He comes, they say, from Arabia bringing his father to the Sun's temple enclosed in myrrh, and there buries him. His manner of bringing is this: first he moulds an egg of myrrh as heavy as he can carry, and when he has proved its weight by lifting it he then hollows out the egg and puts his father in it, covering over with more myrrh the hollow in which the body lies; so the egg being with his father in it of the same weight as before, the phoenix, after enclosing him, carries him to the temple of the Sun in Egypt. Such is the tale of what is done by this bird.

- 74. Near Thebes there are sacred snakes, harmless to men, small in size and bearing two horns on the top of their heads. These, when they die, are buried in the temple of Zeus, to whom they are said to be sacred.
- 75. Not far from the town of Buto, there is a place in Arabia to which I went to learn about the winged serpents. When I came thither, I saw innumerable bones and backbones of serpents; many heaps of backbones there were, great and small and smaller still. This place, where lay the backbones

τοιόσδε τις, ἐσβολὴ ἐξ ὀρέων στεινῶν ἐς πεδίον μέγα, τὸ δὲ πεδίον τοῦτο συνάπτει τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ πεδίω. λόγος δὲ ἐστὶ ἄμα τῷ ἔαρι πτερωτοὺς ὄφις ἐκ τῆς ᾿Αραβίης πέτεσθαι ἐπ Αἰγύπτου, τὰς δὲ ἴβις τὰς ὄρνιθας ἀπαντώσας ἐς τὴν ἐσβολὴν ταύτης τῆς χώρης οὐ παριέναι τοὺς ὄφις ἀλλὰ κατακτείνειν. καὶ τὴν ἰβιν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον τετιμῆσθαι λέγουσι ᾿Αράβιοι μεγάλως πρὸς Αἰγυπτίων ὁμολογέουσι δὲ καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι διὰ

ταθτα τιμάν τὰς ὄρνιθας ταύτας.

76. Είδος δὲ τῆς μὲν ἴβιος τόδε· μέλαινα δεινῶς πᾶσα, σκέλεα δὲ φορέει γεράνου, πρόσωπον δὲ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπίγρυπον, μέγαθος ὅσον κρέξ. τῶν μὲν δὴ μελαινέων τῶν μαχομενέων πρὸς τοὺς ὅφις ἥδε ἰδέη, τῶν δ΄ ἐν ποσὶ μᾶλλον εἰλευμενέων τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι (διξαὶ γὰρ δή εἰσι ἴβιες) ψιλὴ τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν δειρὴν πᾶσαν, λευκὴ πτεροῖσι πλὴν κεφαλῆς καὶ αὐχένος καὶ ἀκρέων τῶν πτερύγων καὶ τοῦ πυγαίου ἄκρου (ταῦτα δὲ τὰ εἰπον πάντα μέλανα ἐστὶ δεινῶς), σκέλεα δὲ καὶ πρόσωπον ἐμφερὴς τῆ ἐτέρη. τοῦ δὲ ὄφιος ἡ μορφὴ οἵη περ τῶν ὕδρων, πτίλα δὲ οὐ πτερωτὰ φορέει ἀλλὰ τοῖσι τῆς νυκτερίδος πτεροῖσι μάλιστά κη ἐμφερέστατα.

Τοσαῦτα μὲν θηρίων πέρι ἰρῶν εἰρήσθω.

77. Αὐτῶν δὲ δὴ Αἰγυπτίων οἱ μὲν περὶ τὴν σπειρομένην Αἴγυπτον οἰκέουσι, μνήμην ἀνθρώπων πάντων ἐπασκέοντες μάλιστα λογιώτατοι εἰσὶ μακρῷ τῶν ἐγὼ ἐς διάπειραν ἀπικόμην, τρόπω δὲ ζόης τοιῷδε διαχρέωνται συρμαίζουσι τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπεξῆς μηνὸς ἑκάστου, ἐμέτοισι θηρώμενοι τὴν ὑγιείην καὶ κλύσμασι, νομίζοντες ἀπὸ τῶν τρε-

scattered, is where a narrow mountain pass opens into a great plain, which is joined to the plain of Egypt. Winged serpents are said to fly at the beginning of spring, from Arabia, making for Egypt; but the ibis birds encounter the invaders in this pass and kill them. The Arabians say that the ibis is greatly honoured by the Egyptians for this service, and the Egyptians give the same reason for honouring these birds.

76. Now this is the appearance of the ibis. It is all deep black, with legs like a crane's, and a beak strongly hooked; its size is that of a landrail. Such is the outward form of the ibis which fights with the serpents. Those that most consort with men (for the ibis is of two kinds) have all the head and neck bare of feathers; their plumage is white, save the head and neck and the tips of wings and tail (these being deep black); the legs and beak of the bird are like those of the other ibis. The serpents are like water-snakes. Their wings are not feathered but most like the wings of a bat.

I have now said enough concerning creatures that are sacred.

77. Among the Egyptians themselves, those who dwell in the cultivated country are the most careful of all men to preserve the memory of the past, and none whom I have questioned have so many chronicles. I will now speak of the manner of life which they use. For three following days in every month they purge themselves, pursuing after health by means of emetics and drenches; for they think

φόντων σιτίων πάσας τὰς νούσους τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι γίνεσθαι, είσι μεν γάρ και άλλως Αίγύπτιοι μετά Λίβυας ύγιηρέστατοι πάντων άνθρώπων των ώρέων δοκέειν έμοι είνεκα, ότι οὐ μεταλλάσσουσι αί ώραι έν γὰρ τῆσι μεταβολῆσι τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι αί νούσοι μάλιστα γίνονται τών τε άλλων πάντων καὶ δη καὶ τῶν ώρέων μάλιστα. άρτοφαγέουσι δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὀλυρέων ποιεῦντες ἄρτους, τούς έκείνοι κυλλήστις ονομάζουσι, οίνω δὲ ἐκ κριθέων πεποιημένω διαχρέωνται ού γάρ σφι είσι έν τη χώρη ἄμπελοι. ιχθύων δὲ τοὺς μὲν προς ήλιον αυήναντες ώμους σιτέονται, τους δέ έξ άλμης τεταριχευμένους. ὀρνίθων δὲ τούς τε όρτυγας και τὰς νήσσας και τὰ μικρὰ τῶν ὀρνίθων ωμά σιτέονται προταριγεύσαντες, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα όσα η ὀρνίθων η ἰχθύων σφι ἐστὶ ἐχόμενα, χωρίς ή οκόσοι σφι ίροι ἀποδεδέχαται, τους λοιπούς όπτους καὶ έφθους σιτέονται.

78. Έν δὲ τῆσι συνουσίησι τοῖσι εὐδαίμοσι αὐτῶν, ἐπεὰν ἀπὸ δείπνου γένωνται, περιφέρει ἀνὴρ νεκρὸν ἐν σορῷ ξύλινον πεποιημένον, μεμιμημένον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ γραφῆ καὶ ἔργω, μέγαθος ὅσον τε πηχυαῖον ¹ ἡ δίπηχυν, δεικνὺς δὲ ἐκάστω τῶν συμποτέων λέγει "'Ες τοῦτον ὁρέων πῖνέ τε καὶ τέρπευ ἔσεαι γὰρ ἀποθανὼν τοιοῦτος." ταῦτα

μέν παρά τὰ συμπόσια ποιεῦσι.

79. Πατρίοισι δὲ χρεώμενοι νόμοισι ἄλλον οὐδένα ἐπικτῶνται· τοῖσι ἄλλα τε ἐπάξια ἐστὶ νόμιμα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἄεισμα ἔν ἐστι, Λίνος, ὅσπερ ἔν τε Φοινίκη ἀοίδιμος ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν Κύπρω καὶ ἄλλη, κατὰ

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  MSS. πάντη πηχυαΐον; Stein brackets πάντη, "a cubit's length every way" being unintelligible here.

it is from the food which they eat that all sicknesses come to men. Even without this, the Egyptians are the healthiest of all men, next to the Libyans; the reason of which to my thinking is that the climate in all seasons is the same; for change is the great cause of men's falling sick, more especially changes of seasons. They eat bread, making loaves which they call "cyllestis" of coarse grain. For wine, they use a drink made of barley; for they have no vines in their country. They eat fish either raw and sun-dried or preserved with brine. Quails and ducks and small birds are salted and eaten raw; all other kinds of birds, as well as fish (except those that the Egyptians hold sacred) are eaten roast and boiled.

78. At rich men's banquets, after dinner a man carries round an image of a corpse in a coffin, painted and carved in exact imitation, a cubit or two cubits long. This he shows to each of the company, saying "Drink and make merry, but look on this; for such shalt thou be when thou art dead." Such is the custom at their drinking-bouts.

79. They keep the ordinances of their fathers, and add none others to them. Among other notable customs of theirs is this, that they have one song, the Linus-song,<sup>2</sup> which is sung in Phoenice and Cyprus

1 Loaves twisted to a point, apparently.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This is the hymn for a slain youth (said to typify the departure of early summer), Thammuz, Atys, Hylas, or Linus; the Semitic refrain ai lenu, "alas for us," becomes the Greek allies, from which comes the name Linus.

μέντοι ἔθνεα οὔνομα ἔχει, συμφέρεται δὲ ώυτὸς εἶναι τὸν οἱ "Ελληνες Λίνον ὀνομάζοντες ἀείδουσι, ὅστε πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἀποθωμάζειν με τῶν περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐόντων, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὸν Λίνον ὁκόθεν ἔλαβον τὸ οὔνομα φαίνονται δὲ αἰεί κοτε τοῦτον ἀείδοντες. ἔστι δὲ Αἰγυπτιστὶ ὁ Λίνος καλεύμενος Μανερῶς. ἔφασαν δέ μιν Αἰγύπτιοι τοῦ πρώτου βασιλεύσαντος Αἰγύπτου παῖδα μουνογενέα γενέσθαι, ἀποθανόντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἄνωρον θρήνοισι τοῦτοισι ὑπὸ Αἰγυπτίων τιμηθῆναι, καὶ ἀοιδήν τε ταύτην πρώτην καὶ μούνην σφίσι γενέσθαι.

80. Συμφέρονται δὲ καὶ τόδε ἄλλο Αἰγύπτιοι Ἑλλήνων μούνοισι Λακεδαιμονίοισι οι νεώτεροι αὐτῶν τοῖσι πρεσβυτέροισι συντυγχάνοντες εἴκουσι τῆς όδοῦ καὶ ἐκτράπονται καὶ ἐπιοῦσι ἐξ ἔδρης ὑπανιστέαται. τόδε μέντοι ἄλλοισι Ἑλλήνων οὐδαμοῖσι συμφέρονται ἀντὶ τοῦ προσαγορεύειν ἀλλήλους ἐν τῆσι ὁδοῖσι προσκυνέουσι

κατιέντες μέχρι τοῦ γούνατος τὴν χείρα.

81. Ἐνδεδύκασι δὲ κιθῶνας λινέους περὶ τὰ σκέλεα θυσανωτούς, τοὺς καλέουσι καλασίρις ἐπὶ τούτοισι δὲ εἰρίνεα εἴματα λευκὰ ἐπαναβληδὸν φορέουσι. οὐ μέντοι ἔς γε τὰ ἰρὰ ἐσφέρεται εἰρίνεα οὐδὲ συγκαταθάπτεταί σφι οὐ γὰρ ὅσιον. ὁμολογέουσι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι Ὀρφικοῖσι καλεομένοισι καὶ Βακχικοῖσι, ἐοῦσι δὲ Αἰγυπτίοισι καὶ Πυθαγορείοισι οὐδὲ γὰρ τούτων τῶν ὀργίων μετέχοντα ὅσιον ἐστὶ ἐν εἰρινέοισι εἵμασι θαφθῆναι. ἔστι δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ἰρὸς λόγος λεγόμενος.

82. Καὶ τάδε ἄλλα Αἰγυπτίοισι ἐστὶ ἐξευρημένα, μείς τε καὶ ἡμέρη ἐκάστη θεῶν ὅτευ ἐστί,

and elsewhere; each nation has a name of its own for this, but it is the same song that the Greeks sing, and call Linus; wherefore it is to me one of the many strange things in Egypt, whence the Egyptians got the name. Plainly they have ever sung this song; the name for Linus in Egyptian is Maneros. The Egyptians told me that Maneros was the only son of their first king, who died untimely, and this dirge was sung by the Egyptians in his honour; and this, they said, was their earliest and their only chant.

80. There is a custom too which no Greeks save the Lacedaemonians have in common with the Egyptians:—younger men, when they meet their elders, turn aside and give place to them in the way, and rise from their seats when an older man approaches. But they have another custom which is nowhere known in Greece: passers-by do not address each other, but salute by lowering the hand to the knee.

81. They wear linen tunics with fringes hanging about the legs, called "calasiris," and loose white woollen mantles over these. But nothing of wool is brought into temples, or buried with them; that is forbidden. In this they follow the same rule as the ritual called Orphic and Bacchic, but which is in truth Egyptian and Pythagorean; for neither may those initiated into these rites be buried in woollen wrappings. There is a sacred legend about this.

82. I pass to other inventions of the Egyptians. They assign each month and each day to some god;

<sup>1</sup> Maneros, probably from the refrain ma-n-hra, "come back to us."

καὶ τῆ ἔκαστος ἡμέρη γενόμενος ὁτέοισι ἐγκυρήσει καὶ ὅκως τελευτήσει καὶ ὁκοῖος τις ἔσται, καὶ τούτοισι των Έλλήνων οί έν ποιήσι γενόμενοι έγρήσαντο. τέρατά τε πλέω σφι ἀνεύρηται ή τοίσι άλλοισι άπασι ανθρώποισι γενομένου γαρ τέρατος φυλάσσουσι γραφόμενοι τωποβαίνου, καὶ ήν κοτε ὕστερον παραπλήσιον τούτφ γένηται, κατά τώυτο νομίζουσι αποβήσεσθαι.

83. Μαντική δε αὐτοῖσι ώδε διακέεται ἀνθρώπων μέν οὐδενὶ προσκέεται ή τέχνη, των δὲ θεων μετεξετέροισι καὶ γὰρ Ἡρακλέος μαντήιον αὐτόθι έστι και Απόλλωνος και Αθηναίης και Αρτέμιδος καὶ "Αρεος καὶ Διός, καὶ τό γε μάλιστα ἐν τιμῆ άγονται πάντων των μαντηίων, Λητούς έν Βουτοί πόλι έστί. οὐ μέντοι αί γε μαντηίαι σφι κατά τώυτο έστασι, άλλα διάφοροι είσί.

84. Η δε ίπτρική κατά τάδε σφι δέδασται μιής νούσου έκαστος ίητρός έστι καὶ οὐ πλεόνων. πάντα δ' ίητρων έστι πλέα οί μεν γάρ όφθαλμων ίητροι κατεστάσι, οι δε κεφαλής, οι δε οδόντων, οι δὲ τῶν κατὰ νηδύν, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἀφανέων νούσων.

85. Θρήνοι δὲ καὶ ταφαί σφεων είσὶ αίδε τοίσι αν απογένηται έκ των οικίων άνθρωπος του τις καὶ λόγος η, τὸ θηλυ γένος παν τὸ ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων τούτων κατ' ων έπλάσατο την κεφαλήν πηλώ ή καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον, κάπειτα ἐν τοίσι οἰκίοισι λιπούσαι τὸν νεκρὸν αὐταὶ ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν στρωφώμεναι τύπτονται έπεζωσμέναι καὶ φαίνουσαι τούς μαζούς, σύν δέ σφι αί προσήκουσαι πάσαι, έτέρωθεν δε οί άνδρες, τύπτονται επεζωμένοι καὶ οδτοι. έπεαν δε ταύτα ποιήσωσι, ούτω ές την ταρίχευσιν κομίζουσι.

they can tell what fortune and what end and what disposition a man shall have according to the day of his birth. This has given material to Greeks who deal in poetry. They have made themselves more omens than all other nations together; when an ominous thing happens they take note of the outcome and write it down; and if something of a like kind happen again they think it will have a like result.

83. As to the art of divination among them, it belongs to some of the gods, but to no one among men; there are in their country oracles of Heracles, Apollo, Athene, Artemis, Ares, and Zeus, and (which is the most honoured of all) of Leto in the town of Buto. Nevertheless they have diverse ways of divination, not one only.

84. The practice of medicine is so divided among them, that each physician is a healer of one disease and no more. All the country is full of physicians, some of the eye, some of the teeth, some of what pertains to the belly, and some of the hidden diseases.

85. They mourn and bury the dead as I will show. Whenever a man of note is lost to his house by death, all the womenkind of the house daub their faces or heads with mud; then, with all the women of their kin, they leave the corpse in the house, and roam about the city lamenting, with their garments girt round them and their breasts showing; and the men too lament in their place, with garments girt likewise. When this is done, they take the dead body to be embalmed.

86. Είσι δὲ οι ἐπ' αὐτῶ τούτω κατέαται καὶ τέχνην έχουσι ταύτην. οδτοι, ἐπεάν σφι κομισθή νεκρός, δεικνύουσι τοίσι κομίσασι παραδείγματα νεκρών ξύλινα, τη γραφή μεμιμημένα 1..., καὶ την μεν σπουδαιοτάτην αὐτέων φασί είναι τοῦ οὐκ ὅσιον ποιεθμαι τὸ οὔνομα ἐπὶ τοιούτω πρήγματι ὀνομάζειν, την δε δευτέρην δεικνύουσι υποδεεστέρην τε ταύτης καὶ εὐτελεστέρην, την δὲ τρίτην εὐτελεστάτην φράσαντες δε πυνθάνονται παρ' αὐτῶν κατά ήντινα βούλονταί σφι σκευασθήναι τὸν νεκρόν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐκποδών μισθῷ ὁμολογήσαντες απαλλάσσονται, οί δε ύπολειπόμενοι εν οικήμασι ώδε τὰ σπουδαιότατα ταριγεύουσι. πρώτα μέν σκολιώ σιδήρω δια των μυξωτήρων εξάγουσι τον έγκέφαλον, τὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ οὕτω ἐξάγοντες, τὰ δὲ έγχέοντες φάρμακα μετὰ δὲ λίθω Αἰθιοπικῷ ὀξέι παρασχίσαντες παρά την λαπάρην έξ ων είλον την κοιλίην πάσαν, ἐκκαθήραντες δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ διηθήσαντες οίνω φοινικηίω αθτις διηθέουσι θυμιήμασι τετριμμένοισι έπειτα την νηδύν σμύρνης άκηράτου τετριμμένης καὶ κασίης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θυμιημάτων, πλην λιβανωτού, πλησαντες συρράπτουσι όπίσω. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ταριχεύουσι λίτρω κρύψαντες ημέρας έβδομήκοντα πλεύνας δε τουτέων ούκ έξεστι ταριγεύειν. ἐπεὰν δὲ παρέλθωσι αἱ ἐβδομήκοντα, λούσαντες του νεκρου κατειλίσσουσι παν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα σινδόνος βυσσίνης τελαμῶσι κατατετμημένοισι, υποχρίοντες τω κόμμι, τω δη άντί κόλλης τὰ πολλά χρέωνται Αἰγύπτιοι. ἐνθεῦτεν δε παραδεξάμενοί μιν οί προσήκοντες ποιεύνται ξύλινον τύπον άνθρωποειδέα, ποιησάμενοι δέ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> MSS. appear to show indications of a lacuna here.

86. There are men whose whole business this is and who have this special craft. These, when a dead body is brought to them, show the bringers wooden models of corpses, painted in exact imitation; the most perfect manner of embalming belongs, they say, to One whose name it were profane for me to speak in treating of such matters; the second way, which they show, is less perfect than the first, and cheaper, and the third is the least costly of all. shown these, they ask the bringers of the body in which fashion they desire to have it prepared. The bearers, having agreed in a price, go their ways, and the workmen, left behind in their place, embalm the body. If they do this in the most perfect way, they first draw out part of the brain through the nostrils with an iron hook, and inject certain drugs into the rest. Then, making a cut near the flank with a sharp knife of Ethiopian stone, they take out all the intestines, and clean the belly, rinsing it with palm wine and bruised spices; and presently, filling the belly with pure ground myrrh and casia and any other spices, save only frankincense, they sew it up again. Having done this, they conceal the body for seventy days, embalmed in saltpetre; no longer time is allowed for the embalming; and when the seventy days are past they wash the body and wrap the whole of it in bandages of fine linen cloth, anointed with gum, which the Egyptians mostly use instead of glue; which done, they give back the dead man to his friends. These make a hollow wooden figure like a man, in

έσεργνῦσι τὸν νεκρόν, καὶ κατακληίσαντες οὕτω θησαυρίζουσι ἐν οἰκήματι θηκαίφ, ἱστάντες ὀρθὸν

πρὸς τοίχον.

87. Ούτω μέν τούς τὰ πολυτελέστατα σκευάζουσι νεκρούς, τοὺς δὲ τὰ μέσα βουλομένους τὴν δέ πολυτελείην φεύγοντας σκευάζουσι ώδε έπεαν τούς κλυστήρας πλήσωνται του από κέδρου αλείφατος γινομένου, εν ων έπλησαν τοῦ νεκροῦ τὴν κοιλίην, ούτε άναταμόντες αύτον ούτε έξελόντες την νηδύν, κατά δὲ την έδρην ἐσηθήσαντες καὶ ἐπιλαβόντες τὸ κλύσμα της ὀπίσω ὁδοῦ ταριγεύουσι τὰς προκειμένας ἡμέρας, τῆ δὲ τελευταίη ἐξιεῖσι ές της κοιλίης την κεδρίην την έσηκαν πρότερον. η δε έχει τοσαύτην δύναμιν ώστε άμα έωυτη την υηδύν καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα κατατετηκότα έξάγει τας δε σάρκας το λίτρον κατατήκει, και δη λείπεται τοῦ νεκροῦ τὸ δέρμα μοῦνον καὶ τὰ ὀστέα. έπεὰν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, ἀπ' ὧν ἔδωκαν οὕτω τον νεκρόν, οὐδεν έτι πρηγματευθέντες.

88. Ἡ δὲ τρίτη ταρίχευσις ἐστὶ ήδε, ἡ τοὺς χρήμασι ἀσθενεστέρους σκευάζει συρμαίη διηθήσαντες τὴν κοιλίην ταριχεύουσι τὰς ἑβδομήκοντα ἡμέρας καὶ ἔπειτα ἀπ' ὧν ἔδωκαν ἀποφέρεσθαι.

89. Τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας τῶν ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν, ἐπεὰν τελευτήσωσι, οὐ παραυτίκα διδοῦσι ταριχεύειν, οὐδὲ ὅσαι ἃν ἔωσι εὐειδέες κάρτα καὶ λόγου πλεῦνος γυναῖκες ἀλλ' ἐπεὰν τριταῖαι ἡ τεταρταῖαι γένωνται, οὕτω παραδιδοῦσι τοῖσι ταριχεύουσι. τοῦτο δὲ ποιεῦσι οὕτω τοῦδε εἴνεκεν, ἴνα μή σφι οἱ ταριχευταὶ μίσγωνται τῆσι γυναιξί λαμφθῆναι γὰρ τινὰ φασὶ μισγόμενον νεκρῷ προσφάτφ γυναικός, κατειπεῖν δὲ τὸν ὁμότεχνον.

which they enclose the corpse, shut it up, and preserve it safe in a coffin-chamber, placed erect against a wall.

87. This is how they prepare the dead who have wished for the most costly fashion 1; those whose wish was for the middle and less costly way are prepared in another fashion. The embalmers charge their syringes with cedar oil and therewith fill the belly of the dead man, making no cut, nor removing the intestines, but injecting the drench through the anus and checking it from returning: then they embalm the body for the appointed days; on the last day they let the oil which they poured in pass out again. It has so great power that it brings away the inner parts and intestines all dissolved; the flesh is eaten away by the saltpetre, and in the end nothing is left of the body but skin and bone. Then the embalmers give back the dead body with no more ado.

88. When they use the third manner of embalming, which is the preparation of the poorer dead, they cleanse the belly with a purge, embalm the body for the seventy days and then give it back to be taken

away.

89. Wives of notable men, and women of great beauty and reputation, are not at once given over to the embalmers, but only after they have been dead for three or four days; this is done, that the embalmers may not have carnal intercourse with them. For it is said that one was found having intercourse with a woman newly dead, and was denounced by his fellow-workman.

<sup>1</sup> τοὺς τὰ πολυτελέστατα, εc. βουλομένους.

90. 'Ος δ' αν ή αὐτῶν Αἰγυπτίων ή ξείνων όμοίως ύπὸ κροκοδείλου άρπασθείς η ύπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ φαίνηται τεθνεώς, κατ' ἡν ἂν πόλιν έξενειχθή, τούτους πάσα ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ ταριχεύσαντας αὐτὸν καὶ περιστείλαντας ώς κάλλιστα θάψαι ἐν ἱρῆσι θήκησι οὐδὲ ψαῦσαι ἔξεστι αὐτοῦ άλλον οὐδένα οὕτε τῶν προσηκόντων οὕτε τῶν φίλων, άλλά μιν αί ίρέες αὐτοὶ τοῦ Νείλου ἄτε πλέον τι ή ανθρώπου νεκρον χειραπτάζοντες θάπτουσι.

91. Έλληνικοίσι δὲ νομαίοισι φεύγουσι χρασθαι, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν, μηδ' ἄλλων μηδαμά μηδαμών ανθρώπων νομαίοισι. οί μέν νυν άλλοι Αίγύπτιοι ούτω τούτο φυλάσσουσι, έστι δε Χέμμις πόλις μεγάλη νομού του Θηβαϊκού έγγυς Νέης πόλιος έν ταύτη τη πόλι έστὶ Περσέος του Δανάης ίρον τετράγωνον, πέριξ δὲ αὐτοῦ φοίνικες πεφύκασι. τὰ δὲ πρόπυλα τοῦ ἱροῦ λίθινα ἐστὶ κάρτα μεγάλα έπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἀνδριάντες δύο ἐστᾶσι λίθινοι μεγάλοι. ἐν δὲ τῶ περιβεβλημένω τούτω νηός τε ένι καὶ ἄγαλμα έν αὐτῶ ἐνέστηκε τοῦ Περσέος. οὖτοι οἱ Χεμμῖται λέγουσι τὸν Περσέα πολλάκις μεν ἀνὰ τὴν γῆν φαίνεσθαί σφι πολλάκις δὲ ἔσω τοῦ ἱροῦ, σανδάλιόν τε αὐτοῦ πεφορημένον ευρίσκεσθαι έὸν τὸ μέγαθος δίπηχυ, τὸ ἐπεὰν φανή, εύθηνέειν άπασαν Αίγυπτον, ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσι, ποιεύσι δὲ τάδε Ἑλληνικὰ τῶ Περσέι άγωνα γυμνικον τιθείσι δια πάσης άγωνίης έχοντα, παρέχοντες ἄεθλα κτήνεα καὶ χλαίνας καὶ δέρματα. εἰρομένου δέ μευ ὅ τι σφι μούνοισι ἔωθε ὁ Περσεύς ἐπιφαίνεσθαι καὶ ὅ τι κεγωρίδαται Αίγυπτίων των άλλων άγωνα γυμνικόν τιθέντες, 90. When anyone, be he Egyptian or stranger, is known to have been carried off by a crocodile or drowned by the river itself, such an one must by all means be embalmed and tended as fairly as may be and buried in a sacred coffin by the townsmen of the place where he is cast up; nor may any of his kinsfolk or his friends touch him, but his body is deemed something more than human, and is handled and buried by the priests of the Nile themselves.

91. The Egyptians shun the use of Greek customs, and (to speak generally) the customs of any other men whatever. Yet, though the rest are careful of this, there is a great city called Chemmis, in the Theban province, near the New City; in this city is a square temple of Perseus son of Danae, in a grove of palm trees. The colonnade before this temple is of stone, very great; and there stand at the entrance two great stone statues. In this outer court there is a shrine with an image of Perseus standing in it. The people of this Chemmis say that Perseus is often seen up and down this land, and often within the temple, and that the sandal he wears is found, and it is two cubits long; when that is seen, all Egypt prospers. This is what they say; and their doings in honour of Perseus are Greek, in that they celebrate games comprising every form of contest, and offer animals and cloaks and skins as prizes. When I asked why Perseus appeared to them alone, and why. unlike all other Egyptians, they celebrate games,

έφασαν τὸν Περσέα ἐκ τῆς ἑωυτῶν πόλιος γεγονέναι τὸν γὰρ Δαναὸν καὶ τὸν Λυγκέα ἐόντας Χεμμίτας ἐκπλῶσαι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων γενεηλογέοντες κατέβαινον ἐς τὸν Περσέα. ἀπικόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς Αἴγυπτον κατ αἰτίην τὴν καὶ "Ελληνες λέγουσι, οἴσοντα ἐκ Λιβύης τὴν Γοργοῦς κεφαλήν, ἔφασαν ἐλθεῖν καὶ παρὰ σφέας καὶ ἀναγνῶναι τοὺς συγγενέας πάντας ἐκμεμαθηκότα δέ μιν ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Αἴγυπτον τὸ τῆς Χέμμιος οὔνομα, πεπυσμένον παρὰ τῆς μητρός. ἀγῶνα δέ οἱ γυμνικὸν αὐτοῦ κελεύσαντος ἐπιτελέειν.

92. Ταθτα μέν πάντα οἱ κατύπερθε τῶν ἐλέων οικέοντες Αιγύπτιοι νομίζουσι οί δε δη εν τοίσι έλεσι κατοικημένοι τοίσι μέν αὐτοίσι νόμοισι γρέωνται τοίσι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ τὰ άλλα και γυναικί μιή έκαστος αὐτῶν συνοικέει κατά περ "Ελληνες, άταρ προς εὐτελείην των σιτίων τάδε σφι άλλα έξεύρηται. έπεαν πλήρης γένηται ο ποταμός καὶ τὰ πεδία πελαγίση, φύεται έν τῶ ὕδατι κρίνεα πολλά, τὰ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι λωτόν ταθτ' έπεὰν δρέψωσι αθαίνουσι πρὸς ήλιον καὶ ἔπειτα τὸ ἐκ μέσου τοῦ λωτοῦ, τῆ μήκωνι ἐὸν έμφερές, πτίσαντες ποιεύνται έξ αὐτοῦ ἄρτους όπτους πυρί. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ ρίζα τοῦ λωτοῦ τούτου έδωδίμη καὶ ἐγγλύσσει ἐπιεικέως, ἐὸν στρογγύλον, μέγαθος κατά μήλον. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα κρίνεα ρόδοισι έμφερέα, έν τῷ ποταμῷ γινόμενα καὶ ταύτα, έξ ων ο καρπός έν άλλη κάλυκι παραφυσμένη ἐκ τῆς ρίζης γίνεται, κηρίω σφηκών ίδέην ομοιότατον έν τούτω τρωκτά όσον τε πυρήν έλαίης έγγίνεται συχνά, τρώγεται δέ καὶ άπαλὰ ταῦτα καὶ αὖα. τὴν δὲ βύβλον τὴν ἐπέτειον γινομένην

they told me that Perseus was by lineage of their city; for Danaus and Lynceus, who voyaged to Greece, were of Chemmis; and they traced descent from these down to Perseus. They told too how when he came to Egypt for the reason alleged also by the Greeks—namely, to bring the Gorgon's head from Libya—he came to Chemmis too and recognised all his kin; and how before he came to Egypt he had heard the name of Chemmis from his mother. It was at his bidding, said they, that they celebrated the games.

92. All these are the customs of Egyptians who dwell above the marsh country. Those who inhabit the marshes have the same customs as the rest, both in other respects, and in that each man has one wife. as in Greece. They have, besides, devised means to make their food less costly. When the river is in flood and overflows the plains, many lilies, which the Egyptians call lotus, grow in the water. They pluck these and dry them in the sun, then they crush the poppy-like centre of the plant and bake loaves of it. The root also of this lotus is eatable, and of a sweetish taste; it is round, and of the bigness of an apple. Other lilies also grow in the river, which are like roses; the fruit of these is found in a calyx springing from the root by a separate stalk, and is most like to a comb made by wasps; this produces many eatable seeds as big as an olive-stone, which are eaten both fresh and dried. They use also the byblus which

ἐπεὰν ἀνασπάσωσι ἐκ τῶν ἐλέων, τὰ μὲν ἄνω αὐτῆς ἀποτάμνοντες ἐς ἄλλο τι τράπουσι, τὸ δὲ κάτω λελειμμένον ὅσον τε ἐπὶ πῆχυν τρώγουσι καὶ πωλέουσι. ¹ οἱ δὲ ἂν καὶ κάρτα βούλωνται χρηστῆ τῆ βύβλω χρᾶσθαι, ἐν κλιβάνω διαφανέι πνίξαντες οὕτω τρώγουσι. οἱ δὲ τινὲς αὐτῶν ζῶσι ἀπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων μοῦνον, τοὺς ἐπεὰν λάβωσι καὶ ἐξέλωσι τὴν κοιλίην, αὐαίνουσι πρὸς ῆλιον καὶ

ἔπειτα αύους ἐόντας σιτέονται.

93. Οι δὲ ἰνθύες οἱ ἀνελαῖοι ἐν μὲν τοῖσι ποταμοίσι οὐ μάλα γίνονται, τρεφόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῆσι λίμνησι τοιάδε ποιεύσι. ἐπεάν σφεας ἐσίη οἶστρος κυτσκεσθαι, άγεληδον έκπλώουσι ές θάλασσαν. ήγεονται δε οί έρσενες απορραίνοντες του θορού, αί δὲ ἐπόμεναι ἀνακάπτουσι καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ κυίσκουται. ἐπεὰν δὲ πλήρεες γένωνται ἐν τῆ θαλάσση, αναπλώουσι οπίσω ές ήθεα τὰ έωυτών έκαστοι, ήγεονται μέντοι γε οὐκέτι οἱ αὐτοί, ἀλλὰ των θηλέων γίνεται ή ήγεμονίη ήγεύμεναι δέ αγεληδον ποιεύσι οδόν περ εποίευν οι έρσενες των γαρ ώων απορραίνουσι κατ' ολίγους των κέγγρων, οί δὲ ἔρσενες καταπίνουσι ἐπόμενοι. εἰσὶ δὲ οί κέγχροι ούτοι ίχθύες. ἐκ δὲ τῶν περιγινομένων καί μή καταπινομένων κέγχρων οι τρεφόμενοι ίχθύες γίνονται. οἱ δ' ἀν αὐτῶν άλῶσι ἐκπλώοντες ές θάλασσαν, φαίνονται τετριμμένοι τὰ ἐπ' ἀριστερά των κεφαλέων, οι δ' αν οπίσω αναπλώοντες. τὰ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τετρίφαται. πάσχουσι δὲ ταῦτα διὰ τόδε εχόμενοι της γης επ' άριστερα καταπλώουσι ές θάλασσαν, και άναπλώοντες οπίσω της αυτής

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  Stein brackets και πωλέουσι, as being inappropriate; it should perhaps come after τράπουσι above,

grows annually: it is plucked from the marshes, the top of it cut off and turned to other ends, and the lower part, about a cubit's length, eaten or sold. Those who wish to use the byblus at its very best roast it before eating in a redhot oven. Some live on fish alone. They catch the fish, take out the intestines, then dry them in the sun and eat them dried.

93. Fish that go in shoals do not often come to birth in the river; they are reared in the lakes, and this is the way with them: when the desire of spawning comes on them, they swim out to sea in shoals, the males leading, and throwing out their seed, while the females come after and swallow it and so conceive. When the females have become pregnant in the sea, then all the fish swim back to their homes; but now it is the females and not the males who lead the way, going before in a shoal, and (like the males) throwing off ever and anon a few of their eggs (which are like millet-seeds), which the males devour as they follow. These millet-seeds, or eggs, are fish. It is from the surviving eggs, which are not devoured, that the fish which grow come to the birth. Those fish that are caught while swimming seawards show bruises on the left side of their heads; those that are caught returning, on the right side. This happens to them because as they swim seawards they keep close to the left bank, and hold

ἀντέχονται, ἐγχριμπτόμενοι καὶ ψαύοντες ὡς μάλιστα, ἵνα δὴ μὴ ἀμάρτοιεν τῆς ὁδοῦ διὰ τὸν ῥόον. ἐπεὰν δὲ πληθύνεσθαι ἄρχηται ὁ Νεῖλος, τά τε κοῖλα τῆς γῆς καὶ τὰ τέλματα τὰ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πρῶτα ἄρχεται πίμπλασθαι διηθέοντος τοῦ ὕδατος ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ· καὶ αὐτίκα τε πλέα γίνεται ταῦτα καὶ παραχρῆμα ἰχθύων σμικρῶν πίμπλαται πάντα. κόθεν δὲ οἰκὸς αὐτοὺς γίνεσθαι, ἐγώ μοι δοκέω κατανοέειν τοῦτο· τοῦ προτέρου ἔτεος ἐπεὰν ἀπολίπη ὁ Νεῖλος, οἱ ἰχθύες ἐντεκόντες ῷὰ ἐς τὴν ἰλὺν ἄμα τῷ ἐσχάτῳ ὕδατι ἀπαλλάσσονται· ἐπεὰν δὲ περιελθόντος τοῦ χρόνου πάλιν ἐπέλθη τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐκ τῶν ῷῶν τούτων παραυτίκα γίνονται οἱ ἰχθύες οὖτοι.

94. Καὶ περὶ μὲν τοὺς ἰχθύας οὕτω ἔχει. ἀλείφατι δὲ χρέωνται Αἰγυπτίων οἱ περὶ τὰ ἔλεα
οἰκέοντες ἀπὸ τῶν σιλλικυπρίων τοῦ καρποῦ, τὸ
καλεῦσι μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι κίκι, ποιεῦσι δὲ ὧδε.
παρὰ τὰ χείλεα τῶν τε ποταμῶν καὶ τῶν λιμνέων
σπείρουσι τὰ σιλλικύπρια ταῦτα, τὰ ἐν Ἑλλησι
αὐτόματα ἄγρια φύεται ταῦτα ἐν τῆ Αἰγύπτω
σπειρόμενα καρπὸν φέρει πολλὸν μὲν δυσώδεα δέ
τοῦτον ἐπεὰν συλλέξωνται, οἱ μὲν κόψαντες ἀπιποῦσι, οἱ δὲ καὶ φρύξαντες ἀπέψουσι, καὶ τὸ
ἀπορρέον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ συγκομίζονται. ἔστι δὲ πῖον
καὶ οὐδὲν ἦσσον τοῦ ἐλαίου τῷ λύχνω προσηνές,

όδμην δὲ βαρέαν παρέχεται.

95. Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς κώνωπας ἀφθόνους ἐόντας τάδε σφι ἐστὶ μεμηχανημένα. τοὺς μὲν τὰ ἄνω τῶν ἐλέων οἰκέοντας οἱ πύργοι ὡφελέουσι, ἐς τοὺς ἀναβαίνοντες κοιμῶνται οἱ γὰρ κώνωπες ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνέμων οὐκ οἶοί τε εἰσὶ ὑψοῦ πέτεσθαι. τοῖσι

# BOOK II. 93-95

to the same bank also in their return, grazing it and touching it as much as they may, I suppose lest the current should make them miss their course. When the Nile begins to rise, hollow and marshy places near the river are the first to begin to fill, the water trickling through from the river, and as soon as they are flooded they are suddenly full of little fishes. Whence it is like that these come into being I believe that I can guess. When the Nile falls, the fish have spawned into the mud before they leave it with the last of the water; and as the time comes round, and in the next year the flood comes again, this spawn at once gives birth to these fishes.

94. So much then for the fishes. The Egyptians who live about the marshes use an oil drawn from the castor-berry, which they call kiki. They sow this plant on the banks of the rivers and lakes; it grows wild in Hellas; in Egypt it produces abundant but ill-smelling fruit, which is gathered, and either bruised and pressed, or boiled after roasting, and the liquid that comes from it collected. This is thick and as useful as oil for lamps, and gives off a strong smell.

95. Gnats are abundant; this is how the Egyptians protect themselves against them: those who dwell higher up than the marshy country are well served by the towers whither they ascend to sleep, for the winds prevent the gnats from flying aloft; those

δὲ περὶ τὰ ἔλεα οἰκέουσι τάδε ἀντὶ τῶν πύργων ἄλλα μεμηχάνηται· πᾶς ἀνὴρ αὐτῶν ἀμφίβληστρον ἔκτηται, τῷ τῆς μὲν ἡμέρης ἰχθῦς ἀγρεύει, τὴν δὲ νύκτα τάδε αὐτῷ χρᾶται· ἐν τῆ ἀναπαύεται κοίτη, περὶ ταύτην ἵστησι τὸ ἀμφίβληστρον καὶ ἔπειτα ἐνδὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸ κατεύδει. οἱ δὲ κώνωπες, ἡν μὲν ἐν ἰματίῳ ἐνειλιξάμενος εὕδη ἡ σινδόνι, διὰ τούτων δάκνουσι, διὰ δὲ τοῦ δικτύου οὐδὲ

πειρώνται άρχήν.

96. Τὰ δὲ δὴ πλοῖά σφι, τοῖσι φορτηγέουσι, έστι έκ της ακάνθης ποιεύμενα, της ή μορφή μεν έστι όμοιστάτη τῷ Κυρηναίω λωτῷ, τὸ δὲ δάκρυον κόμμι ἐστί. ἐκ ταύτης ὧν τῆς ἀκάνθης κοψάμενοι ξύλα όσον τε διπήχεα πλινθηδόν συντιθείσι ναυπηγεύμενοι τρόπον τοιόνδε περί γόμφους πυκνούς καὶ μακρούς περιείρουσι τὰ διπήχεα ξύλα. έπεαν δε τώ τρόπω τούτω ναυπηγήσωνται, ζυγά έπιπολής τείνουσι αὐτών νομεύσι δὲ οὐδὲν γρέωνται έσωθεν δε τας άρμονίας εν ων επάκτωσαν τη βύβλω. πηδάλιον δέ εν ποιεύνται. καὶ τοῦτο διὰ τῆς τρόπιος διαβύνεται. ίστω δὲ άκανθίνω χρέωνται, ίστίοισι δε βυβλίνοισι. ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα ἀνὰ μὲν τὸν ποταμὸν οὐ δύναται πλέειν, ην μη λαμπρος άνεμος ἐπέχη, ἐκ γης δὲ παρέλκεται, κατά ρόον δε κομίζεται ώδε έστι εκ μυρίκης πεποιημένη θύρη, κατερραμμένη δίπεϊ καλάμων, και λίθος τετρημένος διτάλαντος μάλιστά κη σταθμόν τούτων την μέν θύρην δεδεμένην κάλω έμπροσθε του πλοίου άπιει έπιφέρεσθαι, τὸν δὲ λίθον ἄλλω κάλω ὅπισθε. μέν δή θύρη τοῦ ρόου έμπίπτοντος χωρέει ταχέως καὶ έλκει την βάριν (τοῦτο γάρ δη οὔνομα ἐστὶ living about the marshes have a different device, instead of the towers. Every man of them has a net, with which he catches fish by day, and for the night he sets it round the bed where he rests, then creeps under it and so sleeps. If he sleep wrapped in a garment or cloth, the gnats bite through it; but through the net they do not even try at all to bite.

96. The boats in which they carry cargo are made of the acacia, which is in form most like to the lotus of Cyrene, and its sap is gum. Of this tree they cut logs of two cubits length and lay them like courses of bricks,2 and build the boat by making these twocubit logs fast to long and close-set stakes; and having so built they set crossbeams athwart and on the logs. They use no ribs. They caulk the seams within with byblus. There is one rudder, passing through a hole in the boat's keel. The mast is of acacia-wood and the sails of byblus. These boats cannot move upstream unless a brisk breeze continue; they are towed from the bank; but downstream they are thus managed: they have a raft made of tamarisk wood, fastened together with matting of reeds, and a pierced stone of about two talents' weight; the raft is let go to float down ahead of the boat, made fast to it by a rope, and the stone is made fast also by a rope to the after part of the boat. So, driven by the current, the raft floats swiftly and tows the "baris" (which is the name of

but with the joints alternating:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The "Mimosa Nilotica," still used for boat-building in Egypt.

<sup>2</sup> That is, like bricks laid not one directly over another

τοίσι πλοίοισι τούτοισι), ὁ δὲ λίθος ὅπισθε ἐπελκόμενος καὶ ἐων ἐν βυσσῷ κατιθύνει τὸν πλόον. ἔστι δέ σφι τὰ πλοία ταῦτα πλήθεῖ πολλά, καὶ ἄγει ἔνια πολλὰς γιλιάδας ταλάντων.

97. Ἐπεὰν δὲ ἐπέλθη ὁ Νεῖλος τὴν χώρην, αὶ πόλιες μοῦναι φαίνονται ὑπερέχουσαι, μάλιστά κη ἐμφερέες τῆσι ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῷ πόντῷ νήσοισι τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τῆς Αἰγύπτου πέλαγος γίνεται, αὶ δὲ πόλιες μοῦναι ὑπερέχουσι. πορθμεύονται ἄν, ἐπεὰν τοῦτο γένηται, οὐκέτι κατὰ τὰ ῥέεθρα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀλλὰ διὰ μέσου τοῦ πεδίου. ἐς μέν γε Μέμφιν ἐκ Ναυκράτιος ἀναπλώοντι παρ' αὐτὰς τὰς πυραμίδας γίνεται ὁ πλόος ἔστι δὲ οὐδ' οὖτος, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸ ὀξὺ τοῦ Δέλτα καὶ παρὰ Κερκάσωρον πόλιν ἐς δὲ Ναύκρατιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης καὶ Κανώβου διὰ πεδίου πλέων ῆξεις κατ' "Ανθυλλάν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν 'Αργάνδρου καλευμένην.

98. Τουτέων δὲ ἡ μὲν ἀνθυλλα ἐοῦσα λογίμη πόλις ἐς ὑποδήματα ἐξαίρετος δίδοται τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντος Αἰγύπτου τῆ γυναικί (τοῦτο δὲ γίνεται ἐξ ὅσου ὑπὸ Πέρσησι ἐστὶ Αἴγυπτος), ἡ δὲ ἐτέρη πόλις δοκέει μοι τὸ οὕνομα ἔχειν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαναοῦ γαμβροῦ ᾿Αρχάνδρου τοῦ Φθίου τοῦ ᾿Αχαιοῦ· καλέεται γὰρ δὴ ᾿Αρχάνδρου πόλις. εἴη δ᾽ ἄν καὶ ἄλλος τις Ἦρχανδρος, οὐ μέντοι γε

Αίγύπτιον τὸ ούνομα.

99. Μέχρι μὲν τούτου ὄψις τε ἐμὴ καὶ γνώμη καὶ ἱστορίη ταῦτα λέγουσα ἐστί, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε Αἰγυπτίους ἔρχομαι λόγους ἐρέων κατὰ τὰ ἤκουον προσέσται δὲ αὐτοῖσί τι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὄψιος. Μῖνα τὸν πρῶτον βασιλεύσαντα Αἰγύπτου οί

these boats,) and the stone dragging behind on the river bottom keeps the boat's course straight. There are many of these boats; some are of many thousand talents' burden.

97. When the Nile overflows the land, the towns alone are seen high and dry above the water, very like to the islands in the Aegean sea. These alone stand out, the rest of Egypt being a sheet of water. So when this happens folk are ferried not, as is their wont, in the course of the stream, but clean over the plain. From Naucratis indeed to Memphis the boat going upwards passes close by the pyramids themselves; though here the course runs not so,¹ but by the Delta's point and the town Cercasorus; but your voyage from the sea and Canobus to Naucratis will take you over the plain near the town of Anthylla and that which is called Archandrus' town.

98. Anthylla is a town of some name, and is specially assigned to the consort of the reigning king of Egypt, for the provision of her shoes. This has been done since Egypt has been under Persian dominion. The other town, I think, is named after Archandrus son of Phthius the Achaean, and son-in-law of Danaus; for it is called Archandrus' town. It may be that there was another Archandrus; but the name is not Egyptian.

99. Thus far all I have said is the outcome of my own sight and judgment and inquiry. Henceforth I will record Egyptian chronicles, according to that which I have heard, adding thereto somewhat of what I myself have seen. The priests told me that Min was the first king of Egypt, and that first he

¹ The meaning of these words is not clear. Some think that they mean "the usual course is not this," and that perhaps δ ἐωθώs has been lost after οὖτοs.
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ίρέες έλεγον τούτο μεν απογεφυρώσαι την Μέμφιν. τον γάρ ποταμον πάντα ρέειν παρά το όρος τὸ ψάμμινον πρὸς Λιβύης, τὸν δὲ Μίνα ἄνωθεν, όσον τε έκατὸν σταδίους ἀπὸ Μέμφιος, τὸν πρὸς μεσαμβρίης άγκωνα προσχώσαντα το μέν άρχαιον ρέεθρον ἀποξηρήναι, τὸν δὲ ποταμὸν ὀχετεῦσαι τὸ μέσον τῶν ὁρέων ῥέειν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ Περσέων ὁ ἀγκων ούτος τοῦ Νείλου ὡς ἀπεργμένος ρέη ἐν φυλακῆσι μεγάλησι ἔχεται, φρασσόμενος ανα παν έτος εί γαρ εθελήσει ρήξας ύπερβήναι ό ποταμός ταύτη, κίνδυνος πάση Μέμφι κατακλυσθήναι ἐστί, ὡς δὲ τῷ Μίνι τούτφ τῷ πρώτω γενομένω βασιλέι γέρσον γεγονέναι το ἀπεργμένον, τοῦτο μὲν ἐν αὐτῶ πόλιν κτίσαι ταύτην ήτις νύν Μέμφις καλέεται έστι γάρ καὶ ή Μέμφις ἐν τῶ στεινῶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου έξωθεν δε αὐτης περιορύξαι λίμνην έκ του ποταμού πρός βορέην τε και πρός έσπέρην (τὸ γὰρ προς την ηω αυτός ὁ Νείλος ἀπέργει), Ιτούτο δέ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸ ἰρὸν ἱδρύσασθαι ἐν αὐτῆ, ἐὸν μέγα τε καὶ άξιαπηγητότατον.

100. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον κατέλεγον οἱ ἰρέες ἐκ βύβλου ἄλλων βασιλέων τριηκοσίων καὶ τριήκοντα οὐνόματα. ἐν τοσαύτησι δὲ γενεῆσι ἀνθρώπων ὀκτωκαίδεκα μὲν Αἰθίοπες ἦσαν, μία δὲ γυνὴ ἐπιχωρίη, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἄνδρες Αἰγύπτιοι. τῆ δὲ γυναικὶ οὔνομα ἦν, ῆτις ἐβασίλευσε, τό περ τῆ Βαβυλωνίη, Νίτωκρις τὴν ἔλεγον τιμωρέουσαν ἀδελφεῷ, τὸν Αἰγύπτιοι βασιλεύοντα σφέων ἀπέκτειναν, ἀποκτείναντες δὲ οὔτω ἐκείνη ἀπέδοσαν τὴν βασιληίην, τούτω τιμωρέουσαν πολλοὺς Αἰγυπτίων

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separated Memphis from the Nile by a dam. All the river had flowed close under the sandy mountains on the Libyan side, but Min made the southern bend of it which begins about an hundred furlongs above Memphis, by damming the stream; thereby he dried up the ancient course, and carried the river by a channel so that it flowed midway between the hills. And to this day the Persians keep careful guard over this bend of the river, strengthening its dam every year, that it may keep the current in; for were the Nile to burst his dykes and overflow here, all Memphis were in danger of drowning. Then, when this first king Min had made what he thus cut off to be dry land, he first founded in it that city which is now called Memphis-for even Memphis lies in the narrow part of Egypt-and outside of it he dug a lake to its north and west, from the river (the Nile itself being the eastern boundary of the place); and secondly, he built in it the great and most noteworthy temple of Hephaestus.

100. After him came three hundred and thirty kings, whose names the priests recited from a papyrus roll. In all these many generations there were eighteen Ethiopian kings, and one queen, native to the country; the rest were all Egyptian men. The name of the queen was the same as that of the Babylonian princess, Nitocris. She, to avenge her brother (he was king of Egypt and was slain by his subjects, who then gave Nitocris the sovereignty) put

διαφθείραι δόλω. ποιησαμένην γάρ μιν οίκημα περίμηκες ὑπόγαιον καινοῦν τῷ λόγω, νόω δὲ ἄλλα μηγανασθαι καλέσασαν δέ μιν Αίγυπτίων τούς μάλιστα μεταιτίους του φόνου ήδεε πολλούς ίστιαν, δαινυμένοισι δὲ ἐπείναι τὸν ποταμὸν δί αὐλῶνος κρυπτοῦ μεγάλου. ταύτης μὲν πέρι τοσαῦτα ἔλεγον, πλην ὅτι αὐτήν μιν, ὡς τοῦτο έξέργαστο, ρίψαι ές οίκημα σποδού πλέον, όκως άτιμώρητος γένηται.

101. Των δὲ ἄλλων βασιλέων οὐ γὰρ ἔλεγον οὐδεμίαν ἔργων ἀπόδεξιν καὶ οὐδὲν είναι λαμπρότητος, πλην ένος του έσχάτου αυτών Μοίριος. τούτον δὲ ἀποδέξασθαι μνημόσυνα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὰ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον τετραμμένα προπύλαια, λίμνην τε ορύξαι, της ή περίοδος όσων έστι σταδίων ύστερον δηλώσω, πυραμίδας τε έν αὐτή οἰκοδομήσαι, τῶν τοῦ μεγάθεος πέρι ὁμοῦ αὐτή τῆ λίμνη ἐπιμνήσομαι τοῦτον μὲν τοσαῦτα ἀπο-

δέξασθαι, των δε άλλων οὐδένα οὐδέν.

102. Παραμει ψάμενος ών τούτους τοῦ ἐπὶ τούτοισι γενομένου βασιλέος, τῷ οὔνομα ἢν Σέσωστρις, τούτου μνήμην ποιήσομαι τον έλεγον οί ίρέες πρώτον μέν πλοίοισι μακροίσι όρμηθέντα έκ τοῦ 'Αραβίου κόλπου τοὺς παρά την Ερυθρην θάλασσαν κατοικημένους καταστρέφεσθαι, ές δ πλέοντά μιν πρόσω ἀπικέσθαι ἐς θάλασσαν οὐκέτι πλωτήν ύπο βραχέων. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὡς ὀπίσω ἀπίκετο ές Αίγυπτον, κατά τῶν ἱρέων τὴν φάτιν, πολλήν στρατιήν των . . 1 λαβων ήλαυνε διά της ηπείρου, παν έθνος το έμποδων καταστρεφόμενος.

<sup>1</sup> A word is omitted, perhaps ἦρχεν; τῶν ἦρχεν = of his subjects.

### BOOK II. 100-102

many of the Egyptians to death by guile. She built a spacious underground chamber; then, with the pretence of handselling it, but with far other intent in her mind, she gave a great feast, inviting to it those Egyptians whom she knew to have been most concerned in her brother's murder; and while they feasted she let the river in upon them by a great and secret channel. This was all that the priests told of her, save that also when she had done this she cast herself into a chamber full of hot ashes, thereby to escape vengeance.

101. But of the other kings they related no achievement or deed of great note, save of Moeris, who was the last of them. This Moeris was remembered as having built the northern forecourt of the temple of Hephaestus, and dug a lake, of as many furlongs in circuit as I shall later show; and built there pyramids also, the size of which I will mention when I speak of the lake. All this was Moeris' work, they said; of none of the rest had they any-

thing to record.

102. Passing over these, therefore, I will now speak of the king who came after them, Sesostris. This king, said the priests, set out with a fleet of long ships 2 from the Arabian Gulf and subdued all the dwellers by the Red Sea, till as he sailed on he came to a sea which was too shallow for his vessels. After returning thence back to Egypt, he gathered a great army (according to the story of the priests) and marched over the mainland, subduing every nation to

2 Ships of war.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Rameses II., called by the Greeks Sesostris; said to have ruled in the fourteenth century B.C.

ότέοισι μέν νυν αὐτῶν ἀλκίμοισι ἐνετύγχανε καὶ δεινῶς γλιχομένοισι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίης, τούτοισι μὲν στήλας ἐνίστη ἐς τὰς χώρας διὰ γραμμάτων λεγούσας τό τε ἑωυτοῦ οὔνομα καὶ τῆς πάτρης, καὶ ὡς δυνάμι τῆ ἑωυτοῦ κατεστρέψατο σφέας ὅτεων δὲ ἀμαχητὶ καὶ εὐπετέως παρέλαβε τὰς πόλιας, τούτοισι δὲ ἐνέγραφε ἐν τῆσι στήλησι κατὰ ταὐτὰ καὶ τοῖσι ἀνδρηίοισι τῶν ἐθνέων γενομένοισι, καὶ δὴ καὶ αἰδοῖα γυναικὸς προσενέγραφε, δῆλα βουλόμενος ποιέειν ὡς εἴησαν ἀνάλκιδες.

103. Ταῦτα δὲ ποιέων διεξήιε τὴν ἤπειρον, ἐς δ ἐκ τῆς ᾿Ασίης ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην διαβὰς τούς τε Σκύθας κατεστρέψατο καὶ τοὺς Θρήικας. ἐς τούτους δέ μοι δοκέει καὶ προσώτατα ἀπικέσθαι ὁ Αἰγύπτιος στρατός· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῆ τούτων χώρη φαίνονται σταθεῖσαι αἱ στῆλαι, τὸ δὲ προσωτέρω τούτων οὐκέτι. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἐπιστρέψας ὀπίσω ἤιε, καὶ ἐπείτε ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ Φάσι ποταμῷ, οὐκ ἔχω τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν εἴτε αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς Σέσωστρις ἀποδασάμενος τῆς ἐωντοῦ στρατιῆς μόριον ὅσον δὴ αὐτοῦ κατέλιπε τῆς χώρης οἰκήτορας, εἴτε τῶν τινες στρατιωτέων τῆ πλάνη αὐτοῦ ἀχθεσθέντες περὶ Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν κατέμειναν.

104. Φαίνονται μὲν γὰρ ἐόντες οἱ Κόλχοι Αἰγύπτιοι, νοήσας δὲ πρότερον αὐτὸς ἢ ἀκούσας
ἄλλων λέγω. ὡς δέ μοι ἐν φροντίδι ἐγένετο,
εἰρόμην ἀμφοτέρους, καὶ μᾶλλον οἱ Κόλχοι ἐμεμνέατο τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἢ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τῶν
Κόλχων νομίζειν δ᾽ ἔφασαν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τῆς
Σεσώστριος στρατιῆς εἶναι τοὺς Κόλχους. αὐτὸς

which he came. When those that he met were valiant men and strove hard for freedom, he set up pillars in their land whereon the inscription showed his own name and his country's, and how he had overcome them with his own power; but when the cities had made no resistance and been easily taken, then he put an inscription on the pillars even as he had done where the nations were brave; but he drew also on them the privy parts of a woman, wishing to show clearly that the people were cowardly.

103. Thus doing he marched over the country till he had passed over from Asia to Europe and subdued the Scythians and Thracians. Thus far and no farther, I think, the Egyptian army went; for the pillars can be seen standing in their country, but in none beyond it. Thence he turned about and went back homewards; and when he came to the Phasis river, it may be (for I cannot speak with exact knowledge) that King Sesostris divided off some part of his army and left it there to dwell in the country, or it may be that some of his soldiers grew weary of his wanderings, and staved by the Phasis.

104. For it is plain to see that the Colchians are Egyptians; and this that I say I myself noted before I heard it from others. When I began to think on this matter, I inquired of both peoples; and the Colchians remembered the Egyptians better than the Egyptians remembered the Colchians; the Egyptians said that they held the Colchians to be part of Sesostris' army. I myself guessed it to be

δὲ εἴκασα τῆδε, καὶ ὅτι μελάγγροες εἰσὶ καὶ οὐλότριγες. καὶ τοῦτο μέν ές οὐδὲν ἀνήκει εἰσὶ γαρ καὶ έτεροι τοιοῦτοι άλλα τοίσιδε καὶ μαλλον, ότι μούνοι πάντων ανθρώπων Κόλχοι και Αίγύπτιοι καὶ Αἰθίοπες περιτάμνονται ἀπ' ἀργης τὰ αίδοία. Φοίνικες δὲ καὶ Σύροι οἱ ἐν τῆ Παλαιστίνη και αὐτοι ὁμολογέουσι παρ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθηκέναι, Σύριοι δε οί περί Θερμώδοντα καί Παρθένιον ποταμόν καὶ Μάκρωνες οἱ τούτοισι άστυγείτονες εόντες άπὸ Κόλχων φασί νεωστί μεμαθηκέναι. ούτοι γάρ είσι οί περιταμνόμενοι ανθρώπων μούνοι, καὶ ούτοι Αίγυπτίοισι φαίνονται ποιεύντες κατά ταὐτά. αὐτῶν δὲ Αίγυπτίων καὶ Αἰθιόπων οὐκ ἔγω εἰπεῖν ὁκότεροι παρὰ των έτέρων εξέμαθον άρχαιον γάρ δή τι φαίνεται έόν. ώς δὲ ἐπιμισγόμενοι Αἰγύπτω ἐξέμαθον. μέγα μοι καὶ τόδε τεκμήριον γίνεται. Φοινίκων όκόσοι τη Έλλάδι ἐπιμίσγονται, οὐκέτι Αίγυπτίους μιμέονται κατά τὰ αίδοῖα, άλλὰ τῶν ἐπιγινομένων οὐ περιτάμνουσι τὰ αίδοῖα.

105. Φέρε νῦν καὶ ἄλλο εἴπω περὶ τῶν Κόλχων, 
ώς Αἰγυπτίοισι προσφερέες εἰσί λίνον μοῦνοι 
οὖτοί τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐργάζονται καὶ κατὰ 
ταὐτά, καὶ ἡ ζόη πᾶσα καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα ἐμφερής 
ἐστι ἀλλήλοισι. λίνον δὲ τὸ μὲν Κολχικὸν ὑπὸ 
Ἑλλήνων Σαρδωνικὸν κέκληται, τὸ μέντοι ἀπ' 
Αἰγύπτου ἀπικνεύμενον καλέεται Αἰγύπτιον.

106. Αί δὲ στῆλαι τὰς ἵστα κατὰ τὰς χώρας ὁ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς Σέσωστρις, αὶ μὲν πλεῦνες

so, partly because they are dark-skinned and woollyhaired; though that indeed goes for nothing, seeing that other peoples, too, are such; but my better proof was that the Colchians and Egyptians and Ethiopians are the only nations that have from the first practised circumcision. The Phoenicians and the Syrians of Palestine acknowledge of themselves that they learnt the custom from the Egyptians, and the Syrians of the valleys of the Thermodon and the Parthenius, as well as their neighbours the Macrones, say that they learnt it lately from the Colchians. These are the only nations that circumcise, and it is seen that they do even as the Egyptians. But as to the Egyptians and Ethiopians themselves, I cannot say which nation learnt it from the other; for it is manifestly a very ancient custom. That the others learnt it from intercourse with Egypt I hold to be clearly proved by this-that Phoenicians who hold intercourse with Hellas cease to imitate the Egyptians in this matter and do not circumcise their children.

105. Nay, and let me speak of another matter in which the Colchians are like to the Egyptians: they and the Egyptians alone work linen, and have the same way, a way peculiar to themselves, of working it; and they are alike in all their manner of life, and in their speech. Linen has two names: the Colchian kind is called by the Greeks Sardonian; that which comes from Egypt is called Egyptian.

106. As to the pillars which Sesostris, king of Egypt, set up in the countries, most of them are no

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> There seems to be no reason for connecting Colchian linen with Sardinia (as Σαρδωνικόν would imply). The Colchian word may have had a similar sound.

οὐκέτι φαίνονται περιεούσαι, ἐν δὲ τῆ Παλαιστίνη Συρίη αὐτὸς ώρων ἐούσας καὶ τὰ γράμματα τὰ είρημένα ένεόντα καὶ γυναικός αίδοῖα. είσὶ δὲ καὶ περί Ίωνίην δύο τύποι έν πέτρησι έγκεκολαμμένοι τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρός, τῆ τε ἐκ τῆς Ἐφεσίης ἐς Φώκαιαν έρχονται καὶ τῆ ἐκ Σαρδίων ἐς Σμύρνην. έκατέρωθι δε άνηρ εγγεγλυπται μέγαθος πέμπτης σπιθαμής, τή μεν δεξιή χειρί έχων αίχμην τή δε άριστερή τόξα, και την άλλην σκευήν ώσαύτως καὶ γὰρ Αἰγυπτίην καὶ Αἰθιοπίδα ἔγει ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ώμου ές του έτερον ώμον δια των στηθέων γράμματα ίρα Αίγύπτια διήκει έγκεκολαμμένα, λέγοντα τάδε " Έγω τήνδε την χώρην ώμοισι τοίσι έμοίσι έκτησάμην." ὅστις δὲ καὶ ὁκόθεν ἐστί, ἐνθαῦτα μὲν ού δηλοί, έτέρωθι δε δεδήλωκε τα δη και μετεξέτεροι των θεησαμένων Μέμνονος είκονα είκάζουσί μιν είναι, πολλον της άληθείης άπολελειμμένοι.

107. Τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον Σέσωστριν ἀναχωρέοντα καὶ ἀνάγοντα πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῶν ἐθνέων τῶν τὰς χώρας κατεστρέψατο, ἔλεγον οἱ ἱρέες, ἐπείτε ἐγίνετο ἀνακομιζόμενος ἐν Δάφνησι τῆσι Πηλουσίησι, τὸν ἀδελφεὸν ἑωυτοῦ, τῷ ἐπέτρεψε ὁ Σέσωστρις τὴν Αἰγυπτον, τοῦτον ἐπὶ ξείνια αὐτὸν καλέσαντα καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ τοὺς παῖδας περινῆσαι ἔξωθεν τὴν οἰκίην ὕλη, περινήσαντα δὲ ὑποπρῆσαι. τὸν δὲ ὡς μαθεῖν τοῦτο, αὐτίκα συμβουλεύεσθαι τῆ γυναικί καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὴν γυναίκα αὐτὸν ἄμα ἄγεσθαι τὴν δέ οἱ συμβουλεύσαι τῶν παίδων ἐόντων ἔξ τοὺς δύο ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὴν ἐκτείναντα γεφυρῶσαι τὸ καιόμενον, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνων ἐπιβαίνοντας ἐκσώζεσθαι. ταῦτα ποιῆσαι τὸν Σέσωστριν, καὶ δύο

## BOOK II. 106-107

longer to be seen. But I myself saw them in the Palestine part of Syria, with the writing aforesaid and the women's privy parts upon them. Also there are in Ionia two figures 1 of this man carven in rock, one on the road from Ephesus to Phocaea, and the other on that from Sardis to Smyrna. In both places there is a man of a height of five ells and a half cut in relief, with a spear in his right hand and a bow in his left, and the rest of his equipment answering thereto; for it is both Egyptian and Ethiopian; and right across the breast from one shoulder to the other there is carven a writing in the Egyptian sacred character, saving: "I myself won this land with the might of my shoulders." There is nothing here to show who he is and whence he comes, but it is shown elsewhere. Some of those who have seen these figures guess them to be Memnon, but they are far indeed from the truth.

107. Now when this Egyptian Sesostris (so said the priests), being on his way homewards and bringing many men of the nations whose countries he had subdued, had come in his return to Daphnae of Pelusium, his brother, to whom he had given Egypt in charge, invited him and his sons to a banquet and then piled wood round the house and set it on fire. When Sesostris was aware of this, he took counsel at once with his wife, whom (it was said) he was bringing with him; and she counselled him to lay two of his six sons on the fire and to make a bridge over the burning whereby they might pass over the bodies of the two and escape. This Sesostris did;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Two such figures have been discovered in the pass of Karabel, near the old road from Ephesus to Smyrna. They are not, however, Egyptian in appearance.

μέν των παίδων κατακαήναι τρόπφ τοιούτφ, τους

δέ λοιπούς ἀποσωθήναι ἄμα τῶ πατρί.

108. Νοστήσας δε ο Σέσωστρις ές την Αίγυπτον και τισάμενος τον άδελφεόν, τῷ μὲν ὁμίλω τον έπηγάγετο των τὰς χώρας κατεστρέψατο, τούτω μέν τάδε έχρήσατο τούς τέ οι λίθους τούς έπι τούτου τοῦ βασιλέος κομισθέντας ές τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸ ίρου, ἐόντας μεγάθει περιμήκεας, οὖτοι ήσαν οι έλκύσαντες, και τὰς διώρυγας τὰς νῦν ἐούσας ἐν Αἰγύπτω πάσας ούτοι ἀναγκαζόμενοι ώρυσσον, εποίευν τε ούκ εκόντες Αίγυπτον, τὸ πρίν ἐοῦσαν ίππασίμην καὶ άμαξευομένην πασαν, ένδεα τούτων. ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου Αἴγυπτος ἐοῦσα πεδιὰς πᾶσα ἄνιππος καὶ ἀναμάξευτος γέγονε αίτιαι δὲ τούτων αί διώρυχες γεγόνασι ἐοῦσαι πολλαί καὶ παντοίους τρόπους έχουσαι. κατέταμνε δὲ τοῦδε είνεκα τὴν χώρην ό βασιλεύς. ὅσοι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων μη ἐπὶ τῶ ποταμώ έκτηντο τὰς πόλις ἀλλ' ἀναμέσους, ούτοι. όκως τε άπίοι ὁ ποταμός, σπανίζοντες ύδάτων πλατυτέροισι έχρέωντο τοίσι πόμασι, έκ φρεάτων γρεώμενοι.

109. Τούτων μὲν δὴ εἴνεκα κατετμήθη ἡ Αἴγυπτος. κατανεῖμαι δὲ τὴν χώρην Αἰγυπτίοισι
ἄπασι τοῦτον ἔλεγον τὸν βασιλέα, κλῆρον ἴσον
ἐκάστω τετράγωνον διδόντα, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τὰς
προσόδους ποιήσασθαι, ἐπιτάξαντα ἀποφορὴν
ἐπιτελέειν κατ' ἐνιαυτόν. εἰ δὲ τινὸς τοῦ κλήρου
ὁ ποταμός τι παρέλοιτο, ἐλθὼν ἃν πρὸς αὐτὸν
ἐσήμαινε τὸ γεγενημένον ὁ δὲ ἔπεμπε τοὺς ἐπισκεψομένους καὶ ἀναμετρήσοντας ὅσω ἐλάσσων
ὁ χῶρος γέγονε, ὅκως τοῦ λοιποῦ κατὰ λόγον

two of his sons were thus burnt, but the rest were saved alive with their father.

108. Having returned to Egypt, and taken vengeance on his brother, Sesostris found work, as I shall show, for the multitude which he brought with him from the countries which he had subdued. It was these who dragged the great and long blocks of stone which were brought in this king's reign to the temple of Hephaestus; and it was they who were compelled to dig all the canals which are now in Egypt, and thus, albeit with no such intent, made what was before a land of horses and carts to be now without either. For from this time Egypt, albeit a level land, could use no horses or carts, by reason of the canals being so many and going every way. The reason why the king thus intersected the country was this: those Egyptians whose towns were not on the Nile but inland from it lacked water whenever the flood left their land, and drank only brackish water from wells.

109. For this cause Egypt was intersected. This king moreover (so they said) divided the country among all the Egyptians by giving each an equal square parcel of land, and made this his source of revenue, appointing the payment of a yearly tax. And any man who was robbed by the river of a part of his land would come to Sesostris and declare what had befallen him; then the king would send men to look into it and measure the space by which the land was diminished, so that thereafter it should

τής τεταγμένης ἀποφορής τελέοι. δοκέει δέ μοι ἐνθεῦτεν γεωμετρίη εὐρεθεῖσα ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπανελθεῖν· πόλον μὲν γὰρ καὶ γνώμονα καὶ τὰ δυώδεκα μέρεα τῆς ἡμέρης παρὰ Βαβυλωνίων

έμαθον οί Έλληνες.

110. Βασιλεύς μὲν δὴ οὖτος μοῦνος Αἰγύπτιος Αἰθιοπίης ἦρξε, μνημόσυνα δὲ ἐλίπετο πρὸ τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου ἀνδριάντας λιθίνους, δύο μὲν τριήκοντα πηχέων, έωυτόν τε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας ἐόντας τέσσερας εἴκοσι πηχέων ἔκαστον τῶν δὴ ὁ ἰρεὺς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου χρόνω μετέπειτα πολλῷ Δαρεῖον τὸν Πέρσην οὐ περιεῖδε ἰστάντα ἔμπροσθε ἀνδριάντα, φὰς οὕ οἱ πεποιῆσθαι ἔργα οἰά περ Σεσώστρι τῷ Αἰγυπτίω Σέσωστριν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τε καταστρέψασθαι ἔθνεα οὐκ ἐλάσσω ἐκείνου καὶ δὴ καὶ Σκύθας, Δαρεῖον δὲ οὐ δυνασθῆναι Σκύθας έλεῖν οὔκων δίκαιον εἶναι ἰστάναι ἔμπροσθε τῶν ἐκείνου ἀναθημάτων μὴ οὐκ ὑπερβαλλόμενον τοῖσι ἔργοισι. Δαρεῖον μέν νυν λέγουσι πρὸς ταῦτα συγγνώμην ποιήσασθαι.

111. Σεσώστριος δὲ τελευτήσαντος ἐκδέξασθαι ἔλεγον τὴν βασιληίην τὸν παίδα αὐτοῦ Φερῶν, τὸν ἀποδέξασθαι μὲν οὐδεμίαν στρατηίην, συνενειχθῆναι δὲ οἱ τυφλὸν γενέσθαι διὰ τοιόνδε πρῆγμα. τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατελθόντος μέγιστα δὴ τότε ἐπ' ὀκτωκαίδεκα πήχεας, ὡς ὑπερέβαλε τὰς ἀρούρας, πνεύματος ἐμπεσόντος κυματίης ὁ ποταμὸς ἐγένετο· τὸν δὲ βασιλέα λέγουσι τοῦτον ἀτασθαλίη χρησάμενον, λαβόντα αἰχμὴν βαλεῖν ἐς μέσας τὰς δίνας τοῦ ποταμοῦ, μετὰ δὲ αὐτίκα καμόντα αὐτὸν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τυφλωθῆναι. δέκα μὲν δὴ

pay the appointed tax in proportion to the loss. From this, to my thinking, the Greeks learnt the art of measuring land; the sunclock and the sundial, and the twelve divisions of the day, came to Hellas

not from Egypt but from Babylonia.

110. Sesostris was the only Egyptian king who also ruled Ethiopia. To commemorate his name. he set before the temple of Hephaestus two stone statues of himself and his wife, each thirty cubits high, and statues of his four sons, each of twenty cubits. Long afterwards Darius the Persian would have set up his statue before these; but the priest of Hephaestus forbade him, saying that he had achieved nothing equal to the deeds of Sesostris the Egyptian; for Sesostris (he said) had subdued the Scythians, besides as many other nations as Darius had conquered, and Darius had not been able to overcome the Scythians; therefore it was not just that Darius should set his statue before the statues of Sesostris, whose achievements he had not equalled. Darius, it is said, let the priest have his way.

111. When Sesostris died, he was succeeded in the kingship (so said the priests) by his son Pheros.¹ This king made no wars; and it happened that he became blind, for the following reason: the Nile came down in a flood such as never was before, rising to a height of eighteen cubits, and the water which overflowed the fields was roughened by a strong wind; then, it is said, the king was so infatuated that he took a spear and hurled it into the midst of the river eddies. Straightway after this he suffered from a disease of the eyes, and became blind. When he had been blind for ten years, an

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Manetho's list shows no such name. It is probably not a name but a title, Pharaoh.

έτεα είναι μιν τυφλόν, ένδεκάτω δὲ ἔτει ἀπικέσθαι οί μαντήιον έκ Βουτούς πόλιος ώς έξήκει τέ οί ό χρόνος της ζημίης καὶ ἀναβλέψει γυναικός ούρω νιψάμενος τους όφθαλμούς, ήτις παρά τὸν έωυτής άνδρα μοῦνον πεφοίτηκε, άλλων άνδρων ἐοῦσα ἄπειρος. καὶ τὸν πρώτης της έωυτοῦ γυναικὸς πειρασθαι, μετά δέ, ώς οὐκ ἀνέβλεπε, ἐπεξής πασέων πειρασθαι αναβλέψαντα δέ συναγαγείν τὰς γυναϊκας τῶν ἐπειρήθη, πλην ἡ τῆς τῶ οὕρω νιψάμενος ανέβλεψε, ές μίαν πόλιν, ή νῦν καλέεται Έρυθρη βώλος ές ταύτην συναλίσαντα ύποπρήσαι πάσας σύν αὐτή τή πόλι τής δέ νιψάμενος τω ούρω ἀνέβλεψε, ταύτην δὲ ἔσγε αὐτὸς γυναίκα. ἀναθήματα δὲ ἀποφυγών την πάθην των οφθαλμων άλλα τε άνὰ τὰ ίρὰ πάντα τὰ λόγιμα ἀνέθηκε καὶ τοῦ γε λόγον μάλιστα άξιον έστι έγειν, ές του Ήλίου το ίρον άξιοθέητα ανέθηκε έργα, όβελούς δύο λιθίνους, έξ ένος έόντα έκάτερου λίθου, μήκος μεν έκάτερου πηχέων έκατόν, εύρος δὲ ὀκτώ πηχέων.

112. Τούτου δὲ ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιληίην ἔλεγον ἄνδρα Μεμφίτην, τῷ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν οὕνομα Πρωτέα εἶναι τοῦ νῦν τέμενος ἐστὶ ἐν Μέμφι κάρτα καλόν τε καὶ εὖ ἐσκευασμένον, τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον κείμενον. περιοικέουσι δὲ τὸ τέμενος τοῦτο Φοίνικες Τύριοι, καλέεται δὲ ὁ χῶρος οῦτος ὁ συνάπας Τυρίων στρατόπεδον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ τεμένεῖ τοῦ Πρωτέος ἰρὸν τὸ καλέεται ξείνης ᾿Αφροδίτης συμβάλλομαι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἰρὸν εἶναι Ἑλένης τῆς Τυνδάρεω, καὶ τὸν λόγον ἀκηκοὼς ὡς διαιτήθη Ἑλένη παρὰ Πρωτέι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὅτι ξείνης ᾿Αφρο-

### BOOK II. 111-112

oracle from the city of Buto declared to him that the time of his punishment was drawing to an end. and that he should regain his sight by washing his eves with the issue of a woman who had never had intercourse with any man but her own husband. Pheros made trial with his own wife first, and as he still remained blind, with all women, one after another. When he at last recovered sight, he took all the women of whom he had made trial, save only her who had made him to see again, and gathered them into one town, that which is now called " Red Clay"; where having collected them together he burnt them and the town; but the woman by whose means he had recovered sight he took to wife. Among the many offerings which he dedicated in all the noteworthy temples for his deliverance from blindness, most worthy of mention are the two marvellous stone obelisks which he set up in the temple of the Sun. Each of these is made of a single block, and is an hundred cubits high and eight cubits thick.

112. Pheros was succeeded (they said) by a man of Memphis, whose name in the Greek language was Proteus. This Proteus has a fair and well-adorned temple precinct at Memphis, lying to the south of the temple of Hephaestus. Round the precinct dwell Phoenicians of Tyre, and the whole place is called the Camp of the Tyrians. There is in the precinct of Proteus a temple entitled the temple of the Stranger Aphrodite; this I guess to be a temple of Helen, daughter of Tyndarus, partly because I have heard the story of Helen's abiding with Proteus, and partly because it bears the name of

δίτης ἐπώνυμον ἐστί· ὅσα γὰρ ἄλλα ᾿Αφροδίτης

ίρά έστι, οὐδαμῶς ξείνης ἐπικαλέεται.

113. Έλεγον δέ μοι οἱ ἱρέες ἱστορέοντι τὰ περὶ Έλένην γενέσθαι ώδε. 'Αλέξανδρον άρπάσαντα Έλένην έκ Σπάρτης ἀποπλέειν ές την έωυτου καί μιν, ώς εγένετο εν τω Αίγαίω, εξώσται άνεμοι έκβάλλουσι ές το Αιγύπτιον πέλαγος, ένθευτεν δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἀνιεῖ τὰ πνεύματα, ἀπικνέεται ἐς Αἴγυπτον και Αιγύπτου ές τὸ νῦν Κανωβικὸν καλεύμενον στόμα τοῦ Νείλου καὶ ἐς Ταριγείας. ην δε έπὶ της ηιόνος τὸ καὶ νῦν ἐστι Ἡρακλέος ίρου, ές τὸ ην καταφυγών οἰκέτης ὅτευ ὧν ἀνθρώπων έπιβάληται στίνματα ίρά, έωυτον διδούς τώ θεώ, οὐκ ἔξεστι τούτου ἄψασθαι. ὁ νόμος οὖτος διατελέει έων δμοιος μέχρι έμευ τω άπ' άρχης. τοῦ ὧν δὴ 'Αλεξάνδρου ἀπιστέαται θεράποντες πυθόμενοι τον περί το ίρον έχοντα νόμον, ίκέται δὲ ίζόμενοι τοῦ θεοῦ κατηγόρεον τοῦ 'Αλεξάνδρου, Βουλόμενοι βλάπτειν αὐτόν, πάντα λόγον έξηγεύμενοι ώς είγε περί την Ελένην τε και την ές Μενέλεων αδικίην κατηγόρεον δε ταῦτα πρός τε τούς ίρέας και τὸν τοῦ στόματος τούτου φύλακον. τῶ οὔνομα ἢν Θῶνις.

114. Ακούσας δὲ τούτων ὁ Θῶνις πέμπει τὴν ταχίστην ἐς Μέμφιν παρὰ Πρωτέα ἀγγελίην λέγουσαν τάδε. "ΤΗκει ξεῖνος γένος μὲν Τευκρός, ἔργον δὲ ἀνόσιον ἐν τῆ Ἑλλάδι ἐξεργασμένος ξείνου γὰρ τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ ἐξαπατήσας τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτήν τε ταύτην ἄγων ἤκει καὶ πολλὰ κάρτα χρήματα, ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἐς γῆν ταύτην ἀπενειχθείς. κότερα δῆτα τοῦτον ἐῶμεν ἀσινέα ἐκπλέειν ἡ

the Stranger Aphrodite; for no other of Aphrodite's temples is called by that name.

113. When I enquired of the priests, they told me that this was the story of Helen:-After carrying off Helen from Sparta, Alexandrus sailed away for his own country; violent winds caught him in the Aegean, and drove him into the Egyptian sea; whence (the wind not abating) he came to Egypt, to the mouth of the Nile called the Canopic mouth, and to the Salting-places. Now there was on the coast (and still is) a temple of Heracles; where if a servant of any man take refuge and be branded with certain sacred marks in token that he delivers himself to the god, such an one may not be touched. This law continues to-day the same as it has ever been from the first. Hearing of the temple law, certain of Alexandrus' servants separated themselves from him, threw themselves on the mercy of the god, and brought an accusation against Alexandrus with intent to harm him, telling all the story of Helen and the wrong done to Menelaus. They laid this accusation before the priests and the warden of the Nile mouth, whose name was Thonis.

114. When Thonis heard it, he sent this message with all speed to Proteus at Memphis: "There has come hither a Teucrian stranger who has done great wrong in Hellas. He has deceived his host and robbed him of his wife, and brought her hither, driven to your country by the wind, with very great store of wealth besides. Shall we suffer him to sail away unharmed, or take away from him that which

απελώμεθα τὰ ἔχων ἢλθε;" ἀντιπέμπει πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Πρωτεὺς λέγοντα τάδε. "Ανδρα τοῦτον, ὅστις κοτὲ ἐστὶ ἀνόσια ἐργασμένος ξεῖνον τὸν ἑωυτοῦ, συλλαβόντες ἀπάγετε παρ' ἐμέ, ἵνα εἰδέω

ο τι κοτέ καὶ λέξει."

115. 'Ακούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Θῶνις συλλαμβάνει τὸν 'Αλέξανδρον καὶ τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ κατίσχει, μετὰ δε αυτόν τε τούτον ανήγανε ες Μεμφιν και την Ελένην τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἰκέτας. άνακομισθέντων δε πάντων, είρωτα τον 'Αλέξανδρον ο Πρωτεύς τίς είη καὶ οκόθεν πλέοι. δ δέ οί καὶ τὸ γένος κατέλεξε καὶ τῆς πάτρης εἶπε τὸ ούνομα, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν πλόον ἀπηγήσατο ὁκόθεν πλέοι. μετά δὲ ὁ Πρωτεύς εἰρώτα αὐτὸν ὁκόθεν την Ελένην λάβοι πλανωμένου δὲ τοῦ Αλεξάνδρου εν τω λόγω καὶ οὐ λέγοντος την άληθείην. ήλεγχου οί γενόμενοι ίκέται, έξηγεύμενοι πάντα λόγον του άδικήματος. τέλος δὲ δή σφι λόγον τόνδε έκφαίνει ὁ Πρωτεύς, λέγων ὅτι " Έγω εί μη περί πολλοῦ ἡγεύμην μηδένα ξείνων κτείνειν, ὅσοι ύπ' ἀνέμων ήδη ἀπολαμφθέντες ήλθον ές χώρην την έμην, έγω αν σε ύπερ του Ελληνος έτισαμην. ός, ω κάκιστε ανδρών, ξεινίων τυχών έργον ανοσιώτατον έργάσαο παρά τοῦ σεωυτοῦ ξείνου την γυναϊκα ήλθες. καὶ μάλα ταῦτά τοι οὐκ ήρκεσε. άλλ' άναπτερώσας αὐτὴν οἴχεαι ἔχων ἐκκλέψας. καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτά τοι μοῦνα ήρκεσε, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἰκία του ξείνου κεραίσας ήκεις. νύν ών ἐπειδή περί πολλού ήγημαι μή ξεινοκτονέειν, γυναίκα μέν ταύτην καὶ τὰ χρήματα οὕ τοι προήσω ἀπάγεσθαι, άλλ' αὐτὰ ἐγὼ τῷ "Ελληνι ξείνω φυλάξω, ές δ αν αύτος έλθων έκεινος απαγαγέσθαι

## BOOK II. 114-115

he has brought?" Proteus sent back this message:
"Whoever be this man who has done a wrong to
his own host, seize him and bring him to me, that I
may know what he will say."

115. Hearing this, Thonis seized Alexandrus and held his ships there, and presently brought him with Helen and all the wealth, and the suppliants therewith, to Memphis. All having come thither, Proteus asked Alexandrus who he was and whence he sailed: Alexandrus told him of his lineage and the name of his country, and of his voyage, whence he sailed. Then Proteus asked him whence he had taken Helen: Alexandrus made no straightforward or truthful answer; but the men who had taken refuge with the temple disproved his tale, and related the whole story of the wrongful act. When all was said. Proteus thus gave sentence :- "Were I not careful to slay no stranger who has ever been caught by the wind and driven to my coasts, I would have avenged that Greek upon you; seeing that, O basest of men! vou have done foul wrong to him who hospitably entreated you, and have entered in to the wife of your own host. Nay, and this did not suffice you; you made her to fly with you and stole her away. Nor was even this enough, but you have come hither with the plunder of your host's house. Now, therefore, since I am careful to slay no stranger, I will not suffer you to take away this woman and these possessions; I will keep them for the Greek stranger, till such time as he shall himself come to

έθέλη· αὐτὸν δέ σε καὶ τοὺς σοὺς συμπλόους τριῶν ἡμερέων προαγορεύω ἐκ τῆς ἐμῆς γῆς ἐς ἄλλην τινὰ μετορμίζεσθαι, εἰ δὲ μή, ἄτε πολεμίους

περιέψεσθαι."

116. Έλένης μὲν ταύτην ἄπιξιν παρὰ Πρωτέα ἔλεγον οἱ ἱρέες γενέσθαι· δοκέει δέ μοι καὶ "Ομηρος τὸν λόγον τοῦτον πυθέσθαι· ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως ἐς τὴν ἐποποιίην εὐπρεπὴς ἦν τῷ ἐτέρῳ τῷ περ ἐχρήσατο, ἑκὼν μετῆκε αὐτόν, δηλώσας ὡς καὶ τοῦτον ἐπίσταιτο τὸν λόγον· δῆλον δὲ κατὰ [γὰρ]¹ ἐποίησε ἐν 'Ιλιάδι (καὶ οὐδαμἢ ἄλλη ἀνεπόδισε ἐωυτόν) πλάνην τὴν 'Αλεξάνδρου, ὡς ἀπηνείχθη ἄγων Έλένην τἢ τε δὴ ἄλλη πλαζόμενος καὶ ὡς ἐς Σιδῶνα τῆς Φοινίκης ἀπίκετο. ἐπιμέμνηται δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν Διομήδεος ἀριστηίη· λέγει δὲ τὰ ἔπεα ὧδε.

Ένθ' ἔσαν οἱ πέπλοι παμποίκιλοι, ἔργα γυναικῶν Σιδονίων, τὰς αὐτὸς ᾿Αλέξανδρος θεοειδής ἤγαγε Σιδονίηθεν, ἐπιπλῶς εὐρέα πόντον, τὴν ὁδὸν ἢν Ἑλένην περ ἀνήγαγεν εὐπατέρειαν.

ἐπιμέμνηται δὲ καὶ ἐν 'Οδυσσείη ἐν τοῖσιδε τοῖσι ἔπεσι.

Τοῖα Διὸς θυγάτηρ ἔχε φάρμακα μητιόευτα, ἐσθλά, τά οἱ Πολύδαμνα πόρεν Θῶνος παράκοιτις

Αἰγυπτίη, τῆ πλεῖστα φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα φάρμακα, πολλὰ μὲν ἐσθλὰ μεμιγμένα, πολλὰ δὲ λυγρά.

 $^{1}$  κατά = καθά, "according as." γάρ is out of place here. 406

take them away; but as for you and the companions of your voyage, I warn you to depart from my country elsewhither within three days, else I will

deal with you as with enemies."

116. This, by what the priests told me, was the manner of Helen's coming to Proteus. And, to my thinking, Homer too knew this story; but seeing that it suited not so well with epic poetry as the tale of which he made use, he rejected it of set purpose, showing withal that he knew it. This is plain, from the passage in the Iliad (and nowhere else does he return to the story) where he relates the wanderings of Alexandrus, and shows how he with Helen was carried out of his course, among other places, to Sidon in Phoenice. This is in the story of the Feats of Diomedes, where the verses run as follows:

There were the robes in his house, inwrought with manifold colours,

Work of the women of Sidon, whom godlike Paris aforetime

Brought from their eastern town, o'er wide seas voyaging thither,

E'en when he won from her home fair Helen, the daughter of princes. 1

He makes mention of it in the Odyssey also:

Suchlike drugs of grace, for a healing cunningly mingled,

Once in the land of Nile had the wife of Thon, Polydamna,

Giv'n to the daughter of Zeus; for there of the country's abundance,

Potent to heal or to harm, are herbs full many engendered:<sup>2</sup>

καὶ τάδε ἔτερα πρὸς Τηλέμαχον Μενέλεως λέγει.

Αἰγύπτφ μ' ἔτι δεῦρο θεοὶ μεμαῶτα νέεσθαι ἔσχον, ἐπεὶ οὕ σφιν ἔρεξα τεληέσσας ἐκατόμβας.¹

έν τούτοισι τοῖσι ἔπεσι δηλοῖ ὅτι ἠπίστατο τὴν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ᾿Αλεξάνδρου πλάνην ὁμουρέει γὰρ ἡ Συρίη Αἰγύπτω, οί δὲ Φοίνικες, τῶν ἐστὶ ἡ Σιδών,

έν τη Συρίη οἰκέουσι.

117. Κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἔπεα καὶ τόδε τὸ χωρίον οὐκ ἥκιστα ἀλλὰ μάλιστα δηλοῖ ὅτι οὐκ Ὁμήρου τὰ Κύπρια ἔπεα ἐστὶ ἀλλ' ἄλλου τινός. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῦσι Κυπρίοισι εἴρηται ὡς τριταῖος ἐκ Σπάρτης ᾿Αλέξανδρος ἀπίκετο ἐς τὸ Ἦλιον ἄγων Ἑλένην, εὐαἐι τε πνεύματι χρησάμενος καὶ θαλάσση λείη ἐν δὲ Ἰλιάδι λέγει ὡς ἐπλάζετο

άγων αὐτήν.

118. "Ομηρος μέν νυν καὶ τὰ Κύπρια ἔπεα χαιρέτω. εἰρομένου δέ μευ τοὺς ἰρέας εἰ μάταιον λόγον λέγουσι οἱ "Ελληνες τὰ περὶ "Ιλιον γενέσθαι ἢ οὖ, ἔφασαν πρὸς ταῦτα τάδε, ἰστορίησι φάμενοι εἰδέναι παρ' αὐτοῦ Μενέλεω. ἐλθεῖν μὲν γὰρ μετὰ τὴν Ἑλένης ἄρπαγὴν ἐς τὴν Τευκρίδα γῆν Ἑλλήνων στρατιὴν πολλὴν βοηθεῦσαν Μενέλεφ, ἐκβᾶσαν δὲ ἐς γῆν καὶ ἰδρυθεῖσαν τὴν στρατιὴν πέμπειν ἐς τὸ "Ιλιον ἀγγέλους, σὺν δέ σφι ἰέναι καὶ αὐτὸν Μενέλεων τοὺς δ' ἐπείτε ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, ἀπαιτέειν Ἑλένην τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα τά οἱ οἴχετο κλέψας 'Αλέξανδρος, τῶν τε ἀδικημάτων δίκας αἰτέειν τοὺς δὲ Τευ-

¹ Stein brackets ἐπιμέμνηται... ἐκατόμβαs, because (as he says) the quotations from the Odyssey have nothing to do with the story of Alexandrus.

### BOOK II, 116-118

and again Menelaus says to Telemachus:

Eager was I to return, but the gods fast held me in Egypt,

Wroth that I honoured them not nor offered a sacri-

fice duly.1

In these verses the poet shows that he knew of Alexandrus' wanderings to Egypt; for Syria borders on Egypt, and the Phoenicians, to whom Sidon

belongs, dwell in Syria.

117. These verses and this passage prove most clearly that the Cyprian poems are by the hand not of Homer but of another. For the Cyprian poems relate that Alexandrus reached Ilion with Helen in three days from Sparta, having a fair wind and a smooth sea; but according to the Iliad he wandered

from his course in bringing her.

118. Enough, then, of Homer and the Cyprian poems. But when I asked the priests whether the Greek account of the Trojan business were vain or true, they gave me the following answer, saying that they had inquired and knew what Menelaus himself had said:—After the rape of Helen, a great host of Greeks came to the Teucrian land on Menelaus' behalf. Having there disembarked and encamped, they sent to Ilion messengers, of whom Menelaus himself was one. These, on coming within the city walls, demanded restitution of Helen and the possessions which Alexandrus had stolen from Menelaus and carried off, and reparation besides for the wrong done; but the Teucrians then and ever afterwards

κρούς τον αὐτον λόγον λέγειν τότε καὶ μετέπειτα, καὶ ομνύντας καὶ ἀνωμοτί, μὴ μὲν ἔχειν Ἑλένην μηδὲ τὰ ἐπικαλεύμενα χρήματα, ἀλλὶ εἶναι αὐτὰ πάντα ἐν Αἰγύπτω, καὶ οὐκ ἃν δικαίως αὐτοὶ δίκας ὑπέχειν τῶν Πρωτεὺς ὁ Αἰγύπτιος βασιλεὺς ἔχει. οἱ δὲ "Ελληνες καταγελᾶσθαι δοκέοντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν οὕτω δὴ ἐπολιόρκεον, ἐς δ ἐξεῖλον ἐλοῦσι δὲ τὸ τεῖχος ὡς οὐκ ἐφαίνετο ἡ 'Ελένη, ἀλλὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τῷ προτέρῳ ἐπυνθάνοντο, οὕτω δὴ πιστεύσαντες τῷ λόγω τῷ πρώτω οἱ "Ελληνες αὐτὸν Μενέλεων ἀποστέλλουσι παρὰ Πρωτέα.

119. 'Απικόμενος δὲ ὁ Μενέλεως ἐς τὴν Αἴγνπτον καὶ ἀναπλώσας ἐς τὴν Μέμφιν, εἴπας τὴν ἀληθείην τών πρηγμάτων, καὶ ξεινίων ήντησε μεγάλων καί Έλένην ἀπαθέα κακών ἀπέλαβε, πρὸς δὲ καί τὰ έωυτοῦ χρήματα πάντα. τυχών μέντοι τούτων έγένετο Μενέλεως άνηρ άδικος ές Αίγυπτίους. άποπλέειν γαρ όρμημένον αὐτὸν ἰσχον ἀπλοίαι. έπειδή δὲ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πολλον τοιοῦτον ἡν, ἐπιτεχνάται πρήγμα ούκ ὅσιον λαβών γὰρ δύο παιδία ἀνδρῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἔντομα σφέα ἐποίησε. μετά δὲ ὡς ἐπάιστος ἐγένετο τοῦτο ἐργασμένος. μισηθείς τε καὶ διωκόμενος οίχετο φεύγων τησι νηυσί έπι Λιβύης το ένθευτεν δε όκου έτι έτράπετο ούκ είγου είπειν Αιγύπτιοι, τούτων δε τὰ μεν ίστορίησι έφασαν επίστασθαι, τὰ δε παρ' έωυτοίσι γενόμενα άτρεκέως ἐπιστάμενοι λέγειν.

120. Ταῦτα μὲν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἰρέες ἔλεγον· ἐγὼ δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τῷ περὶ Ἑλένης λεχθέντι καὶ αὐτὸς προστίθεμαι, τάδε ἐπιλεγόμενος, εἰ ἦν Ἑλένη ἐν

declared, with oaths and without, that neither Helen nor the goods claimed were with them, she and they being in Egypt; nor could they (so they said) justly make reparation for what was in the hands of the Egyptian king Proteus. But the Greeks thought that the Trojans mocked them, and therewith besieged the city, till they took it; and it was not till they took the fortress and found no Helen there, and heard the same declaration as before, that they gave credence to the Trojans' first word and so sent Menelaus himself to Proteus.

119. Menelaus then came to Egypt and went up the river to Memphis; there, telling the whole truth of what had happened, he was very hospitably entertained and received back Helen unharmed and all his possessions withal. Yet, albeit so well entreated, Menelaus did the Egyptians a wrong. For when he would have sailed away he was staved by stress of weather; and this hindrance continuing for long, he devised and did a forbidden deed, taking two children of the land and sacrificing them. When it was known that he had so done, the people hated and pursued him, and he fled away with his ships to Libya; and whither he thence betook himself the Egyptians could not say. The priests told me that they had learnt some of this tale by inquiry, but that they spoke with exact knowledge of what had happened in their own country.

120. So much was told me by the Egyptian priests. For myself, I believe their story about Helen: for I reason thus—that had Helen been in Ilion, then

Ίλίω, ἀποδοθήναι αν αὐτην τοίσι "Ελλησι ήτοι έκόντος γε ή ἀέκοντος 'Αλεξάνδρου, οὐ γὰρ δή ούτω γε φρενοβλαβής ήν ο Πρίαμος οὐδὲ οἱ άλλοι οἱ προσήκοντες αὐτῶ, ὥστε τοίσι σφετέροισι σώμασι και τοίσι τέκνοισι και τη πόλι κινδυνεύειν έβούλουτο, ὅκως ᾿Αλέξανδρος Ἑλένη συνοικέη. εἰ δέ τοι καὶ ἐν τοῖσι πρώτοισι χρόνοισι ταῦτα ἐγίνωσκον, έπεὶ πολλοί μὲν τῶν ἄλλων Τρώων, ὁκότε συμμίσγοιεν τοίσι "Ελλησι, ἀπώλλυντο, αὐτοῦ δέ Πριάμου οὐκ ἔστι ὅτε οὐ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἢ καὶ ἔτι πλέους τῶν παίδων μάχης γινομένης ἀπέθνησκον, εἰ χρή τι τοίσι ἐποποιοίσι χρεώμενον λέγειν, τούτων δέ τοιούτων συμβαινόντων έγω μέν έλπομαι, εί καί αὐτὸς Πρίαμος συνοίκεε Έλένη, ἀποδοῦναι αν αὐτὴν τοίσι 'Αχαιοίσι, μέλλοντά γε δὴ τῶν παρεόντων κακών ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ή Βασιληίη ές 'Αλέξανδρον περιήιε, ώστε γέροντος Πριάμου ἐόντος ἐπ' ἐκείνω τὰ πρήγματα είναι, άλλά "Εκτωρ καὶ πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἀνηρ ἐκείνου μάλλον έων έμελλε αὐτὴν Πριάμου ἀποθανόντος παραλάμψεσθαι, τον ου προσήκε αδικέοντι τω άδελφεω επιτράπειν, και ταθτα μεγάλων κακών δι' αὐτὸν συμβαινόντων ίδίη τε αὐτῷ καὶ τοίσι άλλοισι πασι Τρωσί. άλλ' οὐ γαρ είγον Ελένην άποδούναι, οὐδε λέγουσι αὐτοῖσι την άληθείην έπίστευον οί "Ελληνες, ώς μεν έγω γνώμην άποφαίνομαι, τοῦ δαιμονίου παρασκευάζοντος, ὅκως πανωλεθρίη ἀπολόμενοι καταφανές τοῦτο τοίσι ανθρώποισι ποιήσωσι, ώς των μεγάλων άδικημάτων μεγάλαι είσι και αι τιμωρίαι παρά των θεών. και ταύτα μέν τη έμοι δοκέει είρηται.

121. Πρωτέος δε εκδέξασθαι την βασιληίην

## BOOK II. 120-121

with or without the will of Alexandrus she would have been given back to the Greeks. For surely neither was Priam so mad, nor those nearest to him, as to consent to risk their own persons and their children and their city, that Alexandrus might have Helen to wife. Even be it granted that they were so minded in the first days, yet when not only many of the Trojans were slain in fighting against the Greeks, but Priam himself lost by death two or three or even more of his sons in every battle (if the poets are to be trusted), in this turn of affairs, had Helen been Priam's own wife, I cannot but think (for myself) that he would have restored her to the Greeks, if by so doing he could escape from the present evil plight. Nay, nor was Alexandrus next heir to the kingship, whereby he might have been the real ruler, Priam being old; it was Hector, an older and a more valiant man than Alexandrus, who was like to receive the royal power at Priam's death; and it was none of Hector's business to consent to his brother's wrongdoing, least of all when that brother was the cause of great calamity to Hector himself and the whole of Troy beside. But matters fell out as they did because the Trojans had not Helen there to give back, yet though they spoke the truth the Greeks would not believe them; for, as I am convinced and declare, the powers above ordained that the utter destruction of Troy should prove in the sight of all men that the gods do greatly punish great wrongdoing. This is my own belief and thus I declare it.

121. The next to reign after Proteus (they said)

'Ραμψίνιτον έλεγον, δς μνημόσυνα ελίπετο τὰ προπύλαια τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τετραμμένα τοῦ Ήφαιστείου, άντίους δε των προπυλαίων έστησε άνδριάντας δύο, έόντας τὸ μέγαθος πέντε καὶ είκοσι πηγέων, των Αιγύπτιοι τὸν μὲν πρὸς Βορέω έστεωτα καλέουσι θέρος, τὸν δὲ πρὸς νότον γειμώνα καὶ τὸν μὲν καλέουσι θέρος, τοῦτον μὲν προσκυνέουσί τε καὶ εὖ ποιέουσι, τὸν δὲ γειμώνα καλεόμενον τὰ έμπαλιν τούτων έρδουσι. πλούτον δὲ τούτω τῶ βασιλέι γενέσθαι ἀργύρου μέγαν, του ούδενα των ύστερου επιτραφέντων βασιλέων δύνασθαι ύπερβαλέσθαι οὐδ' ἐγγὺς έλθειν. Βουλόμενον δε αὐτὸν εν ἀσφαλείη τὰ χρήματα θησαυρίζειν οἰκοδομέεσθαι οἴκημα λίθινον, τοῦ τῶν τοίχων ενα ἐς τὸ ἔξω μέρος τῆς οικίης έχειν. τον δε έργαζομενον επιβουλεύοντα τάδε μηχανασθαι των λίθων παρασκευάσασθαι ένα έξαιρετον είναι έκ τοῦ τοίχου ρηιδίως και ύπο δύο ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὑπὸ ἐνός. ὡς δὲ ἐπετελέσθη τὸ οίκημα, τὸν μὲν βασιλέα θησαυρίσαι τὰ χρήματα έν αὐτῶ· χρόνου δὲ περιιόντος τὸν οἰκοδόμον περί τελευτήν του βίου έόντα ανακαλέσασθαι τους παίδας (είναι γάρ αὐτῶ δύο), τούτοισι δὲ ἀπηγήσασθαι ως εκείνων προορών, δκως βίον άφθονον έχωσι, τεχνάσαιτο οἰκοδομέων τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦ βασιλέος σαφέως δε αὐτοῖσι πάντα εξηγησάμενον τὰ περί τὴν ἐξαίρεσιν τοῦ λίθου δοῦναι τὰ μέτρα αὐτοῦ, λέγοντα ώς ταῦτα διαφυλάσσοντες ταμίαι των βασιλέος χρημάτων έσονται. και τον μέν τελευτήσαι τον βίον, τούς δέ παίδας ούκ ές μακρήν έργου έχεσθαι, ἐπελθόντας δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλήια νυκτός καὶ τὸν λίθον ἐπὶ τῶ οἰκοδο-

#### BOOK II, 121

was Rhampsinitus. The memorial of his name left by him was the western forecourt of the temple of Hephaestus; before this he set two statues of twentyfive cubits' height; the northernmost of these is called by the Egyptians Summer, and the southernmost Winter; that one which they call Summer they worship and entreat well, but do contrariwise to the statue called Winter. This king (they told me) had great wealth of silver, so great that none of the later-born kings could surpass or nearly match it. That he might store his treasure safely, he made to be built a stone chamber, one of its walls abutting on the outer side of his palace. But the builder of it craftily contrived that one stone should be so placed as to be easily removed by two men or even by one. So when the chamber was finished, the king stored his treasure in it. But as time went on, the builder, being now near his end, called to him his two sons and told them how he had provided an ample livelihood for them by the art with which he had built the king's treasure-house; he made them clearly to understand concerning the removal of the stone, and gave the measurements which would find it; saying that if they kept these in mind they would be stewards of the king's riches. So when he was dead, his sons set to work with no long delay: coming to the palace by night, they easily found and

μήματι ανευρόντας ρηιδίως μεταχειρίσασθαι καί των χρημάτων πολλά έξενείκασθαι. ώς δε τυχείν τὸν βασιλέα ἀνοίξαντα τὸ οἴκημα, θωμάσαι ἰδόντα των γρημάτων καταδεά τὰ άγγήια, οὐκ ἔγειν δέ οντινα έπαιτιαται, των τε σημάντρων εόντων σόων καὶ τοῦ οἰκήματος κεκληιμένου. ὡς δὲ αὐτῶ καὶ δίς και τρίς ἀνοίξαντι αιεί ελάσσω φαίνεσθαι τὰ χρήματα (τούς γάρ κλέπτας ούκ ανιέναι κεραίζοντας), ποιησαί μιν τάδε πάγας προστάξαι έργάσασθαι καὶ ταύτας περί τὰ ἀγγήια ἐν τοῖσι τὰ χρήματα ἐνῆν στῆσαι. τῶν δὲ φωρῶν ὥσπερ έν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνω ἐλθόντων καὶ ἐσδύντος τοῦ έτέρου αὐτῶν, ἐπεὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄγγος προσήλθε, ἰθέως τη πάγη ἐνέχεσθαι. ὡς δὲ γνῶναι αὐτὸν ἐν οίω κακώ ην, ίθεως καλέειν τον άδελφεον καὶ δηλούν αὐτῶ τὰ παρεόντα, καὶ κελεύειν τὴν ταχίστην έσδύντα αποταμείν αὐτοῦ την κεφαλήν, ὅκως μη αὐτὸς ὀφθείς καὶ γνωρισθείς ος είη προσαπολέση κάκεινον. τω δε δόξαι εθ λέγειν, και ποιήσαί μιν πεισθέντα ταῦτα, καὶ καταρμόσαντα τὸν λίθον ἀπιέναι ἐπ' οίκου, φέροντα τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ άδελφεού. ώς δὲ ἡμέρη ἐγένετο, ἐσελθόντα τὸν βασιλέα ές τὸ οἴκημα ἐκπεπληχθαι ὁρῶντα τὸ σώμα τοῦ φωρὸς ἐν τῆ πάγη ἄνευ τῆς κεφαλῆς έου, το δε οίκημα άσινες και ούτε εσοδον ούτε έκδυσιν οὐδεμίαν έχον. ἀπορεύμενον δέ μιν τάδε ποιήσαι του φωρός τον νέκυν κατά του τείγεος κατακρεμάσαι, φυλάκους δε αὐτοῦ καταστήσαντα έντείλασθαί σφι, τὸν αν ἴδωνται ἀποκλαύσαντα ή κατοικτισάμενον, συλλαβόντας άγειν προς έωυτόν.

'Ανακρεμαμένου δὲ τοῦ νέκυος τὴν μητέρα δεινῶς φέρειν, λόγους δὲ πρὸς τὸν περιεόντα παῖδα

handled the stone in the building, and took away much of the treasure. When the king opened the building, he was amazed to see the vessels lacking their full tale of treasure; vet he knew not whom to accuse, seeing that the seals were unbroken and the chamber fast shut. But when at the second and third opening of the chamber he saw the treasure grown ever less (for the thieves ceased not from plundering), he bid traps to be made and set about the vessels in which his riches lay. The thieves came as they had done before, and one of them crept in; when he came near the vessel, at once he was caught and held in the trap. Seeing his evil plight, he straightway called to his brother, and, showing him how matters stood, "Creep in quickly," said he, "and cut off my head, lest I be seen and recognised and so bring you too to ruin." The brother consented and did this, thinking the counsel good. Then he set the stone in place again, and went away home, carrying his brother's head. When it was morning the king came to the chamber, and was amazed to see the thief's headless body in the trap, vet the chamber unbroken. with no way of passing in or out; and he knew not what to do. But presently he hung the thief's dead body on the outer wall, and set guards over it, charging them to seize and bring before him whomsoever they should see weeping or making lamentation.

But the thief's mother, when the body had been so hung, was greatly moved: she talked with

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ποιευμένην προστάσσειν αὐτῷ ὅτεῳ τρόπω δύναται μηγανασθαι όκως το σώμα του άδελφεου καταλύσας κομιεί εί δε τούτων αμελήσει, διαπειλέειν αὐτὴν ὡς ἐλθοῦσα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα μηνύσει αὐτὸν ἔχοντα τὰ χρήματα. ὡς δὲ χαλεπῶς έλαμβάνετο ή μήτηρ τοῦ περιεόντος παιδός καὶ πολλά πρὸς αὐτὴν λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε, ἐπιτεχνήσασθαι τοιάδε μιν όνους κατασκευασάμενον καί άσκούς πλήσαντα οίνου ἐπιθείναι ἐπὶ τῶν ὄνων καὶ ἔπειτα ἐλαύνειν αὐτούς ώς δὲ κατά τούς φυλάσσοντας ην τον κρεμάμενον νέκυν, επισπάσαντα των ἀσκων δύο ή τρείς ποδεωνας αὐτον λύειν ἀπαμμένους ώς δὲ ἔρρεε ὁ οίνος, την κεφαλήν μιν κόπτεσθαι μεγάλα βοώντα ώς οὐκ έγουτα πρὸς όκοιου των όνων πρώτον τράπηται. τούς δὲ φυλάκους ὡς ἰδεῖν πολλὸν ῥέοντα τὸν οίνον, συντρέχειν ές την όδον αγγήια έχοντας, και του έκκεχυμένου οίνου συγκομίζειν έν κέρδει ποιευμένους τον δε διαλοιδορέεσθαι πασι οργήν προσποιεύμενον, παραμυθευμένων δε αὐτὸν τῶν φυλάκων χρόνω πρηύνεσθαι προσποιέεσθαι καί ύπίεσθαι της όργης, τέλος δὲ ἐξελάσαι αὐτὸν τοὺς όνους έκ της όδου και κατασκευάζειν. ώς δέ λόγους τε πλέους ἐγγίνεσθαι καί τινα καὶ σκώψαί μιν καὶ ἐς γέλωτα προαγαγέσθαι, ἐπιδοῦναι αὐτοῖσι των ἀσκων ένα τους δὲ αὐτοῦ ὥσπερ είγον κατακλιθέντας πίνειν διανοέεσθαι, και έκεινον παραλαμβάνειν καὶ κελεύειν μετ' έωυτων μείναντα συμπίνειν τον δέ πεισθηναί τε δή καὶ καταμείναι. ώς δέ μιν παρά την πόσιν φιλοφρόνως ήσπάζοντο, έπιδούναι αὐτοίσι καὶ ἄλλον των ἀσκων δαψιλέι δὲ τῶ ποτῷ χρησαμένους τοὺς φυλάκους ὑπερμε-

her surviving son, and bade him contrive by whatever means to loose and bring her his brother's body, threatening that if he would not obey her she would go to the king and lav an information that he had the treasure. So when she bitterly reproached him and for all he said he could not overpersuade her, the brother devised a plot: he got his asses and loaded them with skins full of wine and then drove them before him till he came near those who guarded the hanging body; then he pulled at the feet of two or three of the skins and loosed their fastenings; and the wine so running out. he cried aloud and beat his head like one that knew not which of his asses he should deal with first. The guards, seeing the wine running freely, all took vessels and ran into the highway, where they caught the spilt wine, and thought themselves lucky; the man pretended to be angry and reviled each and all of them; but the guards speaking peaceably to him, he presently made as if he were comforted and appeased, till at last he drove his asses aside from the highway and put his gear in order. So the guards and he fell into talk, and one of them jesting with him, so that there was laughter, he gave them one of the skins: whereupon without more ado they sat down and began to drink, making him one of their company and bidding him stay and drink with them; and he consented and stayed. They drank to him merrily, and he gave them yet another of the skins, till the guards grew very drunk with the abundance of

θυσθήναι καὶ κρατηθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου αὐτοῦ ἔνθα περ ἔπινον κατακοιμηθήναι. τὸν δέ, ὡς πρόσω ἡν τής νυκτός, τό τε σῶμα τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ καταλῦσαι καὶ τῶν φυλάκων ἐπὶ λύμη πάντων ξυρήσαι τὰς δεξιὰς παρηίδας, ἐπιθέντα δὲ τὸν νέκυν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄνους ἀπελαύνειν ἐπ' οἴκου, ἐπιτε-

λέσαντα τη μητρί τὰ προσταχθέντα.

Τον δέ βασιλέα, ώς αὐτῶ ἀπηγγέλθη τοῦ φωρὸς ο νέκυς εκκεκλεμμένος, δεινά ποιέειν πάντως δε βουλόμενον εύρεθηναι όστις κοτε είη ό ταθτα μηγανώμενος, ποιησαί μιν τάδε, έμοι μέν οὐ πιστά την θυγατέρα την έωυτου κατίσαι ἐπ' οἰκήματος, ἐντειλάμενον πάντας τε ὁμοίως προσδέκεσθαι, καὶ πρὶν συγγενέσθαι, ἀναγκάζειν λέγειν αὐτή ὅ τι δὴ ἐν τῷ βίω ἔργασται αὐτῶ σοφώτατον καὶ ἀνοσιώτατον ος δ' αν ἀπηγήσηται τὰ περὶ τὸν φῶρα γεγενημένα, τοῦτον συλλαμβάνειν και μη ἀπιέναι έξω. ώς δε την παίδα ποιέειν τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς προσταχθέντα, τὸν φώρα πυθόμενον των είνεκα ταθτα επρήσσετο. βουληθέντα πολυτροπίη του βασιλέος περιγενέσθαι ποιέειν τάδε· νεκροῦ προσφάτου άποταμόντα έν τῷ ὤμω τὴν χεῖρα ἰέναι αὐτὸν ἔχοντα αὐτὴν ύπο τω ίματίω. ἐσελθόντα δὲ ώς τοῦ βασιλέος την θυγατέρα καὶ εἰρωτώμενον τά περ καὶ οί άλλοι, άπηγήσασθαι ώς ανοσιώτατον μεν είη έργασμένος ὅτι τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ ἐν τῷ θησαυρῶ τοῦ βασιλέος ύπὸ πάγης άλόντος ἀποτάμοι την κεφαλήν, σοφώτατον δὲ ὅτι τοὺς φυλάκους καταμεθύσας καταλύσειε τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ κρεμάμενον τὸν νέκυν. την δε ώς ήκουσε απτεσθαι αὐτοῦ. τον δὲ φῶρα ἐν τῷ σκότεϊ προτείναι αὐτή τοῦ νεκροῦ

#### BOOK II. 121

liquor, and at last being overmastered by sleep lay down in the place where they had been drinking. When the night was far spent, the thief cut down his brother's body and then (first shaving the guards' right cheeks by way of insult) laid it on his asses and drove them home, having so fulfilled his mother's commands for her.

When the king was told of the stealing away of the dead thief's body he was very angry, and resolved by all means to find who it was that had plotted the deed. So he bade his daughter (such is the story, but I myself do not believe it) to sit in a certain room and receive alike all who came; before she had intercourse with any, she should compel him to tell her what was the cleverest trick and the greatest crime of his life; then if any told her the story of the thief she must seize him and not suffer him to pass out. The girl did as her father bade her. The thief, learning the purpose of the king's act, was minded to get the better of him by ready cunning. He therefore cut off the arm of a man newly dead at the shoulder, and went to the king's daughter, carrying it under his cloak, and when asked the same question as the rest, he told her that his greatest crime was the cutting off of his brother's head when the brother was caught in a trap in the king's treasury, and his cleverest trick the release of his brother's hanging body by making the guards drunk. Hearing this, the princess would have laid hands on him, but the thief in

την χείρα την δε επιλαβομένην έχειν, νομίζουσαν αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου τῆς χειρὸς ἀντέχεσθαι· τὸν δὲ φῶρα προέμενον αὐτή οἴχεσθαι διὰ θυρέων φεύγοντα.

'Ως δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐς τὸν βασιλέα ἀνηνείχθη, έκπεπληχθαι μέν έπὶ τη πολυφροσύνη τε καί τόλμη του άνθρώπου, τέλος δὲ διαπέμποντα ἐς πάσας τὰς πόλις ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι ἀδείην τε διδόντα καὶ μεγάλα ὑποδεκόμενον ἐλθόντι ἐς ὄψιν τον δε φώρα πιστεύσαντα ελθείν την έωυτου. προς αυτόν, Ραμψίνιτον δε μεγάλως θωμάσαι, καί οί την θυγατέρα ταύτην συνοικίσαι ώς πλείστα έπισταμένω ανθρώπων. Αίγυπτίους μεν γαρ των

άλλων προκεκρίσθαι, ἐκείνον δὲ Αἰγυπτίων.

122. Μετά δὲ ταῦτα ἔλεγον τοῦτον τὸν βασιλέα ζωον καταβήναι κάτω ές τον οί "Ελληνες "Αιδην νομίζουσι είναι, καὶ κείθι συγκυβεύειν τη Δήμητρι. καὶ τὰ μὲν νικάν αὐτὴν τὰ δὲ ἐσσοῦσθαι ὑπ' αύτης, καί μιν πάλιν ἀπικέσθαι δώρον έχοντα παρ' αὐτῆς χειρόμακτρον χρύσεον. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ραμψινίτου καταβάσιος, ώς πάλιν ἀπίκετο, ὁρτην δή ἀνάγειν Αίγυπτίους έφασαν την καὶ έγω οίδα έτι καὶ ές έμε έπιτελέοντας αὐτούς, οὐ μέντοι εί γε διὰ ταῦτα ὁρτάζουσι ἔχω λέγειν. φᾶρος δὲ αὐτημερον εξυφήναντες οἱ ίρεες κατ' ὧν εδησαν ένδς έωυτών μίτρη τους όφθαλμούς, αγαγόντες δέ μιν έγοντα τὸ φάρος ές όδον φέρουσαν ές ίρον Δήμητρος αὐτοὶ ἀπαλλάσσονται ὀπίσω· τὸν δὲ ίρεα τούτον καταδεδεμένον τους οφθαλμούς λέγουσι ύπο δύο λύκων άγεσθαι ές το ίρον της Δήμητρος άπέγον της πόλιος είκοσι σταδίους, και αυτις οπίσω έκ του ίρου άπάγειν μιν τους λύκους ές τώυτο χωρίον.

the darkness giving her the dead man's arm, she seized that, thinking that she was grasping the arm of the thief, who, having given it to her, made his

escape by way of the door.

When this also came to the king's ears, he was astonished at the man's ingenuity and daring, and in the end, he sent a proclamation to every town, promising the thief impunity and a great reward if he would come into the king's presence. The thief trusted the king and came before him; Rhampsinitus admired him greatly and gave him his daughter to wife for his surpassing cleverness, for as the Egyptians (said he) excelled all others in

craft, so did he excel the Egyptians.

122. After this (said the priests) this king went down alive to the place which the Greeks call Hades: there he played dice with Demeter, and after both winning and losing he returned back with a gift from her of a golden napkin. From this descent of Rhampsinitus the Egyptians were said by the priests to have kept a festival after his return, which to my own knowledge they celebrate to this day, but whether it be for that cause I cannot say. On the day of this festival the priests weave a cloth and bind it for a headgear on the eyes of one among themselves, whom they then lead, wearing the cloth, into a road that goes to the temple of Demeter; they themselves return back, but this priest with his eyes bandaged is guided (say they) by two wolves I to Demeter's temple, a distance of twenty furlongs from the city, and led back again from the temple by the wolves to the same place.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Jackals appear on Egyptian monuments, symbolising Anubis, the guide of the dead.

123. Τοῖσι μέν νυν ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων λεγομένοισι χράσθω ὅτεω τὰ τοιαῦτα πιθανά ἐστι· ἐμοὶ δὲ παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον ὑπόκειται ὅτι τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπ' ἐκάστων ἀκοῆ γράφω. ἀρχηγετέειν δὲ τῶν κάτω Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι Δήμητρα καὶ Διόνυσον. πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ τόνδε τὸν λόγον Αἰγύπτιοι εἰσὶ οἱ εἰπόντες, ὡς ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ ἀθάνατος ἐστί, τοῦ σώματος δὲ καταφθίνοντος ἐς ἄλλο ζῷον αἰεὶ γινόμενον ἐσδύεται, ἐπεὰν δὲ πάντα περιέλθη τὰ χερσαῖα καὶ τὰ θαλάσσια καὶ τὰ πετεινά, αὖτις ἐς ἀνθρώπου σῶμα γινόμενον ἐσδύνει· τὴν περιήλυσιν δὲ αὐτῆ γίνεσθαι ἐν τρισχιλίοισι ἔτεσι. τούτω τῷ λόγω εἰσὶ οῖ Ἑλλήνων ἐχρήσαντο, οῖ μὲν πρότερον οῖ δὲ ὕστερον, ὡς ἰδίω ἑωυτῶν ἐόντι·

τῶν ἐγὼ είδὼς τὰ οὐνόματα οὐ γράφω.

124. Μέγρι μεν νυν Ραμθινίτου βασιλέος είναι έν Αἰγύπτω πασαν εὐνομίην ἔλεγον καὶ εὐθηνέειν Αίγυπτον μεγάλως, μετά δὲ τοῦτον βασιλεύσαντα σφέων Χέοπα ές πασαν κακότητα έλάσαι. κατακληίσαντα γάρ μιν πάντα τὰ ίρὰ πρώτα μέν σφέας θυσιέων τουτέων ἀπέρξαι, μετά δὲ ἐργάζεσθαι έωυτω κελεύειν πάντας Αίγυπτίους. τοίσι μεν δη αποδεδέχθαι εκ των λιθοτομιέων των εν τω 'Αραβίω όρει, έκ τουτέων έλκειν λίθους μέχρι του Νείλου διαπεραιωθέντας δε τον ποταμον πλοίοισι τους λίθους έτέροισι ἐπέταξε ἐκδέκεσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ Λιβυκὸν καλεύμενον ὄρος, πρὸς τοῦτο ἔλκειν. ἐργάζοντο δὲ κατὰ δέκα μυριάδας άνθρώπων αίεὶ τὴν τρίμηνον ἐκάστην. γρόνον δὲ έγγενέσθαι τριβομένω τῷ λεῷ δέκα ἔτεα μὲν τῆς όδοῦ κατ' ην είλκον τους λίθους, την έδειμαν έργον έον ου πολλώ τεω έλασσον της πυραμίδος, ώς έμοι

# BOOK II. 123-124

123. These Egyptian stories are for the use of whosoever believes such tales: for myself, it is my rule in this history that I record whatever is told

me as I have heard it.

It is believed in Egypt that the rulers of the lower world are Demeter and Dionysus.¹ Moreover, the Egyptians were the first to teach that the human soul is immortal, and at the death of the body enters into some other living thing then coming to birth; and after passing through all creatures of land, sea, and air (which cycle it completes in three thousand years) it enters once more into a human body at birth. Some of the Greeks, early and late, have used this doctrine as if it were their own; I know their names, but do not here record them.

124. Till the time of Rhampsinitus Egypt (so the priests told me) was in all ways well governed and greatly prospered, but Cheops, who was the next king, brought the people to utter misery. For first he shut up all the temples, so that none could sacrifice there; and next, he compelled all the Egyptians to work for him, appointing to some to drag stones from the quarries in the Arabian mountains to the Nile: and the stones being carried across the river in boats. others were charged to receive and drag them to the mountains called Libvan. They worked in gangs of a hundred thousand men, each gang for three months. For ten years the people were afflicted in making the road whereon the stones were dragged. the making of which road was to my thinking a task but a little lighter than the building of the pyramid,2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Isis and Osiris.

<sup>2</sup> The "Great Pyramid."

δοκέειν της μεν γάρ μήκος είσι πέντε στάδιοι. εύρος δε δέκα δραμιαί, ύνος δέ, τη ύνηλοτάτη έστι αὐτή έωυτης, ὀκτω ὀργυιαί, λίθου δὲ Εεστοῦ και ζώων έγγεγλυμμένων ταύτης τε δη τα δέκα έτεα γενέσθαι και των έπι του λόφου έπ' ου έστασι αί πυραμίδες, των ύπο γην οικημάτων, τάς έποιέετο θήκας έωυτω έν νήσω, διώρυχα του Νείλου ἐσαγαγών. τῆ δὲ πυραμίδι αὐτῆ χρόνον γενέσθαι είκοσι έτεα ποιευμένη της έστι πανταγή μέτωπον έκαστον όκτω πλέθρα ἐούσης τετραγώνου καὶ ύψος ἴσον, λίθου δὲ ξεστοῦ τε καὶ άρμοσμένου τὰ μάλιστα· οὐδείς τῶν λίθων τριήκοντα ποδῶν έλάσσων.

125. Ἐποιήθη δὲ ώδε αύτη ή πυραμίς ἀναβαθμών τρόπον, τὰς μετεξέτεροι κρόσσας οἱ δὲ Βωμίδας ονομάζουσι, τοιαύτην το πρώτον επείτε έποίησαν αὐτήν, ήειρον τοὺς ἐπιλοίπους λίθους μηγανήσι ξύλων βραγέων πεποιημένησι, γαμάθεν μεν έπι τον πρώτον στοίχον των αναβαθμών αείροντες όκως δε ανίοι ὁ λίθος ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἐς ἐτέρην μηχανήν ετίθετο έστεωσαν επί του πρώτου στοίγου, ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν δεύτερον είλκετο στοίχον ἐπ' ἄλλης μηχανής ὅσοι γὰρ δὴ στοίγοι ήσαν των άναβαθμών, τοσαθται καὶ μηχαναί ήσαν, είτε καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν μηχανὴν ἐοῦσαν μίαν τε καὶ εὐβάστακτον μετεφόρεον ἐπὶ στοίχον έκαστον, όκως του λίθου εξέλοιεν λελέχθω γαρ ημίν επ' άμφότερα, κατά περ λέγεται. εξεποιήθη δ' ὧν τὰ ἀνώτατα αὐτῆς πρῶτα, μετὰ δὲ τὰ έγόμενα τούτων έξεποίευν, τελευταία δε αύτης τά έπίγαια καὶ τὰ κατωτάτω έξεποίησαν. σεσήμανται δὲ διὰ γραμμάτων Αἰγυπτίων ἐν τῆ πυρα-

# BOOK II. 124-125

for the road is five furlongs long and ten fathoms broad, and raised at its highest to a height of eight fathoms, and it is all of stone polished and carven with figures. The ten years aforesaid went to the making of this road and of the underground chambers on the hill whereon the pyramids stand; these the king meant to be burial-places for himself, and encompassed them with water, bringing in a channel from the Nile. The pyramid itself was twenty years in the making. Its base is square, each side eight hundred feet long, and its height is the same; the whole is of stone polished and most exactly fitted; there is no block

of less than thirty feet in length.

125. This pyramid was made like a stairway with tiers, courses, or steps. When this, its first form, was completed, the workmen used levers made of short wooden logs to raise the rest of the stones: 1 they heaved up the blocks from the ground on to the first tier of steps; when the stone had been so raised it was set on another lever that stood on the first tier, and a lever again drew it up from this tier to the next. It may be that there was a new lever on each tier of the steps, or perhaps there was but one lever, and that easily lifted, which they carried up to each tier in turn; I leave this uncertain, both ways being told me. But this is certain, that the upper part of the pyramid was the first finished off. then the next below it, and last of all the base and the lowest part. There are writings on 2 the pyramid

2 Or, "in."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> That is, the stones which were to fill up the angles of the steps, and make the side of the pyramid a smooth inclined plane. The pyramids built by Cheops, Chephren, and Mycerinus respectively are the pyramids of Gizeh, near Cairo.

μίδι ὅσα ἔς τε συρμαίην καὶ κρόμμυα καὶ σκόροδα ἀναισιμώθη τοῖσι ἐργαζομένοισι καὶ ὡς ἐμὲ εὖ μεμνῆσθαι τὰ ὁ ἐρμηνεύς μοι ἐπιλεγόμενος τὰ γράμματα ἔφη, ἐξακόσια καὶ χίλια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τετελέσθαι. εἰ δ' ἔστι οὕτω ἔχοντα ταῦτα, κόσα οἰκὸς ἄλλα δεδαπανῆσθαι ἐστὶ ἔς τε σίδηρον τῷ ἐργάζοντο καὶ σιτία καὶ ἐσθῆτα τοῖσι ἐργαζομένοισι, ὁκότε χρόνον μὲν οἰκοδόμεον τὰ ἔργα τὸν εἰρημένον, ἄλλον δέ, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἐν τῷ τοὺς λίθους ἔταμνον καὶ ῆγον καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ γῆν

όρυγμα ἐργάζοντο, οὐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον.

126. Ές τοῦτο δὲ ἐλθεῖν Χέοπα κακότητος ὥστε χρημάτων δεόμενον τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν ἐωυτοῦ κατίσαντα ἐπ' οἰκήματος προστάξαι πρήσσεσθαι ἀργύριον ὁκόσον δή τι' οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτό γε ἔλεγον. τὴν δὲ τά τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ταχθέντα πρήσσεσθαι, ἰδίη δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν διανοηθῆναι μνημήιον καταλιπέσθαι, καὶ τοῦ ἐσιόντος πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐκάστου δέεσθαι ὅκως ἄν αὐτῆ ἔνα λίθων ἐν τοῖσι ἔργοισι δωρέοιτο. ἐκ τούτων δὲ τῶν λίθων ἔφασαν τὴν πυραμίδα οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὴν ἐν μέσω τῶν τριῶν ἑστηκυῖαν, ἔμπροσθε τῆς μεγάλης πυραμίδος, τῆς ἐστὶ τὸ κῶλον ἔκαστον ὅλου καὶ ἡμίσεος πλέθρου.

127. Βασιλεύσαι δὲ τὸν Χέοπα τοῦτον Αἰγύπτιοι ἔλεγον πεντήκοντα ἔτεα, τελευτήσαντος δὲ τούτου ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιληίην τὸν ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ Χεφρῆνα· καὶ τοῦτον δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ διαχρᾶσθαι τῷ ἐτέρῳ τά τε ἄλλα καὶ πυραμίδα ποιῆσαι, ἐς μὲν τὰ ἐκείνου μέτρα οὐκ ἀνήκουσανταῦτα γὰρ ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐμετρήσαμεν· (οὕτε γὰρ ὕπεστι οἰκήματα ὑπὸ γῆν, οὕτε ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου

# BOOK II. 125-127

in Egyptian characters showing how much was spent on purges and onions and garlic for the workmen; and to my sure remembrance the interpreter when he read me the writing said that sixteen hundred talents of silver had been paid. Now if that is so, how much must needs have been expended on the iron with which they worked, and the workmen's food and clothing? seeing that the time aforesaid was spent in building, and the hewing and carrying of the stone and the digging out of the underground parts was, as I suppose, a business of long duration.

126. And so evil a man was Cheops that for lack of money he made his own daughter to sit in a chamber and exact payment (how much, I know not; for they did not tell me this). She, they say, doing her father's bidding, was minded to leave some memorial of her own, and demanded of everyone who sought intercourse with her that he should give one stone to set in her work; and of these stones was built the pyramid that stands midmost of the three, over against the great pyramid; each side of it measures one hundred and fifty feet.

127. Cheops reigned (so the Egyptians said) for fifty years; at his death he was succeeded by his brother Chephren, who bore himself in all respects like Cheops. Chephren also built a pyramid, of a less size than his brother's. I have myself measured it. It has no underground chambers, nor is it entered

διώρυξ ήκει èς αὐτὴν ὥσπερ èς τὴν ἑτέρην ῥέουσα δι οἰκοδομημένου δὲ αὐλῶνος ἔσω νῆσον περιρρέει, ἐν τῆ αὐτὸν λέγουσι κεῖσθαι Χέοπα)· ὑποδείμας δὲ τὸν πρῶτον δόμον λίθου Αἰθιοπικοῦ ποικίλου, τεσσεράκοντα πόδας ὑποβὰς τῆς ἑτέρης τἀυτὸ μέγαθος, ἐχομένην τῆς μεγάλης οἰκοδόμησε. ἑστᾶσι δὲ ἐπὶ λόφου τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀμφότεραι, μάλιστα ἐς ἑκατὸν πόδας ὑψηλοῦ. βασιλεῦσαι δὲ ἔλεγον Χεφρῆνα ἑξ καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεα.

128. Ταθτα έξ τε καὶ έκατὸν λογίζονται έτεα, ἐν τοῦσι Αἰγυπτίοισί τε πᾶσαν εἶναι κακότητα καὶ τὰ ἰρὰ χρόνου τοσούτου κατακληισθέντα οἰκ ἀνοιχθῆναι. τούτους ὑπὸ μίσεος οἰ κάρτα θέλουσι Αἰγύπτιοι ὀνομάζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας καλέουσι ποιμένος Φιλίτιος, δς τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον

ένεμε κτήνεα κατά ταῦτα τὰ χωρία.

129. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον βασιλεῦσαι Αἰγύπτου Μυκερῖνον ἔλεγον Χέοπος παῖδα· τῷ τὰ μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς ἔργα ἀπαδεῖν, τὸν δὲ τά τε ἰρὰ ἀνοῖξαι καὶ τὸν λεὼν τετρυμένον ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ ἀνεῖναι πρὸς ἔργα τε καὶ θυσίας, δίκας δέ σφι πάντων βασιλέων δικαιότατα κρίνειν. κατὰ τοῦτο μέν νυν τὸ ἔργον ἀπάντων ὅσοι ἤδη βασιλέες ἐγένοντο Αἰγυπτίων αἰνέουσι μάλιστα τοῦτον. τά τε ἄλλα γάρ μιν κρίνειν εὖ, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ ἐπιμεμφομένῷ ἐκ τῆς δίκης παρ' ἐωυτοῦ διδόντα ἄλλα ἀποπιμπλάναι αὐτοῦ τὸν θυμόν. ἐόντι δὲ ἡπίῳ τῷ Μυκερίνῷ κατὰ τοὺς πολιήτας καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιτηδεύοντι πρῶτον κακῶν ἄρξαι τὴν θυγατέρα ἀποθανοῦσαν αὐτοῦ, τὴν μοῦνόν οἱ εἰναι ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοισι τέκνον. τὸν δὲ ὑπεραλγήσαντά τε τῷ

like the other by a canal from the Nile, but the river comes in through a built passage and encircles an island, in which, they say, Cheops himself lies. This pyramid was built of the same bigness as the other, save that it falls forty feet short of it in height; it stands near to the great pyramid; the lowest layer of it is of variegated Ethiopian stone. Both of them stand on the same ridge, which is about an hundred feet high. Chephren, they said, reigned for fifty-six years.

128. Thus they reckon that for a hundred and six years Egypt was in great misery and the temples so long shut were never opened. So much do the people hate the memory of these two kings that they do not greatly wish to name them, and call the pyramids after the shepherd Philitis, who then

pastured his flocks in this place.1

129. The next king of Egypt, they said, was Cheops' son Mycerinus. He, being displeased with his father's doings, opened the temples and suffered the people, now ground down to the depth of misery, to go to their business and their sacrifices; and he was the justest judge among all the kings. It is on this account that he is praised beyond all the rulers of Egypt; for not only were his judgments just, but if any were not contented with the sentence Mycerinus would give such an one a present out of his own estate to satisfy him for his loss. Such was his practice, and so he ruled his people with clemency, yet calamities befel him, of which the first was the death of his daughter, the only child of his household. Greatly grieving

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This is the form which Hdt. gives to the story of the rule of the "shepherds" (Hyksos) in Lower Egypt, perhaps from 2100 to 1600 B.C.

περιεπεπτώκεε πρήγματι, καὶ βουλόμενον περισσότερον τι τῶν ἄλλων θάψαι τὴν θυγατέρα, ποιήσασθαι βοῦν ξυλίνην κοίλην, καὶ ἔπειτα καταχρυσώσαντά μιν ταύτην ἔσω ἐν αὐτῆ θάψαι

ταύτην δή την ἀποθανοῦσαν θυγατέρα.

130. Αὕτη ὧν ἡ βοῦς γἢ οὐκ ἐκρύφθη, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν φανερή, ἐν Σάι μὲν πόλι ἐοῦσα, κειμένη δὲ ἐν τοῖσι βασιληίοισι ἐν οἰκήματι ἠσκημένω θυμιήματα δὲ παρ' αὐτἢ παντοῖα καταγίζουσι ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, νύκτα δὲ ἔκάστην πάννυχος λύχνος παρακαίεται. ἀγχοῦ δὲ τῆς βοὸς ταύτης ἐν ἄλλω οἰκήματι εἰκόνες τῶν παλλακέων τῶν Μυκερίνου ἑστᾶσι, ὡς ἔλεγον οἱ ἐν Σάι πόλι ἱρέες ἑστᾶσι μὲν γὰρ ξύλιναι κολοσσοί, ἐοῦσαι ἀριθμὸν ὡς εἴκοσι μάλιστά κῃ, γυμναὶ ἐργασμέναι αἴτινες μέντοι εἰσί, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν

πλην η τὰ λεγόμενα.

131. Οἱ δὲ τινὲς λέγουσι περὶ τῆς βοὸς ταύτης καὶ τῶν κολοσσῶν τόνδε τὸν λόγον, ὡς Μυκερῖνος ἠράσθη τῆς ἑωυτοῦ θυγατρὸς καὶ ἔπειτα ἐμίγη οἱ ἀεκούση· μετὰ δὲ λέγουσι ὡς ἡ παῖς ἀπήγξατο ὑπὸ ἄχεος, ὁ δέ μιν ἔθαψε ἐν τῆ βοὶ ταύτη, ἡ δὲ μήτηρ αὐτῆς τῶν ἀμφιπόλων τῶν προδουσέων τὴν θυγατέρα τῷ πατρὶ ἀπέταμε τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ νῦν τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτέων εἶναι πεπουθυίας τά περ αὶ ζωαὶ ἔπαθον. ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσι φλυηρέοντες, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς χεῖρας τῶν κολοσσῶν· ταύτας γὰρ ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὡρῶμεν ὅτι ὑπὸ χρόνου τὰς χεῖρας ἀποβεβλήκασι, αῖ ἐν ποσὶ αὐτέων ἐφαίνοντο ἐοῦσαι ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμέ.

132. Ἡ δὲ βοῦς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατακέκρυπται

# BOOK II. 129-132

over this misfortune, he desired to give her a burial something more excellent than ordinary; he made therefore a hollow cow's image of gilded wood and placed therein the body of his dead daughter.

130. This cow was not buried in the earth but was to be seen even in my time, in the town of Sais, where it lay in an adorned chamber of the palace; incense of all kinds is offered daily before it, and a lamp burns by it all through every night. There is another chamber near to this image, where stand the statues of Mycerinus' concubines, as the priests of Sais told me; and indeed there are about twenty colossal wooden figures there, made likenaked women, but I have only the priests' word to show who they are.

131. Some have a story about the cow and the statues, how Mycerinus conceived a passion for his own daughter and did her foul wrong, and she strangled herself for grief: then he buried her, they say, in this image of a cow; the girl's mother cut off the hands of the attendants who had betrayed the daughter to her father, so that now (it is said) their statues are in the plight to which the living women were brought. But this I believe to be a foolish tale, especially as respects the hands of the figures. As we ourselves saw, it is time which has made the hands to drop away; they were to be seen even in my day lying on the ground before the statues.

132. As for the cow, it is covered with a purple

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φοινικέφ είματι, τὸν αὐχένα δὲ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν φαίνει κεχρυσωμένα παχέι κάρτα χρυσῷ· μεταξὸ δὲ τῶν κερέων ὁ τοῦ ἡλίου κύκλος μεμιμημένος ἔπεστι χρύσεος. ἔστι δὲ ἡ βοῦς οὐκ ὀρθὴ ἀλλὰ ἐν γούνασι κειμένη, μέγαθος δὲ ὅση περ μεγάλη βοῦς ζωή. ἐκφέρεται δὲ ἐκ τοῦ οἰκήματος ἀνὰ πάντα ἔτεα, ἐπεὰν τύπτωνται Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν οὐκ ὀνομαζόμενον θεὸν ὑπ' ἐμεῦ ἐπὶ τοιούτφ πρήγματι τότε ὧν καὶ τὴν βοῦν ἐκφέρουσι ἐς τὸ φῶς· φασὶ γὰρ αὐτὴν δεηθῆναι τοῦ πατρὸς Μυκερίνου ἀποθυήσκουσαν ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἄπαξ μιν τὸν ἥλιον κατιδεῖν.

133. Μετά δὲ τῆς θυγατρὸς τὸ πάθος δεύτερα τούτω τω βασιλέι τάδε γενέσθαι έλθειν οί μαντήιον έκ Βουτούς πόλιος ώς μέλλοι εξ έτεα μούνον βιούς τω έβδόμω τελευτήσειν. τον δέ δεινον ποιησάμενον πέμψαι ές το μαντήιον τω θεω ονείδισμα, αντιμεμφομένον ότι ο μέν αυτου πατήρ και πάτρως, άποκληίσαντες τὰ ίρὰ καί θεών ου μεμνημένοι άλλα και τους ανθρώπους φθείροντες, εβίωσαν χρόνον επὶ πολλόν, αὐτος δ' εὐσεβης ἐων μέλλοι ταγέως οὕτω τελευτήσειν. έκ δὲ τοῦ χρηστηρίου αὐτῷ δεύτερα ἐλθεῖν λέγοντα τούτων είνεκα καὶ συνταχύνειν αὐτὸν τον βίον οὐ γὰρ ποιῆσαί μιν το χρεον ἡν ποιέειν δείν γαρ Αίγυπτον κακούσθαι έπ' έτεα πεντήκοντά τε καὶ έκατόν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν δύο τοὺς πρὸ ἐκείνου γενομένους βασιλέας μαθείν τοῦτο. κείνον δὲ οὔ. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα τὸν Μυκερίνον. ώς κατακεκριμένων ήδη οί τούτων, λύχνα ποιησάμενον πολλά, ὅκως γίνοιτο νύξ, ἀνάγαντα

robe, and shows only the head and neck, which are encrusted with a very thick layer of gold. Between its horns it bears the golden figure of the sun's orb. It does not stand, but kneels; its stature is that of a live cow of great size. This image is carried out of the chamber once in every year, whenever the Egyptians make lamentation for the god whom I name not in speaking of these matters; it is then that the cow is brought out into the light, for Mycerinus' daughter, they say, entreated him at her death that she might see the sun once a year.<sup>1</sup>

133. After the grievous death of his daughter, it next happened to Mycerinus that an oracle was sent to him from the city of Buto, declaring that he had but six years to live and must die in the seventh. The king deemed this unjust, and sent back to the oracle a message of reproach, blaming the god: why must he die so soon who was pious, whereas his father and his uncle had lived long, who shut up the temples, and regarded not the gods, and destroyed men? But a second utterance from the place of divination declared to him that his good deeds were the very cause of shortening his life; for he had done what was contrary to fate; Egypt should have been afflicted for an hundred and fifty years, whereof the two kings before him had been aware, but not Mycerinus. Hearing this, he knew that his doom was fixed. Therefore he caused many lamps to be made, and would light these at nightfall and drink and make

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The cow-worship is no doubt the cult of Isis, honoured at Sais under the name Nit.

αὐτὰ πίνειν τε καὶ εὐπαθέειν, οὕτε ἡμέρης οὕτε νυκτὸς ἀνιέντα, ἔς τε τὰ ἔλεα καὶ τὰ ἄλσεα πλανώμενον καὶ ἴνα πυνθάνοιτο εἶναι ἐνηβητήρια ἐπιτηδεότατα. ταῦτα δὲ ἐμηχανᾶτο θέλων τὸ μαντήιον ψευδόμενον ἀποδέξαι, ἵνα οἱ δυώδεκα ἔτεα ἀντὶ ἔξ ἐτέων γένηται, αἱ νύκτες ἡμέραι

ποιεύμεναι.

134. Πυραμίδα δὲ οὖτος ἀπελίπετο πολλὸν έλάσσω τοῦ πατρός, είκοσι ποδών καταδέουσαν κώλον έκαστον τριών πλέθρων, ἐούσης τετραγώνου, λίθου δὲ ἐς τὸ ήμισυ Αἰθιοπικοῦ· τὴν δὴ μετεξέτεροι φασί Έλλήνων 'Ροδώπιος εταίρης γυναικός είναι, ούκ όρθως λέγοντες. ούδε ών ούδε είδότες μοι φαίνονται λέγειν ούτοι ήτις ην ή Ροδώπις ου γάρ ἄν οι πυραμίδα ἀνέθεσαν ποιήσασθαι τοιαύτην, ές την ταλάντων χιλιάδες άναρίθμητοι ώς λόγω είπειν άναισίμωνται πρός δὲ ὅτι κατὰ "Αμασιν βασιλεύοντα ἡν ἀκμάζουσα 'Ροδώπις, άλλ' οὐ κατά τοῦτον. ἔτεσι γὰρ κάρτα πολλοίσι ύστερον τούτων των βασιλέων των τάς πυραμίδας ταύτας ην λιπομένων 'Ροδώπις, γενεήν μεν άπο Θρηίκης, δούλη δε ήν Ιάδμονος του Ήφαιστοπόλιος ἀνδρὸς Σαμίου, σύνδουλος δέ Αἰσώπου τοῦ λογοποιοῦ, καὶ γὰρ οὕτος Ἰάδμονος έγένετο, ώς διέδεξε τήδε ούκ ήκιστα έπείτε γάρ πολλάκις κηρυσσόντων Δελφών έκ θεοπροπίου δς βούλοιτο ποινήν της Αἰσώπου ψυχής ἀνελέσθαι. άλλος μεν ούδεις έφάνη, Ἰάδμονος δε παιδός παίς άλλος Ἰάδμων ἀνείλετο, ούτω καὶ Αἴσωπος Ίαδμονος έγένετο.

135. 'Ροδωπις δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπίκετο Ξάνθεω τοῦ Σαμίου κομίσαντος, ἀπικομένη δὲ κατ' ἐργασίην

# BOOK II. 133-135

merry; by day or night he never ceased from revelling, roaming to the marsh country and the groves and wherever he heard of the likeliest places of pleasure. Thus he planned, that by turning night into day he might make his six years into twelve

and so prove the oracle false.

134. This king too left a pyramid, but far smaller than his father's; its sides form a square whereof each side is two hundred and eighty feet in length; as far as the half of its height it is of Ethiopian stone. Some Greeks say that it was built by Rhodopis, the courtesan, but they are in error; indeed it is clear to me that when they say this they do not know who Rhodopis was, else they would never have credited her with the building of a pyramid whereon what I may call an uncountable sum of talents must have been expended. And it is a further proof of their error that Rhodopis flourished in the reign of Amasis, not of Mycerinus, and thus very many years after these kings who built the pyramids. She was a Thracian by birth, slave to Iadmon, son of Hephaestopolis, a Samian, and fellow-slave of Aesopus the story-writer. For he also was owned by Iadmon; of which the chiefest proof is that when the Delphians, obeying an oracle, issued many proclamations inviting whosoever would to undertake atonement for the killing of Aesopus, none would undertake it but only another Iadmon, grandson of the first. Thus was Aesopus too shown to be the slave of Iadmon.

135. Rhodopis was brought to Egypt by Xanthes of Samos, and on her coming was freed for the

ελύθη γρημάτων μεγάλων ύπὸ ἀνδρὸς Μυτιληναίου Χαράξου τοῦ Σκαμανδρωνύμου παιδός, άδελφεοῦ δέ Σαπφούς της μουσοποιού. ούτω δη ή Ροδώπις έλευθερώθη, καὶ κατέμεινέ τε έν Αἰγύπτω καὶ κάρτα ἐπαφρόδιτος γενομένη μεγάλα ἐκτήσατο γρήματα ώς αν είναι 'Ροδώπι, άταρ οὐκ ώς γε ές πυραμίδα τοιαύτην εξικέσθαι. της γάρ την δεκάτην των χρημάτων ίδέσθαι έστι έτι και ές τόδε παντί τω βουλομένω, οὐδεν δεί μεγάλα οί χρήματα αναθείναι. επεθύμησε γαρ Ροδώπις μνημήιον έωυτης έν τη Έλλάδι καταλιπέσθαι, ποίημα ποιησαμένη τοῦτο τὸ μὴ τυγγάνοι ἄλλω έξευρημένον καὶ ἀνακεί μενον ἐν ἰρῶ, τοῦτο ἀναθείναι ές Δελφούς μνημόσυνον έωυτης. της ων δεκάτης των χρημάτων ποιησαμένη δβελούς βουπόρους πολλούς σιδηρέους, όσον ένεγώρεε ή δεκάτη οί. ἀπέπεμπε ες Δελφούς οἱ καὶ νῦν ἔτι συννενέαται ὅπισθε μὲν τοῦ βωμοῦ τὸν Χῖοι ἀνέθεσαν, άντίον δε αὐτοῦ τοῦ νηοῦ. Φιλέουσι δέ κως ἐν τῆ Ναυκράτι ἐπαφρόδιτοι γίνεσθαι αί ἐταῖραι. τοῦτο μεν γαρ αύτη, της πέρι λέγεται όδε ο λόγος, ούτω δή τι κλεινή εγένετο ώς καὶ οἱ πάντες "Ελληνες Ροδώπιος τὸ ούνομα ἐξέμαθον τοῦτο δὲ ὕστερον ταύτης, τη ούνομα ην Αρχιδίκη, ἀοίδιμος ἀνὰ την Έλλάδα έγένετο, ήσσον δὲ τῆς έτέρης περιλεσχήνευτος. Χάραξος δὲ ώς λυσάμενος 'Ροδώπιν ἀπενόστησε ές Μυτιλήνην, έν μέλει Σαπφω πολλά κατεκερτόμησε μιν.

136. 'Ροδώπιος μέν νυν πέρι πέπαυμαι. μετὰ δὲ Μυκερῖνον γενέσθαι Αἰγύπτου βασιλέα ἔλεγον οἱ ἱρέες "Ασυχιν, τὸν τὰ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα ποιῆσαι τῷ Ἡφαίστω προπύλαια, ἐόντα πολλῷ

# BOOK II. 135-136

practice of her calling by Charaxus of Mytilene, son of Scamandronymus and brother of Sappho the poetess. Thus Rhodopis was set free and abode in Egypt, where, her charms becoming well known, she grew wealthy enough for a lady of her profession, but not for the building of such a pyramid. Seeing that to this day anyone who wishes may know what was the tenth part of her possessions, she cannot be credited with great wealth. For Rhodopis desired to leave a memorial of herself in Greece, by having something made which no one else had contrived and dedicated in a temple and presenting this at Delphi to preserve her memory; so she spent the tenth part of her substance on the making of a great number of iron ox-spits, as many as the tithe would pay for, and sent them to Delphi; these lie in a heap to this day, behind the altar set up by the Chians and in front of the shrine itself. It seems that the courtesans of Naucratis ever have the art of pleasing, for the woman of whom this story is told became so famous that all Greeks knew the name of Rhodopis, and in later days one Archidice was the theme of song throughout Greece, albeit less spoken of than the other. Charaxus, after giving Rhodopis her freedom, returned to Mytilene. He is bitterly attacked by Sappho in one of her poems.

136. Enough has been said of Rhodopis. After Mycerinus, said the priests, Asuchis became king of Egypt. He built the eastern outer court of Hephaestus' temple; this is by much the fairest and

τε κάλλιστα καὶ πολλώ μέγιστα έχει μεν γάρ καὶ τὰ πάντα προπύλαια τύπους τε ἐγγεγλυμμένους καὶ ἄλλην ὄψιν οἰκοδομημάτων μυρίην, έκείνα δὲ καὶ μακρώ μάλιστα. ἐπὶ τούτου Βασιλεύοντος έλεγον, ἀμιξίης ἐούσης πολλής χρημάτων, γενέσθαινόμον Αίγυπτίοισι, ἀποδεικνύντα ένέγυρον τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν νέκυν οὕτω λαμβάνειν τὸ χρέος. προστεθήναι δὲ ἔτι τούτω τῷ νόμω τόνδε, τὸν διδόντα τὸ γρέος καὶ άπάσης κρατέειν της τοῦ λαμβάνοντος θήκης, τω δε ύποτιθέντι τοῦτο τὸ ενέχυρον τήνδε επείναι ζημίην μη βουλομένω άποδοῦναι τὸ χρέος, μήτε αὐτῶ ἐκείνω τελευτήσαντι είναι ταφής κυρήσαι μήτ' έν έκείνω τω πατρωίω τάφω μήτ' εν άλλω μηδενί, μήτε άλλον μηδένα των έωυτου ἀπογενόμενον θάψαι. ὑπερβαλέσθαι δὲ βουλόμενον τοῦτον τὸν βασιλέα τοὺς πρότερον έωυτοῦ βασιλέας γενομένους Αἰγύπτου μνημόσυνον πυραμίδα λιπέσθαι έκ πλίνθων ποιήσαντα, έν τη γράμματα ἐν λίθω ἐγκεκολαμμένα τάδε λέγοντα έστί. "Μή με κατονοσθής προς τὰς λιθίνας πυραμίδας προέχω γαρ αὐτέων τοσοῦτον ὅσον ό Ζευς των άλλων θεων. κοντω γαρ υποτύπτοντες ές λίμνην, ὅ τι πρόσσχοιτο τοῦ πηλοῦ τῷ κοντώ, τούτο συλλέγοντες πλίνθους είρυσαν καί με τρόπω τοιούτω έξεποίησαν."

137. Τοῦτον μὲν τοσαῦτα ἀποδέξασθαι. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον βασιλεῦσαι ἄνδρα τυφλὸν ἐξ ᾿Ανύσιος πόλιος, τῷ οὕνομα Ἦνυσιν εἶναι. ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος ἐλάσαι ἐπ᾽ Αἴγυπτον χειρὶ πολλῆ Αἰθίοπάς τε καὶ Σαβακῶν τὸν Αἰθιόπων βασιλέα. τὸν μὲν δὴ τυφλὸν τοῦτον οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα ἐς τὰ ἔλεα, τὸν δὲ Αἰθίοπα βασιλεύειν Αἰγύπτου

largest of all the courts, for while all have carven figures and innumerable graces of architecture, this court has far more than any. In this king's reign as they told me, money in Egypt passed not readily from hand to hand; wherefore a law was made that a man might borrow on the security of his father's dead body; and the law provided also, that the lender should have a lien on the whole burial-vault of the borrower, and that the penalty for the giver of this security, should he fail to repay the debt, should be that he might neither himself be buried at death nor bury any deceased of his kin either in that tomb of his fathers nor in any other. Moreover, being desirous of excelling all who ruled Egypt before him, this king left a pyramid of brick to commemorate his name, on which is this writing, cut on a stone :- "Deem me not less than the pyramids of stone; for I am as much more excellent than they as Zeus is than the other gods; for they struck a pole down into a marsh and collected what mud clave to the pole; therewith they made bricks, and thus was I built."

137. These were the acts of Asuchis. After him reigned a blind man called Anysis, of the town of that name. In his reign Egypt was invaded by Sabacos king of Ethiopia and a great army of Ethiopians. The blind man fleeing away into the marshes, the Ethiopians ruled Egypt for fifty years. It is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In Manetho's list three Ethiopian kings form the twenty-fifth dynasty, Sabacon, Sebichos, and Taracos (the Tirhaka of the Old Testament).
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έπ' έτεα πεντήκοντα, έν τοίσι αὐτὸν τάδε ἀποδέξασθαι όκως των τις Αίγυπτίων άμάρτοι τι, κτείνειν μέν αὐτῶν οὐδένα ἐθέλειν, τὸν δὲ κατὰ μέγαθος τοῦ ἀδικήματος ἐκάστω δικάζειν ἐπιτάσσοντα γώματα γουν πρὸς τη ξωυτών πόλι, ὅθεν έκαστος ην των άδικεόντων, και ούτω έτι αί πόλιες εγένοντο ύψηλότεραι το μεν γάρ πρώτον έχωσθησαν ύπὸ τῶν τὰς διώρυχας ὀρυξάντων ἐπὶ Σεσώστριος βασιλέος, δεύτερα δε έπὶ τοῦ Αἰθίοπος και κάρτα ύψηλαι εγένοντο, ύψηλέων δε και έτερέων γενομενέων έν τη Αλγύπτω πολίων, ώς έμοι δοκέει, μάλιστα ή έν Βουβάστι πόλι έξεχώσθη, έν τη καὶ ίρον έστι Βουβάστιος άξιαπηγητότατον μέζω μέν γάρ άλλα καὶ πολυδαπανώτερα έστὶ ίρα, ήδονη δὲ ἰδέσθαι οὐδὲν τούτου μᾶλλον. ή δὲ Βούβαστις κατά Έλλάδα γλώσσαν έστι "Αρτεμις.

138. Το δ' ίρον αὐτης ώδε έχει. πλην της έσόδου τὸ ἄλλο νῆσος ἐστί· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ Νείλου διώρυχες ἐσέχουσι οὐ συμμίσγουσαι ἀλλήλησι. άλλ' άχρι της ἐσόδου τοῦ ἱροῦ ἐκατέρη ἐσέγει. η μέν τη περιρρέουσα η δὲ τη, εύρος ἐοῦσα έκατέρη έκατον ποδών, δένδρεσι κατάσκιος. δὲ προπύλαια ύψος μὲν δέκα ὀργυιέων ἐστί, τύποισι δὲ έξαπήγεσι ἐσκευάδαται ἀξίοισι λόγου. έου δ' έν μέση τη πόλι το ίρον κατοράται πάντοθεν περιιόντι άτε γάρ της πόλιος μέν έκκεχωσμένης ύψοῦ, τοῦ δ' ἱροῦ οὐ κεκινημένου ώς άρχηθεν εποιήθη, εσοπτον εστί. περιθέει δε αύτο αίμασιη έγγεγλυμμένη τύποισι, έστι δέ έσωθεν άλσος δενδρέων μεγίστων πεφυτευμένον περί νηὸν μέγαν, ἐν τῷ δὴ τὤγαλμα ἔνι εὐρος δὲ καὶ μήκος τοῦ ἱροῦ πάντη σταδίου ἐστί. κατὰ recorded in the history of his reign that he would never put to death any Egyptian wrongdoer, but sentenced all, according to the greatness of their offence, to raise embankments in the town of which each was a native. Thus the towns came to stand yet higher than before; for having been first built on embankments made by the diggers of the canals in the reign of Sesostris, they were yet further raised in the reign of the Ethiopian. Other Egyptian towns, to my thinking, were so dealt with, but the level of Bubastis was raised more than any. In this town there is a temple of Bubastis, and it is a building most worthy of note. Other temples are greater and more costly, but none pleasanter to the eye than this. Bubastis is, in the Greek language, Artemis.

138. I will now show the form of her temple: save for the entrance, it stands on an island; two separate channels approach it from the Nile, running in contrary directions as far as the entry of the temple; each of them is an hundred feet wide, and overshadowed by trees. The outer court has a height of ten fathoms, and is adorned with notable figures six cubits high. The temple is in the midst of the city, the whole circuit of which commands a view down into it; for the city's level has been raised, but that of the temple has been left as it was from the first, so that it can be seen into from without. A stone wall, carven with figures, runs round it; within is a grove of very tall trees growing round a great shrine, wherein is the image of the goddess; the temple is a square, each side measuring a furlong.

μὲν δὴ τὴν ἔσοδον ἐστρωμένη ἐστὶ ὁδὸς λίθου ἐπὶ σταδίους τρεῖς μάλιστά κῃ, διὰ τῆς ἀγορῆς φέρουσα ἐς τὸ πρὸς ἦῶ, εὖρος δὲ ὡς τεσσέρων πλέθρων τῆ δὲ καὶ τῆ τῆς ὁδοῦ δένδρεα οὐρανομήκεα πέφυκε· φέρει δὲ ἐς Ἑρμέω ἱρόν. τὸ μὲν

δη ίρον τούτο ούτω έχει.

139. Τέλος δὲ τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς τοῦ Αἰθίοπος ώδε έλεγον γενέσθαι όψιν έν τῷ ὕπνω τοιήνδε ίδόντα αὐτὸν οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα εδόκεε οἱ ἄνδοα έπιστάντα συμβουλεύειν τους ίρεας τους έν Αίγύπτω συλλέξαντα πάντας μέσους διαταμείν. ίδόντα δὲ τὴν ὄψιν ταύτην λέγειν αὐτὸν ώς πρόφασίν οι δοκέοι ταύτην τούς θεούς προδεικνύναι. ίνα ἀσεβήσας περί τὰ ίρὰ κακόν τι πρὸς θεών ή πρὸς ἀνθρώπων λάβοι οὔκων ποιήσειν ταῦτα, άλλα γάρ οἱ έξεληλυθέναι τον χρόνον, δκόσον κεχρησθαι ἄρξαντα Αἰγύπτου ἐκχωρήσειν. γάρ τη Αιθιοπίη εόντι αὐτῷ τὰ μαντήια, τοίσι χρέωνται Αιθίοπες, ανείλε ώς δέοι αὐτὸν Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύσαι έτεα πεντήκοντα. ώς ών ο χρόνος ούτος έξήιε καὶ αὐτὸν ή ὄψις τοῦ ἐνυπνίου ἐπετάρασσε, έκων ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὁ Σαβακώς.

140. 'Ως δ' ἄρα οἴχεσθαι τὸν Αἰθίοπα ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, αὖτις τὸν τυφλὸν ἄρχειν ἐκ τῶν ἐλέων
ἀπικόμενον, ἔνθα πεντήκοντα ἔτεα νῆσον χώσας
σποδῷ τε καὶ γῆ οἴκεε. ὅκως γάρ οἱ φοιτᾶν σίτον
ἄγοντας Αἰγυπτίων, ὡς ἐκάστοισι προστετάχθαι,
σιγῆ τοῦ Αἰθίοπος, ἐς τὴν δωρεὴν κελεύειν σφέας
καὶ σποδὸν κομίζειν. ταύτην τὴν νῆσον οὐδεἰς
πρότερον ἐδυνάσθη 'Αμυρταίου ἐξευρεῖν, ἀλλὰ
ἔτεα ἐπὶ πλέω ἡ ἑπτακόσια οὐκ οἶοί τε ἦσαν

# BOOK II. 138-140

A paved road of about three furlongs' length leads to the entrance, running eastward through the market place, towards the temple of Hermes; this road is about four hundred feet wide, and bordered by trees reaching to heaven. Such is this

temple.

139. Now the departure of the Ethiopian (they said) was accomplished on this wise. He fled away from the country, having seen in a dream one who stood over him and counselled him to gather together all the priests in Egypt and cut them in sunder. Having seen this vision, he said that he supposed it to be a manifestation sent to him by the gods, that he might commit sacrilege and so be punished by gods or men: he would not (he said) act so, but otherwise, for the time foretold for his rule over Egypt, after which he was to depart, was now fulfilled: for when he was still in Ethiopia the oracles which are inquired of by the people of that country declared to him that he was fated to reign fifty years over Egypt. Seeing that this time was now completed and that he was troubled by what he saw in his dream, Sabacos departed from Egypt of his own accord.

140. The Ethiopian having left Egypt, the blind man (it is said) was king once more, returning from the marshes, where he had dwelt fifty years on an island which he built of ashes and earth; for the Egyptians, who were severally charged to bring him food without the Ethiopian's knowledge, were bidden by the king to bring ashes whenever they came, to add to their gift. This island was never discovered before the time of Amyrtaeus; all the kings before him sought it in vain

αὐτὴν ἀνευρεῖν οἱ πρότεροι γενόμενοι βασιλέες Αμυρταίου. οὔνομα δὲ ταύτη τῆ νήσφ Ἐλβώ,

μέγαθος δ' έστι πάντη δέκα σταδίων.

141. Μετά δὲ τοῦτον βασιλεῦσαι τὸν ίρέα τοῦ 'Ηφαίστου, τῷ οὖνομα εἶναι Σεθῶν τὸν ἐν ἀλογίησι έχειν παραχρησάμενον των μαχίμων Αίγυπτίων ώς οὐδεν δεησόμενον αὐτῶν, ἄλλα τε δη άτιμα ποιεύντα ές αὐτούς, καί σφεας ἀπελέσθαι τας αρούρας τοίσι έπι των προτέρων βασιλέων δεδόσθαι έξαιρέτους έκάστω δυώδεκα άρούρας. μετά δὲ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἐλαύνειν στρατὸν μέγαν Σαναγάριβον βασιλέα 'Αραβίων τε καὶ 'Ασσυρίων ούκων δη έθέλειν τούς μαχίμους των Αίγυπτίων βοηθέειν. τον δ' ίρέα ές ἀπορίην ἀπειλημένον ἐσελθόντα ἐς τὸ μέγαρον πρὸς τώγαλμα ἀποδύρεσθαι οία κινδυνεύει παθείν. όλοφυρόμενον δ' άρα μιν έπελθειν ύπνον, καί οι δόξαι έν τη όψι επιστάντα τον θεον θαρσύνειν ώς οὐδεν πείσεται άγαρι ἀντιάζων τὸν 'Αραβίων στρατόν' αύτος γάρ οἱ πέμψειν τιμωρούς. τούτοισι δή μιν πίσυνον τοίσι ένυπνίοισι, παραλαβόντα Αίγυπτίων τούς βουλομένους οί έπεσθαι, στρατοπεδεύσασθαι έν Πηλουσίω ταύτη γάρ είσι αι έσβολαί έπεσθαι δέ οἱ τῶν μαχίμων μὲν οὐδένα ἀνδρῶν, καπήλους δὲ καὶ χειρώνακτας καὶ ἀγοραίους ἀνθρώπους. ένθαθτα ἀπικομένοισι 1 τοίσι έναντίοισι αὐτοίσι έπιχυθέντας νυκτός μύς άρουραίους κατά μέν φαγείν τούς φαρετρεώνας αὐτών κατά δὲ τὰ τόξα. πρὸς δὲ τῶν ἀσπίδων τὰ ὄχανα, ὥστε τῆ ὑστεραίη

¹ Stein reads ἀπικομένους, and supposes a lacuna after ἐναντίοισι; ἀπικομένοισι has the best authority.

for more than seven hundred years. The name of it is Elbo, and it is ten furlongs long and of an equal breadth.

141. The next king was the priest of Hephaestus, whose name was Sethos. He despised and took no account of the warrior Egyptians, thinking he would never need them; besides otherwise dishonouring them, he took away the chosen lands which had been given to them, twelve fields to each man, in the reign of former kings. So presently came king Sanacharib 1 against Egypt, with a great host of Arabians and Assyrians; and the warrior Egyptians would not march against him. The priest, in this quandary, went into the temple shrine and there bewailed to the god's image the peril which threatened him. In his lamentation he fell asleep, and dreamt that he saw the god standing over him and bidding him take courage, for he should suffer no ill by encountering the host of Arabia: "Myself," said the god, "will send you champions." So he trusted the vision, and encamped at Pelusium with such Egyptians as would follow him, for here is the road into Egypt; and none of the warriors would go with him, but only hucksters and artificers and traders. Their enemies too came thither, and one night a multitude of fieldmice 2 swarmed over the Assyrian camp and devoured their quivers and their bows and the handles of their shields likewise, inso-

<sup>1</sup> Sennacherib's attack on Hezekiah of Judaea was made

on his march to Egypt.-II Kings, xviii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This is Hdt,'s version of the Jewish story of the pestilence which destroyed the Assyrian army before Jerusalem. Mice are a Greek symbol of pestilence; it is Apollo Smintheus (the mouse god) who sends and then stays the plague in Homer, II. i. It has long been known that rats are carriers of the plague.

φευγόντων σφέων γυμνών πεσείν πολλούς. καὶ νῦν οὖτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔστηκε ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου λίθινος, ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς μῦν, λέγων διὰ γραμμάτων τάδε· " Ἐς ἐμέ τις ὁρέων εὐσεβὴς ἔστω."

142. Ές μεν τοσόνδε τοῦ λόγου Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ οἱ ἱρέες ἔλεγον, ἀποδεικνύντες ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέος ές του Ἡφαίστου τὸν ίρέα τοῦτον τὸν τελευταίον βασιλεύσαντα μίαν τε και τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας γενεὰς ἀνθρώπων γενομένας, καὶ ἐν ταύτησι ἀρχιερέας καὶ βασιλέας ἐκατέρους τοσούτους γενομένους, καίτοι τριηκόσιαι μέν άνδρων γενεαί δυνέαται μύρια έτεα γενεαί γάρ τρείς ανδρών έκατον έτεα έστί μιης δε και τεσσεράκοντα έτι των επιλοίπων γενεέων, αι επήσαν τήσι τριηκοσίησι, έστὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια καὶ γίλια ἔτεα. οὕτω ἐν μυρίοισί τε ἔτεσι καὶ γιλίοισι καὶ τριηκοσίοισί τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα έλεγον θεον ανθρωποειδέα οὐδένα γενέσθαι οὐ μέντοι ούδε πρότερον ούδε υστερον έν τοισι υπολοίποισι Αἰγύπτου βασιλεῦσι γενομένοισι έλεγον οὐδὲν τοιούτο. ἐν τοίνυν τούτω τῷ χρόνω τετράκις έλενον έξ ήθέων τον ήλιον ανατείλαι ένθα τε νύν καταδύεται, ένθευτεν δίς έπαντείλαι, και ένθεν νῦν ἀνατέλλει, ἐνθαῦτα δὶς καταδῦναι, καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον ὑπὸ ταῦτα ἐτεροιωθῆναι, οὕτε τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς οὕτε τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ σφι γινόμενα, ούτε τὰ ἀμφὶ νούσους ούτε τὰ κατὰ τούς θανάτους.

143. Πρότερον δὲ Ἑκαταίφ τῷ λογοποιῷ ἐν Θήβησι γενεηλογήσαντί τε έωυτὸν καὶ ἀναδήσαντι τὴν πατριὴν ἐς ἐκκαιδέκατον θεὸν ἐποίησαν

much that they fled the next day unarmed and many fell. And at this day a stone statue of the Egyptian king stands in Hephaestus' temple, with a mouse in his hand, and an inscription to this effect: "Look on me, and fear the gods."

142. Thus far went the record given me by the Egyptians and their priests; and they showed me that the time from the first king to that priest of Hephaestus, who was the last, covered three hundred and forty-one generations of men, and that in this time such also had been the number of their kings, and of their high priests. Now three hundred generations make up ten thousand years, three generations being equal to a century. And over and above the three hundred the remaining forty-one cover thirteen hundred and forty years. Thus the whole sum is eleven thousand three hundred and forty years; in all which time (they said) they had had no king who was a god in human form, nor had there been any such thing either before or after those years among the rest of the kings of Egypt. Four times in this period (so they told me) the sun rose contrary to his wont; twice he rose where he now sets, and twice he set where now he rises; yet Egypt at these times underwent no change, neither in the produce of the river and the land, nor in the matter of sickness and death.

143. Hecataeus i the historian was once at Thebes, where he made for himself a genealogy which connected him by lineage with a god in the sixteenth

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<sup>1</sup> Hecataeus died soon after the Persian war.

οί ίρέες του Διος οδόν τι καὶ έμοι οὐ γενεηλογήσαντι έμεωυτόν έσαγαγόντες ές τὸ μέγαρον έσω έὸν μένα έξηρίθμεον δεικνύντες κολοσσούς ξυλίνους τοσούτους όσους περ είπον άρχιερεύς γάρ έκαστος αὐτόθι ἱστά ἐπὶ της ἐωυτοῦ ζόης εἰκόνα έωυτου αριθμέοντες ών και δεικνύντες οι ίρέες έμοι ἀπεδείκνυσαν παίδα πατρός έωυτών εκαστον έόντα, έκ τοῦ ἄγγιστα ἀποθανόντος τῆς εἰκόνος διεξιόντες δια πασέων, έως ου απέδεξαν απάσας αὐτάς. Έκαταίφ δὲ γενεηλογήσαντι έωυτὸν καὶ αναδήσαντι ές έκκαιδέκατον θεον αντεγενεηλόγησαν έπὶ τη ἀριθμήσι, οὐ δεκόμενοι παρ' αὐτοῦ άπὸ θεοῦ γενέσθαι ἄνθρωπον ἀντεγενεηλόγησαν δὲ ὧδε, φάμενοι ἔκαστον τῶν κολοσσῶν πίρωμιν έκ πιρώμιος γεγονέναι, ές δ τούς πέντε καί τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίους ἀπέδεξαν κολοσσούς [πίρωμιν ἐπονομαζόμενον], καὶ οὕτε ἐς θεὸν οὕτε ές ήρωα ἀνέδησαν αὐτούς. πίρωμις δὲ ἐστὶ κατὰ Έλλάδα γλώσσαν καλὸς κάγαθός.

144. "Ήδη ὧν τῶν αἱ εἰκόνες ἦσαν, τοιούτους ἀπεδείκνυσαν σφέας πάντας ἐόντας, θεῶν δὲ πολλὸν ἀπαλλαγμένους. τὸ δὲ πρότερον τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων θεοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτω ἄρχοντας, οἰκ ἐόντας ἄμα τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι, καὶ τούτων αἰεὶ ἔνα τὸν κρατέοντα εἶναι ὕστατον δὲ αὐτῆς βασιλεῦσαι Ἦρον τὸν Ὁσίριος παῖδα, τὸν ᾿Απόλλωνα "Ελληνες ὀνομάζουσι τοῦτον καταπαύσαντα Τυφῶνα βασιλεῦσαι ὕστατον Αἰγύπτου. "Οσιρις δὲ ἐστὶ Διόνυσος κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν."

<sup>1</sup> Whether we read ἐπονομαζόμενον (with Stein) or πίρωμιν ἐκ πιρώμιος γενόμενον (with the MSS.) the words do not accord with the construction of the sentence.

### BOOK II. 143-144

generation. But the priests did for him what they did for me (who had not traced my own lineage). They brought me into the great inner court of the temple and showed me there wooden figures which they counted up to the number they had already given, for every high priest sets there in his lifetime a statue of himself; counting and pointing to these, the priests showed me that each inherited from his father; they went through the whole tale of figures, back to the earliest from that of him who had lateliest died. Thus when Hecataeus had traced his descent and claimed that his sixteenth forefather was a god, the priests too traced a line of descent according to the method of their counting; for they would not be persuaded by him that a man could be descended from a god; they traced descent through the whole line of three hundred and forty-five figures, not connecting it with any ancestral god or hero, but declaring each figure to be a "Piromis" the son of a "Piromis," that is, in the Greek language, one who is in all respects a good man.

144. Thus they showed that all whose statues stood there had been good men, but wholly unlike gods. Before these men, they said, the rulers of Egypt were gods, but none had been contemporary with the human priests. Of these gods one or other had in succession been supreme; the last of them to rule the country was Osiris' son Horus, called by the Greeks Apollo; he deposed Typhon, and was the last divine king of Egypt. Osiris is, in the

Greek language, Dionysus.

<sup>1</sup> Typhon is the Egyptian Set, the god of destruction.

145. Έν "Ελλησι μέν νυν νεώτατοι τῶν θεῶν νομίζονται είναι Ήρακλέης τε και Διόνυσος καί Πάν, παρ' Αίγυπτίοισι δὲ Πὰν μὲν ἀργαιότατος καὶ τῶν ὀκτὰ τῶν πρώτων λεγομένων θεῶν, Ἡρακλέης δὲ τῶν δευτέρων τῶν δυώδεκα λεγομένων είναι, Διόνυσος δὲ τῶν τρίτων, οἱ ἐκ τῶν δυώδεκα θεών εγένοντο. Ἡρακλέι μεν δη όσα αὐτοὶ Αίγύπτιοι φασί είναι έτεα ές "Αμασιν βασιλέα, δεδήλωταί μοι πρόσθε. Πανί δὲ ἔτι τούτων πλέονα λέγεται είναι, Διονύσω δ' έλάχιστα τούτων, καί τούτω πεντακισχίλια και μύρια λογίζονται είναι ές Αμασιν βασιλέα, καὶ ταῦτα Αἰγύπτιοι άτρεκέως φασί ἐπίστασθαι, αἰεί τε λογιζόμενοι καὶ αίεὶ ἀπογραφόμενοι τὰ ἔτεα. Διονύσω μέν νυν τῶ έκ Σεμέλης της Κάδμου λεγομένω γενέσθαι κατά έξακόσια έτεα καὶ χίλια μάλιστα έστὶ ἐς ἐμέ, Ήρακλέι δὲ τῶ 'Αλκμήνης κατὰ εἰνακόσια ἔτεα. Πανί δὲ τῶ ἐκ Πηνελόπης (ἐκ ταύτης γὰρ καὶ Έρμεω λέγεται γενέσθαι ύπο Ελλήνων ο Πάν) έλάσσω έτεα έστι των Τρωικών, κατά οκτακόσια μάλιστα ές έμέ.

146. Τούτων ὧν ἀμφοτέρων πάρεστι χρᾶσθαι τοισί τις πείσεται λεγομένοισι μᾶλλον ἐμοὶ δ' ὧν ἡ περὶ αὐτῶν γνώμη ἀποδέδεκται. εἰ μὲν γὰρ φανεροί τε ἐγένοντο καὶ κατεγήρασαν καὶ οὖτοι ἐν τῆ Ἑλλάδι, κατά περ Ἡρακλέης ὁ ἐξ ᾿Αμφιτρύωνος γενόμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ Διόνυσος ὁ ἐκ Σεμέλης καὶ Πὰν ὁ ἐκ Πηνελόπης γενόμενος, ἔφη ἄν τις καὶ τούτους ἄλλους ἄνδρας γενομένους ἔχειν τὰ ἐκείνων οὐνόματα τῶν προγεγονότων θεῶν. νῦν δὲ Διόνυσόν τε λέγουσι οἱ Ἑλληνες ὡς αὐτίκα γενόμενον ἐς τὸν μηρὸν ἐνερράψατο Ζεὺς καὶ

# BOOK II. 145-146

145. Among the Greeks, Heracles, Dionysus, and Pan are held to be the youngest of the gods. But in Egypt Pan 1 is the most ancient of these and is one of the eight gods who are said to be the first of all, Heracles belongs to the second dynasty (that of the so-called twelve gods), and Dionysus to the third, which came after the twelve. How many years there were between Heracles and the reign of Amasis, I have already shown; Pan is said to be earlier still; the years between Dionysus and Amasis are the fewest, and they are reckoned by the Egyptians at fifteen thousand. Of all this the Egyptians claim to have certain knowledge, seeing that they have reckoned the years and chronicled them in writing. Now the Dionysus who was called the son of Semele, daughter of Cadmus, was about sixteen hundred years before my time, and Heracles son of Alemene about nine hundred years; and Pan the son of Penelope (for according to the Greeks Penelope and Hermes were the parents of Pan) was about eight hundred years before me, and thus of a later date than the Trojan war.

146. With regard to these two, Pan and Dionysus, a man may follow whatsoever story he deems most credible; but I here declare my own opinion concerning them:—Had Dionysus son of Semele and Pan son of Penelope been visible in Hellas and lived there to old age, like Heracles the son of Amphitryon, it might have been said that they too (like Heracles) were but men, named after the older Pan and Dionysus, the gods of antiquity; but as it is, the Greek story has it that no sooner was Dionysus born than Zeus sewed him up in his thigh and carried

1 The Egyptian Khem.

ήνεικε ès Νύσαν τὴν ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου ἐοῦσαν ἐν τῆ Αἰθιοπίη, καὶ Πανός γε πέρι οὐκ ἔχουσι εἰπεῖν ὅκη ἐτράπετο γενόμενος. δῆλά μοι ὧν γέγονε ὅτι ὕστερον ἐπύθοντο οἱ Ἑλληνες τούτων τὰ οὐνόματα ἡ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν· ἀπ' οὖ δὲ ἐπύθοντο χρόνου, ἀπὸ τούτου γενεηλογέουσι αὐτῶν τὴν γένεσιν.

147. Ταῦτα μέν νυν αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι ὅσα δὲ οἵ τε ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι ὁμολογέοντες τοῖσι ἄλλοισι κατὰ ταύτην τὴν χώρην γενέσθαι, ταῦτ' ἤδη φράσω προσέσται

δέ τι αὐτοῖσι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὄψιος.

Έλευθερωθέντες Αἰγύπτιοι μετὰ τὸν ἱρέα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου βασιλεύσαντα, οὐδένα γὰρ χρόνον οἶοί τε ἢσαν ἄνευ βασιλέος διαιτᾶσθαι, ἐστήσαντο δυώδεκα βασιλέας, δυώδεκα μοίρας δασάμενοι Αἴγυπτον πᾶσαν. οὖτοι ἐπιγαμίας ποιησάμενοι ἐβασίλευον νόμοισι τοῖσιδε χρεώμενοι, μήτε καταιρέειν ἀλλήλους μήτε πλέον τι δίζησθαι ἔχειν τὸν ἔτερον τοῦ ἐτέρου, εἶναί τε φίλους τὰ μάλιστα. τῶνδε δὲ εἴνεκα τοὺς νόμους τούτους ἐποιέοντο, ἰσχυρῶς περιστέλλοντες· ἐκέχρηστό σφι κατ ἀρχὰς αὐτίκα ἐνισταμένοισι ἐς τὰς τυραννίδας τὸν χαλκέη φιάλη σπείσαντα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, τοῦτον ἀπάσης βασιλεύσειν Αἰγύπτου ἐς γὰρ δὴ τὰ πάντα ἰρὰ συνελέγοντο.

148. Καὶ δή σφι μνημόσυνα ἔδοξε λιπέσθαι κοινῆ, δόξαν δέ σφι ἐποιήσαντο λαβύρινθον, ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μοίριος κατὰ Κροκοδείλων καλεομένην πόλιν μάλιστά κη κείμενον τὸν ἐγὰ ἤδη εἶδον λόγου μέζω. εἶ γάρ τις τὰ ἐξ Ἑλλήνων τείχεά τε καὶ ἔργων ἀπόδεξιν συλλογίσαιτο.

him away to Nysa in Ethiopia beyond Egypt; and as for Pan, the Greeks know not what became of him after his birth. It is therefore plain to me that the Greeks learnt the names of these two gods later than the names of all the others, and trace the birth of both to the time when they gained the knowledge.

147. Thus far I have recorded what the Egyptians themselves say. I will now relate what is recorded alike by Egyptians and foreigners, and I will add thereto something of what I myself have seen.

After the reign of the priest of Hephaestus the Egyptians were made free. But they could never live without a king, so they divided Egypt into twelve portions and set up twelve kings. These kings intermarried, and agreed to be close friends, none deposing another nor seeking to possess more than he. The reason of this agreement, which they zealously guarded, was this: at their very first establishment in their several lordships an oracle was given them that that one of them who poured a libation from a bronze vessel in the temple of Hephaestus (where, as in all the temples, it was their wont to assemble) should be king of all Egypt.

148. Moreover they resolved to preserve the memory of their names by some joint enterprise; and having so resolved they made a labyrinth, a little way beyond the lake Moeris and near the place called the City of Crocodiles. I have myself seen it, and indeed no words can tell its wonders; were all that Greeks have builded and wrought added together

This "labyrinth" was a horseshoe-shaped group of buildings, supposed to have been near the pyramid of Hawâra (Sayce).
I take ήδη as = ή δή, with λόγου μέζω.

έλάσσονος πόνου τε αν καὶ δαπάνης φανείη ἐόντα τοῦ λαβυρίνθου τούτου. καίτοι ἀξιόλογός γε καί ό ἐν Ἐφέσω ἐστὶ νηὸς καὶ ὁ ἐν Σάμω. νυν καὶ αἱ πυραμίδες λόγου μέζονες, καὶ πολλών έκάστη αὐτέων Έλληνικών ἔργων καὶ μεγάλων άνταξίη, ὁ δὲ δὴ λαβύρινθος καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας ύπερβάλλει τοῦ [γὰρ] δυώδεκα μὲν εἰσὶ αὐλαὶ κατάστεγοι, ἀντίπυλοι ἀλλήλησι, ἐξ μὲν πρὸς βορέω εξ δε προς νότον τετραμμέναι, συνεχέες. τοίχος δὲ ἔξωθεν ὁ αὐτός σφεας περιέργει. οἰκήματα δ' ἔνεστι διπλά, τὰ μὲν ὑπόγαια τὰ δὲ μετέωρα ἐπ' ἐκείνοισι, τρισχίλια ἀριθμόν, πεντακοσίων καὶ γιλίων έκάτερα. νυν μετέωρα των οίκημάτων αὐτοί τε ώρωμεν διεξιόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ θεησάμενοι λέγομεν, τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν ὑπόγαια λόγοισι ἐπυνθανόμεθα· οί γὰρ έπεστεώτες των Αίγυπτίων δεικυύναι αυτά ούδαμῶς ἤθελον, Φάμενοι θήκας αὐτόθι είναι τῶν τε άργην του λαβύρινθον τοῦτον οἰκοδομησαμένων βασιλέων και των ιρών κροκοδείλων. ούτω των μέν κάτω πέρι οἰκημάτων ἀκοῦ παραλαβόντες λέγομεν, τὰ δὲ ἄνω μέζονα ἀνθρωπηίων ἔργων αύτοι ώρωμεν αί τε γάρ διέξοδοι διά των στεγέων καὶ οἱ έλιγμοὶ διὰ τῶν αὐλέων ἐόντες ποικιλώτατοι θώμα μυρίον παρείχοντο έξ αὐλης τε ές τὰ οἰκήματα διεξιούσι καὶ έκ των οικήματων ές παστάδας, ές στέγας τε άλλας έκ τών παστάδων καὶ ἐς αὐλὰς ἄλλας ἐκ τῶν οἰκημάτων. δὲ πάντων τούτων λιθίνη κατά περ οι τοίγοι, οί δὲ τοῖγοι τύπων ἐγγεγλυμμένων πλέοι.

 $<sup>^1</sup>$   $\gamma \grave{a} \rho$  is bracketed,  $\tau o \hat{v}$  as a relative being in accordance with Herodotus' practice.

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the whole would be seen to be a matter of less labour and cost than was this labyrinth, albeit the temples at Ephesus and Samos are noteworthy buildings. Though the pyramids were greater than words can tell, and each one of them a match for many great monuments built by Greeks, this maze surpasses even the pyramids. It has twelve roofed courts, with doors over against each other: six face the north and six the south, in two continuous lines, all within one outer wall. There are also double sets of chambers, three thousand altogether, fifteen hundred above and the same number under ground. We ourselves viewed those that are above ground, and speak of what we have seen; of the underground chambers we were only told; the Egyptian wardens would by no means show them, these being, they said, the burial vaults of the kings who first built this labyrinth, and of the sacred crocodiles. Thus we can only speak from hearsay of the lower chambers; the upper we saw for ourselves, and they are creations greater than human. The outlets of the chambers and the mazy passages hither and thither through the courts were an unending marvel to us as we passed from court to apartment and from apartment to colonnade, from colonnades again to more chambers and then into yet more courts. Over all this is a roof, made of stone like the walls, and the walls are covered with carven figures, and every

αὐλὴ δὲ ἐκάστη περίστυλος λίθου λευκοῦ άρμοσμένου τὰ μάλιστα. τῆς δὲ γωνίης τελευτῶντος τοῦ λαβυρίνθου ἔχεται πυραμὶς τεσσερακοντόργυιος, ἐν τῆ ζῷα μεγάλα ἐγγέγλυπται· ὁδὸς δ' ἐς

αὐτὴν ὑπὸ γῆν πεποίηται.

149. Τοῦ δὲ λαβυρίνθου τούτου ἐόντος τοιούτου θώμα έτι μέζον παρέχεται ή Μοίριος καλεομένη λίμνη, παρ' ην ο λαβύρινθος ούτος οἰκοδόμηται της τὸ περίμετρον της περιόδου είσὶ στάδιοι έξακόσιοι καλ τρισχίλιοι, σχοίνων έξήκοντα έόντων, ίσοι καὶ αὐτῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν. κείται δὲ μακρή ή λίμνη προς βορέην τε καὶ νότον, έοῦσα βάθος, τη βαθυτάτη αὐτη έωυτης, πεντηκοντόργυιος. ὅτι δὲ χειροποίητος ἐστὶ καὶ ὀρυκτή, αὐτή δηλοί ἐν γὰρ μέση τῆ λίμνη μάλιστά κη έστασι δύο πυραμίδες, του ύδατος υπερέχουσαι πεντήκοντα όργυιας έκατέρη, καὶ τὸ κατ' ὕδατος οἰκοδόμηται έτερον τοσούτον, καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρησι έπεστι κολοσσός λίθινος κατήμενος έν θρόνω. ούτω αί μεν πυραμίδες είσι έκατον οργυιέων, αί δ έκατον οργυιαί δίκαιαι είσι στάδιον έξάπλεθρον, έξαπέδου τε της οργυίης μετρεομένης και τετραπήχεος, των ποδών μεν τετραπαλαίστων εόντων, τοῦ δὲ πήχεος έξαπαλαίστου. τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐν τη λίμνη αὐθιγενές μεν οὐκ ἔστι (ἄνυδρος γὰρ δή δεινώς έστι ή ταύτη), έκ τοῦ Νείλου δὲ κατά διώρυχα ἐσῆκται, καὶ ἐξ μὲν μῆνας ἔσω ρέει ἐς την λίμνην, έξ δὲ μήνας έξω ές τὸν Νείλον αὐτις. και έπεαν μεν έκρεη έξω, η δε τότε τους εξ μήνας ές τὸ βασιλήιον καταβάλλει ἐπ' ἡμέρην ἐκάστην τάλαντον ἀργυρίου ἐκ τῶν ἰχθύων, ἐπεὰν δὲ ἐσίη το ύδωρ ές αυτήν, είκοσι μνέας.

### BOOK II. 148-149

court is set round with pillars of white stone most exactly fitted together. Hard by the corner where the labyrinth ends there stands a pyramid forty fathoms high, whereon great figures are carved. A passage has been made to this underground.

149. Such is this labyrinth; and yet more marvellous is the lake Moeris, by which it stands. This lake has a circuit of three thousand six hundred furlongs, or sixty schoeni, which is as much as the whole seaboard of Egypt. Its length is from north to south; the deepest part has a depth of fifty fathoms. That it has been dug out and made by men's hands the lake shows for itself: for almost in the middle of it stand two pyramids, so built that fifty fathoms of each are below and fifty above the water; atop of each is a colossal stone figure seated on a throne. Thus these pyramids are a hundred ' fathoms high; and a hundred fathoms equal a furlong of six hundred feet, the fathom measuring six feet or four cubits, the foot four spans and the cubit six spans. The water of the lake is not natural (for the country here is exceeding waterless) but brought by a channel from the Nile; six months it flows into the lake, and six back into the river. For the six months that it flows from the lake, the daily take of fish brings a silver talent into the royal treasury, and twenty minae for each day of the flow into the lake.

150, "Ελεγον δε οί επιχώριοι καὶ ώς ες την Σύρτιν την ές Λιβύην εκδιδοί ή λίμνη αυτη υπο γην, τετραμμένη τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν παρά το όρος το ύπερ Μέμφιος. ἐπείτε δὲ τοῦ ορύγματος τούτου οὐκ ὥρων τὸν χοῦν οὐδαμοῦ έόντα, ἐπιμελές γὰρ δή μοι ἦν, εἰρόμην τοὺς άγχιστα οἰκέοντας της λίμνης ὅκου είη ὁ χοῦς ὁ έξορυχθείς. οἱ δὲ ἔφρασάν μοι ἵνα ἐξεφορήθη, καὶ εύπετέως έπειθον ήδεα γάρ λόγω και έν Νίνω τη Ασσυρίων πόλι γενόμενον έτερον τοιούτον. γαρ Σαρδαναπάλλου τοῦ Νίνου Βασιλέος ἐόντα μεγάλα χρήματα καὶ φυλασσόμενα ἐν θησαυροῖσι καταγαίοισι ἐπενόησαν κλώπες ἐκφορήσαι. ἐκ δη ων των σφετέρων οικίων αρξάμενοι οι κλώπες ύπο γην σταθμεόμενοι ές τὰ βασιλήια οἰκία ἄρυσσον, τὸν δὲ χοῦν τὸν ἐκφορεόμενον ἐκ τοῦ ὁρύγματος, ὅκως γένοιτο νύξ, ἐς τὸν Τίγρην ποταμὸν παραρρέοντα την Νίνον έξεφορεον, ές δ κατεργάσαντο ο τι έβούλοντο, τοιούτον έτερον ήκουσα καί κατά τὸ τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτω λίμνης ὄρυγμα γενέσθαι, πλήν ού νυκτὸς άλλὰ μετ' ήμέρην ποιεύμενον. ορύσσοντας γάρ τον χούν τους Αίγυπτίους ές τον Νείλον φορέειν δ δε ύπολαμβάνων έμελλε διαχέειν. ή μέν νυν λίμνη αύτη ούτω λέγεται όρυχθηναι.

151. Των δε δυώδεκα βασιλέων δικαιοσύνη χρεωμένων, ἀνὰ χρόνον ὡς ἔθυσαν ἐν τῷ ἰρῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, τῷ ὑστάτη τῆς ὁρτῆς, μελλόντων κατασπείσειν, ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐξήνεικέ σφι φιάλας χρυσέας, τῆσί περ ἐώθεσαν σπένδειν, ἀμαρτών τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, ἔνδεκα δυώδεκα ἐοῦσι. ἐνθαῦτα ὡς οὐκ εἶχε φιάλην ὁ ἔσχατος ἐστεὼς αὐτῶν Ψαμ-

# BOOK II. 150-151

150. Further, the people of the country said that this lake issues by an underground stream into the Libyan Syrtis, and stretches below the mountains that are above Memphis, having the inland country on its western side. I could not anywhere see the earth taken from the digging of this lake, and this giving me matter for thought, I asked those who dwelt nearest to the lake where the stuff was that had been dug out. They told me whither it had been carried, and I readily believed them, for I had heard of a like thing happening in the Assyrian city of Ninus. Sardanapallus king of Ninus had great wealth, which he kept in an underground treasury. Certain thieves were minded to carry it off; they reckoned their course and dug an underground way from their own house to the palace, carrying the earth taken out of the dug passage at night to the Tigris, which runs past Ninus, till at length they accomplished their desire. This, I was told, had happened when the Egyptian lake was dug, save only that the work went on not by night but by day. The Egyptians bore the earth dug out by them to the Nile, to be caught and scattered (as was to be thought) by the river. Thus is this lake said to have been dug.

151. Now the twelve kings dealt justly; and as time went on they came to sacrifice in Hephaestus' temple. On the last day of the feast, they being about to pour libations, the high priest brought out the golden vessels which they commonly used for this; but he counted wrongly and gave the twelve only eleven. So he who stood last of them, Psammetichus, got no vessel; wherefore taking off his

μήτιχος, περιελόμενος τὴν κυνέην ἐοῦσαν χαλκέην ὑπέσχε τε καὶ ἔσπενδε. κυνέας δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄπαντες ἐφόρεόν τε βασιλέες καὶ ἐτύγχανον τότε ἔχοντες. Ψαμμήτιχος μέν νυν οὐδενὶ δολερῷ νόῳ χρεώμενος ὑπέσχε τὴν κυνέην οὶ δὲ ἐν φρενὶ λαβόντες τό τε ποιηθὲν ἐκ Ψαμμητίχου καὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, ὅτι ἐκέχρηστό σφι τὸν χαλκέη σπείσαντα αὐτῶν φιάλη τοῦτον βασιλέα ἔσεσθαι μοῦνον Αἰγύπτου, ἀναμνησθέντες τοῦ χρησμοῦ κτεῖναι μὲν οὐκ ἐδικαίωσαν Ψαμμήτιχον, ὡς ἀνεύρισκον βασανίζοντες ἐξ οὐδεμιῆς προνοίης αὐτὸν ποιήσαντα, ἐς δὲ τὰ ἕλεα ἔδοξέ σφι διῶξαι ψιλώσαντας τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς δυνάμιος, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐλέων ὁρμώμενον μὴ ἐπιμίσγεσθαι τῆ ἄλλη Αἰγύπτω.

152. Τον δε Ψαμμήτιχον τούτον πρότερον φεύγοντα τὸν Αἰθίοπα Σαβακών, ὅς οἱ τὸν πατέρα Νεκών ἀπέκτεινε, τούτον φεύγοντα τότε ές Συρίην. ώς ἀπαλλάχθη ἐκ τῆς ὄψιος τοῦ ὀνείρου ὁ Αἰθίοψ, κατήγαγον Αίγυπτίων ούτοι οί έκ νομού τού Σαίτεω είσί. μετά δὲ βασιλεύοντα τὸ δεύτερον πρὸς τῶν ἔνδεκα βασιλέων καταλαμβάνει μιν διὰ την κυνέην φεύγειν ές τὰ έλεα. έπιστάμενος ών ώς περιυβρισμένος είη πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἐπενόεε τίσασθαι τοὺς διώξαντας. πέμψαντι δέ οἱ ές Βουτοῦν πόλιν ές το χρηστήριον της Δητούς, ένθα δή Αίγυπτίοισι έστι μαντήιον άψευδέστατον, ήλθε χρησμός ώς τίσις ήξει άπὸ θαλάσσης χαλκέων ανδρών επιφανέντων. και τω μεν δή απιστίη μεγάλη ύπεκέχυτο χαλκέους οἱ ἄνδρας ήξειν ἐπιχρόνου δε ού πολλοῦ διελθόντος άναγκούρους. καίη κατέλαβε Ίωνάς τε καὶ Κάρας ἄνδρας κατά ληίην έκπλώσαντας άπενειχθήναι ές Αίγυπτον,

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bronze helmet he held it out and poured the libation with it. All the other kings too were wont to wear helmets, and were then helmeted; it was not in guile, then, that Psammetichus held out his headgear; but the rest marked Psammetichus' deed, and remembered the oracle which promised the sovereignty of all Egypt to whosoever should pour libation from a vessel of bronze; wherefore, though they deemed Psammetichus not to deserve death (for they proved him and found that he had acted without intent), they resolved to strip him of the most of his power and chase him away into the marshes, not to come out from thence and enter other parts of

Egypt.

152. This Psammetichus had formerly been in Syria, whither he had fled from Sabacos the Ethiopian, who killed his father Necos; then, when the Ethiopian departed by reason of what he saw in a dream, the Egyptians of the province of Sais brought him back from Syria; and now Psammetichus was for the second time king, when it happened to him to be driven away into the marshes by the eleven kings by reason of the matter of the helmet. Therefore he held himself to have been outrageously dealt with by them and had a mind to be avenged on those who had expelled him, and he sent to inquire of the oracle of Leto in the town of Buto, which is the most infallible in Egypt; the oracle answered that he should have vengeance when he saw men of bronze coming from the sea. Psammetichus secretly disbelieved that men of bronze would come to aid him. But after no long time, certain Ionians and Carians, voyaging for plunder, were forced to put in on the coast of Egypt, where they disembarked in

ἐκβάντας δὲ ἐς γῆν καὶ ὁπλισθέντας χαλκῷ ἀγγέλλει τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων ἐς τὰ ἔλεα ἀπικόμενος
τῷ Ψαμμητίχω, ὡς οὐκ ἰδῶν πρότερον χαλκῷ
ἄνδρας ὁπλισθέντας, ὡς χάλκεοι ἄνδρες ἀπιγμένοι
ἀπὸ θαλάσσης λεηλατεῦσι τὸ πεδίον. ὁ δὲ μαθῶν
τὸ χρηστήριον ἐπιτελεύμενον φίλα τε τοῖσι Ἰωσι
καὶ Καρσὶ ποιέεται καί σφεας μεγάλα ὑπισχνεύμενος πείθει μετ' ἐωντοῦ γενέσθαι. ὡς δὲ ἔπεισε,
οὕτω ἄμα τοῖσι τὰ ἑωντοῦ βουλομένοισι Αἰγυπτίοισι καὶ τοῖσι ἐπικούροισι καταιρέει τοὺς βασιλέας.

153. Κρατήσας δὲ Αἰγύπτου πάσης ὁ Ψαμμήτιχος ἐποίησε τῷ 'Ηφαίστῷ προπύλαια ἐν Μέμφι τὰ πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον τετραμμένα, αὐλήν τε τῷ 'Απι, ἐν τῆ τρέφεται ἐπεὰν φανῆ ὁ 'Απις, οἰκοδόμησε ἐναντίον τῶν προπυλαίων, πᾶσάν τε περίστυλον ἐοῦσαν καὶ τύπων πλέην ἀντὶ δὲ κιόνων ὑπεστᾶσι κολοσσοὶ δυωδεκαπήχεες τῆ αὐλῆ. ὁ δὲ 'Απις κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν ἐστὶ 'Επαφος.

154. Τοισι δὲ Ἰωσι καὶ τοισι Καρσὶ τοισι συγκατεργασαμένοισι αὐτῷ ὁ Ψαμμήτιχος δίδωσι χώρους ἐνοικῆσαι ἀντίους ἀλλήλων, τοῦ Νείλου τὸ μέσον ἔχοντος, τοισι οὐνόματα ἐτέθη Στρατόπεδα τοὐτους τε δή σφι τοὺς χώρους δίδωσι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ὑπέσχετο πάντα ἀπέδωκε. καὶ δὴ καὶ παίδας παρέβαλε αὐτοισι Αἰγυπτίους τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἐκδιδάσκεσθαι. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων ἐκμαθόντων τὴν γλῶσσαν οἱ νῦν ἐρμηνέες ἐν Αἰγύπτω γεγόνασι. οἱ δὲ Ἰωνές τε καὶ οἱ Κᾶρες τούτους τοὺς χώρους οἴκησαν χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν εἰσὶ δὲ οὖτοι οἱ χῶροι πρὸς θαλάσσης ὀλίγον ἔνερθε Βουβάστιος πόλιος, ἐπὶ τῷ Πηλουσίω

their mail of bronze; and an Egyptian came into the marsh country and brought news to Psammetichus (for he had never before seen mailed men) that men of bronze were come from the sea and were foraging in the plain. Psammetichus saw in this the fulfilment of the oracle; he made friends with the Ionians and Carians, and promised them great rewards if they would join him, and having won them, with the aid of such Egyptians as consented and these allies he deposed the eleven kings.

153. Having made himself master of all Egypt, he made the southern outercourt of Hephaestus' temple at Memphis, and built over against this a court for Apis, where Apis is kept and fed whenever he appears; this court has an inner colonnade all round it and many carved figures; the roof is held up by great statues twelve cubits high for pillars.

Apis is in the Greek language Epaphus.

154. The Ionians and Carians who had helped him to conquer were given by Psammetichus places to dwell in called The Camps, opposite to each other on either side of the Nile; and besides this he paid them all that he had promised. Moreover he put Egyptian boys in their hands to be taught the Greek tongue; these, learning Greek, were the ancestors of the Egyptian interpreters. The Ionians and Carians dwelt a long time in these places, which are near the sea, on the arm of the Nile called the Pelusian, a little way below the town of Bubastis.

καλεομένφ στόματι τοῦ Νείλου. τούτους μὲν δὴ χρόνφ ὕστερον βασιλεὺς "Αμασις ἐξαναστήσας ἐνθεῦτεν κατοίκισε ἐς Μέμφιν, φυλακὴν ἐωυτοῦ ποιεύμενος πρὸς Αἰγυπτίων. τούτων δὲ οἰκισθέντων ἐν Αἰγύπτφ, οἱ "Ελληνες οὕτω ἐπιμισγόμενοι τούτοισι τὰ περὶ Αἴγυπτον γινόμενα ἀπὸ Ψαμμητίχου βασιλέος ἀρξάμενοι πάντα καὶ τὰ ὕστερον ἐπιστάμεθα ἀτρεκέως: πρῶτοι γὰρ οὖτοι ἐν Αἰγύπτφ ἀλλόγλωσσοι κατοικίσθησαν. ἐξ ὧν δὲ ἐξανέστησαν χώρων, ἐν τούτοισι δὲ οῖ τε ὁλκοὶ τῶν νεῶν καὶ τὰ ἐρείπια τῶν οἰκημάτων τὸ μέχρι

έμεῦ ήσαν.

155. Ψαμμήτιχος μέν νυν ούτω ἔσχε Αίγυπτον. τοῦ δὲ χρηστηρίου τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτω πολλὰ ἐπεμνήσθην ήδη, καὶ δη λόγον περὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἀξίου έόντος ποιήσομαι. το γάρ χρηστήριον τοῦτο το έν Αἰγύπτω έστι μεν Λητοῦς ἰρόν, εν πόλι δε μεγάλη ίδρυμένον κατά το Σεβεννυτικον καλεόμενον στόμα τοῦ Νείλου, ἀναπλέοντι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης άνω. ούνομα δὲ τῆ πόλι ταύτη ὅκου τὸ χρηστήριον έστὶ Βουτώ, ώς καὶ πρότερον ώνόμασταί μοι. ίρον δὲ ἐστὶ ἐν τῆ Βουτοῖ ταύτη Απόλλωνος καὶ 'Αρτέμιδος, καὶ ὅ γε νηὸς τῆς Λητούς, έν τῷ δὴ τὸ χρηστήριον ένι, αὐτός τε τυγχάνει έων μέγας και τὰ προπύλαια έχει ές ύψος δέκα δργυιέων. τὸ δέ μοι τῶν φανερῶν ἡν θώμα μέγιστον παρεγόμενον, φράσω έστι έν τω τεμένει τούτω Λητούς νηὸς έξ ένὸς λίθου πεποιημένος ές τε ύψος και ές μήκος και τοίχος έκαστος τούτοισι ἴσος τεσσεράκοντα πηχέων τούτων έκαστον ἐστί, τὸ δὲ καταστέγασμα τῆς ὁροφῆς ἄλλος ἐπίκειται λίθος, ἔχων τὴν παρωροφίδα τετράπηχυν.

### BOOK II. 154-155

Long afterwards, king Amasis removed them thence and settled them at Memphis, to be his guard against the Egyptians. It comes of our intercourse with these settlers in Egypt (who were the first men of alien speech to settle in that country) that we Greeks have exact knowledge of the history of Egypt from the reign of Psammetichus onwards. There still remained till my time, in the places whence the Ionians and Carians were removed, the landing engines <sup>1</sup> of their ships and the ruins of their houses.

155. This is the story of Psammetichus' conquest of Egypt. I have often made mention of the Egyptian oracle, and I will now treat fully of it, for this it deserves. This Egyptian oracle is sacred to Leto, and is situated in a great city by the Sebennytic arm of the Nile, on the way up from the sea. The name of the city where is this oracle is Buto; I have already named it. In Buto there is a temple of Apollo and Artemis. shrine of Leto in which is the oracle is itself very great, and its outer court is ten fathoms high. But I will now tell of what was the most marvellous among things visible there: in this precinct is the shrine of Leto, whereof the height and length of the walls is all made of a single stone slab; each wall has an equal length and height, namely, forty cubits. Another slab makes the surface of the roof, the cornice of which is four cubits broad.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Probably capstans for hauling the ships ashore.

156. Ούτω μέν νυν ο νηος των φανερών μοι τῶν περὶ τοῦτο τὸ ίρὸν ἐστὶ θωμαστότατον, των δε δευτέρων νήσος ή Χέμμις καλευμένη έστι μεν έν λίμνη βαθέη και πλατέη κειμένη παρά τὸ ἐν Βουτοῖ ἱρόν, λέγεται δὲ ὑπ΄ Αίγυπτίων είναι αύτη ή νήσος πλωτή. αὐτὸς μέν έγωγε ούτε πλέουσαν ούτε κινηθείσαν είδον, τέθηπα δε ακούων εί νήσος αληθέως έστι πλωτή. έν δὲ ὧν ταύτη νηός τε 'Απόλλωνος μέγας ἔνι καὶ βωμοί τριφάσιοι ένιδρύαται, έμπεφύκασι δ' έν αὐτή φοίνικες συχνοί καὶ ἄλλα δένδρεα καὶ καρποφόρα καὶ ἄφορα πολλά. λόγον δὲ τόνδε ἐπιλέγοντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι φασὶ είναι αὐτὴν πλωτήν. ώς έν τη νήσω ταύτη οὐκ ἐούση πρότερον πλωτή Λητώ, ἐοῦσα τῶν ὀκτὰ θεῶν τῶν πρώτων γενομένων, οἰκέουσα δὲ ἐν Βουτοῖ πόλι, ἵνα δή οἱ τὸ χρηστήριον τοῦτο ἐστί, ᾿Απόλλωνα παρ᾽ Ἱσιος παρακαταθήκην δεξαμένη διέσωσε κατακρύψασα έν τη νύν πλωτή λεγομένη νήσω, ότε τὸ παν διζήμενος ὁ Τυφων ἐπηλθε, θέλων ἐξευρείν τοῦ 'Οσίριος τον παίδα. 'Απόλλωνα δέ και 'Αρτεμιν Διονύσου καὶ "Ισιος λέγουσι είναι παίδας, Απτούν δὲ τροφὸν αὐτοῖσι καὶ σώτειραν γενέσθαι. Αἰγυπτιστί δὲ 'Απόλλων μὲν 'Ωρος, Δημήτηρ δὲ 'Ισις, Αρτεμις δε Βούβαστις. Εκ τούτου δε του λόγου καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου Αἰσχύλος ὁ Εὐφορίωνος ήρπασε τὸ ἐγὰ φράσω, μοῦνος δὴ ποιητέων τῶν προγενομένων ἐποίησε γὰρ "Αρτεμιν είναι θυγατέρα Δήμητρος. την δε νήσον δια τούτο γενέσθαι πλωτήν. ταθτα μέν οθτω λέγουσι.

157. Ψαμμήτιχος δὲ ἐβασίλευσε Αἰγύπτου τέσσερα καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεα, τῶν τὰ ἑνὸς δέοντα

# BOOK II. 156-157

156. Thus then the shrine is the most marvellous of all things that I saw in this temple; but of things of lesser note, the most wondrous is the island called Chemmis. This lies in a deep and wide lake near to the temple at Buto, and the Egyptians say that it floats. For myself I never saw it float, nor move at all, and I thought it a marvellous tale, that an island should truly float. However that be, there is a great shrine of Apollo thereon, and three altars stand there; many palm trees grow in the island, and other trees too, some vielding fruit and some not. The story told by the Egyptians to show why the island moves is this: when Typhon came seeking through the world for the son of Osiris, Leto, being one of the eight earliest gods, and dwelling in Buto where this oracle of hers is, received Apollo in charge from Isis and hid him for safety in this island which was before immovable but is now said to float. Apollo and Artemis were (they say) children of Dionysus and Isis, and Leto was made their nurse and preserver; in Egyptian, Apollo is Horus, Demeter Isis, Artemis Bubastis. It was from this and no other legend that Aeschylus son of Euphorion stole an imagination, which is in no other poet, that Artemis was the daughter of Demeter. For the aforesaid reason (say the Egyptians) the island was made to float Such is the tale.

157. Psammetichus ruled Egypt for fifty-three years; for twenty-nine of these he sat before Azotus,

τριήκοντα "Αζωτον τῆς Συρίης μεγάλην πόλιν προσκατήμενος ἐπολιόρκες, ἐς δ ἐξείλε. αὕτη δὲ ἡ "Αζωτος ἀπασέων πολίων ἐπὶ πλείστον χρόνον

πολιορκεομένη αντέσχε των ήμεις ίδμεν.

158. Ψαμμητίγου δε Νεκώς παις εγένετο και έβασίλευσε Αιγύπτου, δς τη διώρυχι έπεχείρησε πρώτος τη ές την Έρυθρην θάλασσαν φερούση. την Δαρείος ὁ Πέρσης δεύτερα διώρυξε της μηκος έστι πλόος ημέραι τέσσερες, εύρος δε ώρύχθη ώστε τριήρεας δύο πλέειν όμου έλαστρευμένας. ηκται δε άπο του Νείλου το ύδωο ές αυτήν ήκται δὲ κατύπερθε ὀλίγον Βουβάστιος πόλιος παρά Πάτουμον την 'Αραβίην πόλιν, ἐσέχει δὲ ἐς την Έρυθρην θάλασσαν. ορώρυκται δε πρώτον μεν τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ Αίγυπτίου τὰ πρὸς 'Αραβίην έχοντα έχεται δὲ κατύπερθε τοῦ πεδίου τὸ κατά Μέμφιν τείνον όρος, έν τω αι λιθοτομίαι ένεισι τοῦ ὧν δη ὄρεος τούτου παρά την ὑπωρέην ηκται ή διώρυξ ἀπ' έσπέρης μακρή πρὸς τὴν ἡώ, καὶ έπειτα τείνει ές διασφάγας, φέρουσα από τοῦ όρεος πρός μεσαμβρίην τε και νότον άνεμον ές τὸν κόλπον του 'Αράβιον. τη δὲ ἐλάχιστον ἐστὶ καὶ συντομώτατον έκ της βορηίης θαλάσσης ύπερβήναι ές την νοτίην και Έρυθρην την αύτην ταύτην καλεομένην, ἀπὸ τοῦ Κασίου ὄρεος τοῦ οὐρίζουτος Αίγυπτόν τε καὶ Συρίην, ἀπὸ τούτου είσὶ στάδιοι ἀπαρτὶ γίλιοι ές τὸν Αράβιον κόλπον. τούτο μέν τὸ συντομώτατον, ή δὲ διῶρυξ πολλῶ μακροτέρη, όσω σκολιωτέρη έστί την έπι Νεκώ βασιλέος ορύσσοντες Αίγυπτίων απώλοντο δυώδεκα μυριάδες. Νεκώς μέν νυν μεταξύ δρύσσων έπαύσατο μαντηίου έμποδίου γενομένου τοιούδε,

a great city in Syria, and besieged it till he took it. Azotus held out against a siege longer than any city of which I have heard.

158. Psammetichus had a son Necos, who became king of Egypt. It was he who began the making of the canal into the Red Sea, 1 which was finished by Darius the Persian. This is four days' voyage in length, and it was dug wide enough for two triremes to move in it rowed abreast. It is fed by the Nile. and is carried from a little above Bubastis by the Arabian town of Patumus: it issues into the Red Sea. The beginning of the digging was in the part of the Egyptian plain which is nearest to Arabia; the mountains towards Memphis (in which mountains are the stone quarries) come close to this plain; the canal is led along the lower slope of these mountains, where its longest reach is from west to east; passing then into a ravine it bears southward out of the hill country towards the Arabian Gulf. Now the shortest and most direct passage from the northern to the southern or Red Sea is from the Casian promontory, which is the boundary between Egypt and Syria, to the Arabian Gulf, and this is a distance of one thousand furlongs, neither more nor less; this is the most direct way, but the canal is by much longer, inasmuch as it is more crooked. Necos' reign a hundred and twenty thousand Egyptians perished in the digging of it. ceased from the work, being stayed by a prophetic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This canal ran from near Tel Basta (Bubastis) apparently to Suez. Inscriptions recording Darius' construction of it have been found in the neighbourhood.

τῷ βαρβάρῳ αὐτὸν προεργάζεσθαι. βαρβάρους δὲ πάντας οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι τοὺς μὴ σφίσι

ομογλώσσους.

159. Παυσάμενος δὲ τῆς διώρυχος ὁ Νεκῶς ἐτράπετο πρὸς στρατηίας, καὶ τριήρεες αι μὲν ἐπὶ τῆ βορηίη θαλάσση ἐποιήθησαν, αι δ' ἐν τῷ ᾿Αραβίω κόλπω ἐπὶ τῆ Ἐρυθρῆ θαλάσση, τῶν ἔτι οἱ ὁλκοὶ ἐπίδηλοι. καὶ ταύτησί τε ἐχρᾶτο ἐν τῷ δέοντι καὶ Σύροισι πεζῆ ὁ Νεκῶς συμβαλῶν ἐν Μαγδώλω ἐνίκησε, μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην Κάδυτιν πόλιν τῆς Συρίης ἐοῦσαν μεγάλην είλε. ἐν τῆ δὲ ἐσθῆτι ἔτυχε ταῦτα κατεργασάμενος, ἀνέθηκε τῷ ᾿Απόλλωνι πέμψας ἐς Βραγχίδας τὰς Μιλησίων. μετὰ δέ, ἐκκαίδεκα ἔτεα τὰ πάντα ἄρξας, τελευτῆ,

τῷ παιδὶ Ψάμμι παραδούς τὴν ἀρχήν.

160. Έπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Ψάμμιν βασιλεύοντα Αἰγύπτου ἀπίκοντο Ἡλείων ἄγγελοι, αὐγέοντες δικαιότατα καὶ κάλλιστα τιθέναι τὸν ἐν Ὁλυμπίη άγωνα πάντων άνθρώπων, καὶ δοκέοντες παρά ταῦτα οὐδ' ἄν τοὺς σοφωτάτους ἀνθρώπων Αἰγυπτίους οὐδεν επεξευρείν ώς δε απικόμενοι ες την Αἴγυπτον οἱ Ἡλεῖοι ἔλεγον τῶν εἴνεκα ἀπίκοντο. ένθαῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς οὖτος συγκαλέεται Αἰγυπτίων τούς λεγομένους είναι σοφωτάτους. συνελθόντες δε οι Αίγύπτιοι επυνθάνοντο των 'Ηλείων λεγόντων άπαντα τὰ κατήκει σφέας ποιέειν περί τὸν άγωνα άπηγησάμενοι δὲ τὰ πάντα ἔφασαν ήκειν έπιμαθησόμενοι εί τι έχοιεν Αίγύπτιοι τούτων δικαιότερον ἐπεξευρείν. οἱ δὲ βουλευσάμενοι έπειρώτων τους 'Ηλείους εί σφι οί πολιηται έναγωνίζονται. οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν καὶ σφέων καὶ τῶν άλλων Ελλήνων όμοίως τω Βουλομένω έξειναι

utterance which bade him deal first with the barbarian. The Egyptians call all men of other

languages barbarians.

159. Necos then ceased from making the canal and engaged rather in warlike preparation; some of his ships of war were built on the northern sea, and some in the Arabian Gulf, by the Red Sea coast: the landing-engines of these are still to be seen. He used these ships at need, and with his land army met and defeated the Syrians at Magdolus, taking the great Syrian city of Cadytis <sup>2</sup> after the battle. He sent to Branchidae of Miletus and dedicated there to Apollo the garments in which he won these victories. Presently he died after a reign of sixteen years, and his son Psammis reigned in his stead.

160. While this Psammis was king of Egypt he was visited by ambassadors from Elis, the Eleans boasting that they had ordered the Olympic games with all the justice and fairness in the world, and claiming that even the Egyptians, albeit the wisest of all men, could not better it. When the Eleans came to Egypt and told the purpose of their coming, Psammis summoned an assembly of those who were said to be the wisest men in Egypt. These assembled, and inquired of the Eleans, who told them of the rules of the games which they must obey, and, having declared these, said they had come that if the Egyptians could invent any juster way they might learn this too. The Egyptians consulted together, and then asked the Eleans if their own townsmen took part in the contests. The Eleans answered that this was so: all Greeks from Elis or elsewhere

2 Gaza.

<sup>1</sup> Magdolus appears to be the Migdol of O.T.

ἀγωνίζεσθαι. οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι ἔφασαν σφέας οὕτω τιθέντας παντὸς τοῦ δικαίου ἡμαρτηκέναι. οὐδεμίαν γὰρ εἶναι μηχανὴν ὅκως οὐ τῷ ἀστῷ ἀγωνιζομένω προσθήσονται, ἀδικέοντες τὸν ξεῖνον. ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ βούλονται δικαίως τιθέναι καὶ τούτου εἵνεκα ἀπικοίατο ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ξείνοισι ἀγωνιστῆσι ἐκέλευον τὸν ἀγῶνα τιθέναι, Ἡλείων δὲ μηδενὶ εἶναι ἀγωνίζεσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι

Ηλείοισι ὑπεθήκαντο.

161. Ψάμμιος δὲ ἐξ ἔτεα μοῦνον βασιλεύσαντος Αίγύπτου καὶ στρατευσαμένου ές Αίθιοπίην καὶ μεταυτίκα τελευτήσαντος έξεδέξατο 'Απρίης ό Ψάμμιος δς μετά Ψαμμήτιχου του έωυτου προπάτορα εγένετο εὐδαιμονέστατος τῶν πρότερον βασιλέων, έπ' έτεα πέντε και είκοσι άρξας, έν τοίσι ἐπί τε Σιδώνα στρατὸν ήλασε καὶ ἐναυμάχησε τῶ Τυρίω. ἐπεὶ δέ οἱ ἔδεε κακῶς γενέσθαι. έγίνετο άπο προφάσιος την έγω μεζόνως μεν έν τοίσι Λιβυκοίσι λόγοισι ἀπηγήσομαι, μετρίως δ' έν τῶ παρεόντι. ἀποπέμψας γὰρ στράτευμα ὁ Απρίης έπι Κυρηναίους μεγαλωστί προσέπταισε. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιμεμφόμενοι ἀπέστησαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, δοκέοντες τὸν 'Απρίην ἐκ προνοίης αὐτοὺς ἀποπέμψαι ές φαινόμενον κακόν, ΐνα δη σφέων φθορή γένηται, αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Αίγυπτίων ἀσφαλέστερον ἄργοι. ταῦτα δὲ δεινά ποιεύμενοι ούτοί τε οἱ ἀπονοστήσαντες καὶ οἱ τῶν ἀπολομένων φίλοι ἀπέστησαν ἐκ τῆς ἰθέης.

162. Πυθόμενος δὲ ᾿Απρίης ταῦτα πέμπει ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς Ἦμασιν καταπαύσοντα λόγοισι. δ δὲ ἐπείτε ἀπικόμενος κατελάμβανε τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους

### BOOK II. 160-162

might contend. Then the Egyptians said that this rule was wholly wide of justice: "For," said they, "it cannot be but that you will favour your own townsmen in the contest and deal unfairly by a stranger. Nay, if you will indeed make just rules and have therefore come to Egypt, you should admit only strangers to the contest, and not Eleans." Such was the counsel of the Egyptians to the Eleans.

161. Psammis reigned over Egypt for six years only; he invaded Ethiopia, and immediately thereafter died, and Apries 1 his son reigned in his stead. He was more fortunate than any former king (save only his great-grandfather Psammetichus) during his rule of twenty-five years, in which he sent an army against Sidon and did battle by sea with the king of Tyre. But when it was fated that ill should befall him, the cause of it was one that I will now deal with briefly, and at greater length in the Libyan part of this history. Apries sent a great host against Cyrene and suffered a great defeat. The Egyptians blamed him for this and rebelled against him; for they thought that Apries had knowingly sent his men to their doom, that by their so perishing he might be the safer in his rule over the rest of the Egyptians. Bitterly angered by this, those who returned home and the friends of the slain openly revolted.

162. Hearing of this, Apries sent Amasis to them to persuade them from their purpose. When Amasis came up with the Egyptians he exhorted them to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Apries is the Hophra of O.T.; he reigned from 589 to 570 B.c., apparently. But the statement that he attacked Tyre and Sidon is inconsistent with Jewish history (Jerem. xxvii., Ezek. xvii.).

ταύτα μη ποιέειν, λέγοντος αύτου των τις Αίγυπτίων όπισθε στας περιέθηκε οί κυνέην, καί περιτιθείς έφη έπὶ βασιληίη περιτιθέναι. καὶ τώ ού κως άεκούσιον εγίνετο το ποιεύμενον, ώς διεδείκνυε. ἐπείτε γὰρ ἐστήσαντό μιν βασιλέα τῶν Αίγυπτίων οι άπεστεώτες, παρεσκευάζετο ώς έλων έπὶ τὸν Απρίην. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Απρίης έπεμπε έπ' 'Αμασιν άνδρα δόκιμον τών περί έωυτον Αίγυπτίων, τω ούνομα ήν Πατάρβημις. έντειλάμενος αὐτῷ ζῶντα "Αμασιν ἀγαγείν παρ έωυτόν. ώς δε απικόμενος τον "Αμασιν εκάλεε ο Πατάρβημις, ὁ "Αμασις, ἔτυγε γὰρ ἐπ' ἵππου κατήμενος, επαείρας απεματάισε, και τοῦτό μιν έκέλευε 'Απρίη ἀπάγειν. ὅμως δὲ αὐτὸν ἀξιοῦν τον Πατάρβημιν βασιλέος μεταπεμπομένου ίέναι πρὸς αὐτόν· τὸν δὲ αὐτῷ ὑποκρίνεσθαι ὡς ταῦτα πάλαι παρεσκευάζετο ποιέειν, καὶ αὐτῷ οὐ μέμψεσθαι 'Απρίην· παρέσεσθαι γάρ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ άλλους άξειν. τον δὲ Πατάρβημιν ἔκ τε τῶν λεγομένων οὐκ ἀγνοέειν τὴν διάνοιαν, καὶ παρασκευαζόμενον όρωντα σπουδή ἀπιέναι, βουλόμενον την ταχίστην βασιλέι δηλώσαι τὰ πρησσόμενα. ώς δὲ ἀπικέσθαι αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν ᾿Απρίην οὐκ άγοντα τὸν "Αμασιν, οὐδένα λόγον έωυτῶ δόντα άλλα περιθύμως έχοντα περιταμείν προστάξαι αὐτοῦ τά τε ὧτα καὶ τὴν ρίνα. ἰδόμενοι δ' οί λοιποί τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, οἱ ἔτι τὰ ἐκείνου ἐφρόνεον. ανδρα τον δοκιμώτατον έωυτών ούτω αίσχρώς λύμη διακείμενον, οὐδένα δη χρόνον ἐπισχόντες άπιστέατο προς τους έτέρους και εδίδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Αμάσι.

163. Πυθόμενος δέ καὶ ταῦτα ὁ ᾿Απρίης ὅπλιζε

# BOOK II. 162-163

desist from what they did; but while he spoke an Egyptian came behind him and put a helmet on his head, saving it was the token of royalty. And Amasis showed that this was not displeasing to him, for being made king by the rebel Egyptians he prepared to march against Apries. When Apries heard of it, he sent against Amasis an esteemed Egyptian named Patarbemis, one of his own court, charging him to take the rebel alive and bring him into his presence. Patarbemis came, and summoned Amasis, who lifted his leg with an unseemly gesture (being then on horseback) and bade the messenger take that token back to Apries. But when Patarbemis was nevertheless instant that Amasis should obey the king's summons and go to him-such is the story-Amasis answered that he had long been making ready to do this, and Apries should be well satisfied with him: "For I will come myself," quoth he, "and bring others with me." Hearing this, Patarbemis could not mistake Amasis' purpose; he saw his preparations and made haste to depart, that he might with all speed make known to the king what was afoot. When Apries saw him return without Amasis he took no thought with himself, but in his rage and fury bade cut off Patarbemis' ears and nose. The rest of the Egyptians, who were till now Apries' friends, seeing the foul despite thus done to the man who was most esteemed among them, changed sides without more ado and delivered themselves over to Amasis.

163. This news too being brought to Apries, he

τούς ἐπικούρους καὶ ἤλαυνε ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους εἰχε δὲ περὶ ἑωυτὸν Κᾶράς τε καὶ Ἰωνας ἄνδρας ἐπικούρους τρισμυρίους. ἦν δέ οἱ τὰ βασιλήια ἐν Σάι πόλι, μεγάλα ἐόντα καὶ ἀξιοθέητα. καὶ οἴ τε περὶ τὸν ᾿Απρίην ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἤισαν καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἦμασιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ξείνους. ἔν τε δὴ Μωμέμφι πόλι ἐγένοντο ἀμφότεροι καὶ πειρή-

σεσθαι έμελλον άλλήλων.

164. Έστι δὲ Αίγυπτίων ἐπτὰ γένεα, καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν ἰρέες οἱ δὲ μάχιμοι κεκλέαται, οἱ δὲ βούκολοι οἱ δὲ συβῶται, οἱ δὲ κάπηλοι, οἱ δὲ ἐρμήνεες, οἱ δὲ κυβερνήται. γένεα μὲν Αἰγυπτίων τοσαῦτα ἐστί, οὐνόματα δέ σφι κέεται ἀπὸ τῶν τεχνέων. οἱ δὲ μάχιμοι αὐτῶν καλέονται μὲν Καλασίριές τε καὶ Ἑρμοτύβιες, ἐκ νομῶν δὲ τῶνδε εἰσί· κατὰ γὰρ δὴ νομοὺς Αἴγυπτος ἄπασα διαραίρηται.

165. Έρμοτυβίων μὲν οίδε εἰσὶ νομοί, Βουσιρίτης, Σαίτης, Χεμμίτης, Παπρημίτης, νῆσος ἡ Προσωπίτις καλεομένη, Ναθώ τὸ ἤμισυ. ἐκ μὲν τούτων τῶν νομῶν Ἑρμοτύβιες εἰσί, γενόμενοι, ὅτε ἐπὶ πλείστους ἐγένοντο, ἑκκαίδεκα μυριάδες. καὶ τούτων βαναυσίης οὐδεὶς δεδάηκε οὐδέν, ἀλλὶ

ανέωνται ές τὸ μάχιμον.

166. Καλασιρίων δὲ οἴδε ἄλλοι νομοί εἰσι, Θηβαῖος, Βουβαστίτης, 'Αφθίτης, Τανίτης, Μενδήσιος, Σεβεννύτης, 'Αθριβίτης, Φαρβαϊθίτης, Θμουΐτης, 'Ονουφίτης, 'Ανύτιος, Μυεκφορίτης οὖτος ὁ νομὸς ἐν νήσω οἰκέει ἀντίον Βουβάστιος πόλιος. οὖτοι δὲ οἱ νομοὶ Καλασιρίων εἰσί, γενόμενοι, ὅτε ἐπὶ πλείστους ἐγένοντο, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν. οὐδὲ τούτοισι ἔξεστι

armed his guard and marched against the Egyptians; he had a bodyguard of Carians and Ionians, thirty thousand of them, and his royal dwelling was in the city of Sais, a great and marvellous palace. Apries' men marched against the Egyptians, and so did Amasis' men against the strangers; so they came both to Momemphis, where it was their purpose to prove each other's quality.

164. The Egyptians are divided into seven classes, severally entitled priests, warriors, cowherds, swine-herds, hucksters, interpreters, and pilots. So many classes there are, each named after its vocation. The warriors are divided into Kalasiries and Hermotubies, and they belong to the following provinces (for all divisions in Egypt are made according to provinces).

165. The Hermotubies are of the provinces of Busiris, Sais, Chemmis, and Papremis, the island called Prosopitis, and half of Natho—all of these; their number, at its greatest, attained to a hundred and sixty thousand. None of these has learnt any common trade; they are free to follow arms alone.

166. The Kalasiries for their part are of the provinces of Thebes, Bubastis, Aphthis, Tanis, Mendes, Sebennys, Athribis, Pharbaithis, Thmuis, Onuphis, Anytis, Myecphoris (this last is in an island over against the city of Bubastis)—all these; their number, at its greatest, attained to two hundred and fifty thousand men. These too may practise

τέχνην ἐπασκήσαι οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἐπασκέουσι μοῦνα, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεκόμενος.

167. Εἰ μέν νυν καὶ τοῦτο παρ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθήκασι οἱ Ἑλληνες, οἰκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως κρῖναι, ὁρέων καὶ Θρήικας καὶ Σκύθας καὶ Πέρσας καὶ Λυδοὺς καὶ σχεδὸν πάντας τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀποτιμοτέρους τῶν ἄλλων ἡγημένους πολιητέων τοὺς τὰς τέχνας μανθάνοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐκγόνους τούτων, τοὺς δὲ ἀπαλλαγμένους τῶν χειρωναξιέων γενναίους νομιζομένους εἰναι, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἀνειμένους· μεμαθήκασι δ' ὧν τοῦτο πάντες οἱ Ἑλληνες καὶ μάλιστα Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἤκιστα δὲ Κορίνθιοι ὄνονται τοὺς χειροτέχνας.

168. Γέρεα δέ σφι ἢν τάδε ἐξαραιρημένα μούνοισι Αἰγυπτίων πάρεξ τῶν ἱρέων, ἄρουραι ἐξαίρετοι δυώδεκα ἐκάστφ ἀτελέες. ἡ δὲ ἄρουρα ἐκατὸν πηχέων ἐστὶ Αἰγυπτίων πάντη, ὁ δὲ Αἰγύπτιος πῆχυς τυγχάνει ἴσος ἐων τῷ Σαμίφ. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖσι ἄπασι ἢν ἐξαραιρημένα, τάδε δὲ ἐν περιτροπῆ ἐκαρποῦντο καὶ οὐδαμὰ ώυτοί. Καλασιρίων χίλιοι καὶ Ἑρμοτυβίων ἐδορυφόρεον ἐνιαυτὸν ἔκαστοι τὸν βασιλέα· τούτοισι ὧν τάδε πάρεξ τῶν ἀρουρέων ἄλλα ἐδίδοτο ἐπ' ἡμέρη ἑκάστη, ὀπτοῦ σίτου σταθμὸς πέντε μνέαι ἑκάστφ, κρεῶν βοέων δύο μνέαι, οἴνου τέσσερες ἀρυστῆρες. ταῦτα τοῖσι αἰεὶ δορυφορέουσι ἐδίδοτο.

169. Ἐπείτε δὲ συνίοντες ὅ τε ᾿Απρίης ἄγων τοὺς ἐπικούρους καὶ ὁ Ἦκασις πάντας Αἰγυπτίους ἀπίκοντο ἐς Μώμεμφιν πόλιν, συνέβαλον καὶ ἐμαχέσαντο μὲν εὖ οἱ ξεῖνοι, πλήθεϊ δὲ πολλῷ ἐλάσσονες ἐόντες κατὰ τοῦτο ἐσσώθησαν. ᾿Απρίεω δὲ

# BOOK II. 166-169

no trade but only war, which is their hereditary

calling.

167. Now whether this separation, like other customs, has come to Greece from Egypt, I cannot exactly judge. I know that in Thrace and Scythia and Persia and Lydia and nearly all foreign countries those who learn trades are held in less esteem than the rest of the people, and those who have least to do with artisans' work, especially men who are free to practise the art of war, are highly honoured. Thus much is certain, that this opinion, which is held by all Greeks and chiefly by the Lacedaemonians, is of foreign origin. It is in Corinth that artisans are held

in least contempt.

168. The warriors were the only Egyptians, except the priests, who had special privileges: for each of them there was set apart an untaxed plot of twelve acres. This acre is a square of a hundred Egyptian cubits each way, the Egyptian cubit being equal to the Samian. These lands were set apart for all; it was never the same men who cultivated them, but each in turn. 1 A thousand Kalasiries and as many Hermotubies were the king's annual bodyguard. These men, besides their lands, received each a daily provision of five minae's weight of roast grain, two minae of beef, and four cups of wine. These were the gifts received by each bodyguard.

169. When Apries with his guards and Amasis with the whole force of Egyptians came to the town of Momemphis, they joined battle; and though the foreigners fought well, they were by much the fewer, and therefore were worsted. Apries, they say,

<sup>1</sup> That is, each twelve-acre plot was cultivated by a new occupier every year.

λέγεται είναι ήδε διάνοια, μηδ' αν θεόν μιν μηδένα δύνασθαι παθσαι της βασιληίης ούτω ἀσφαλέως έωυτω ίδρυσθαι έδόκεε. και δή τότε συμβαλών έσσώθη και ζωγρηθείς άπηγθη ές Σάιν πόλιν, ές τὰ έωυτοῦ οἰκία πρότερον ἐόντα, τότε δὲ 'Αμάσιος ήδη βασιλήια. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τέως μὲν ἐτρέφετο ἐν τοίσι βασιληίοισι, καί μιν "Αμασις εὖ περιείπε" τέλος δὲ μεμφομένων Αἰγυπτίων ώς οὐ ποιέοι δίκαια τρέφων τον σφίσι τε και έωυτω έχθιστον, ούτω δη παραδιδοί τὸν 'Απρίην τοίσι Αίγυπτίοισι. οί δέ μιν ἀπέπνιξαν καὶ ἔπειτα ἔθαψαν ἐν τῆσι πατρωίησι ταφήσι αὶ δὲ εἰσὶ ἐν τῷ ἰρῶ τῆς 'Αθηναίης, άγχοτάτω τοῦ μεγάρου, ἐσιόντι ἀριστερῆς χειρός. ἔθαψαν δὲ Σάιται πάντας τοὺς ἐκ νομοῦ τούτου γενομένους βασιλέας έσω εν τω ίρω. γαρ τὸ τοῦ 'Αμάσιος σημα έκαστέρω μὲν ἐστὶ τοῦ μεγάρου η τὸ τοῦ ᾿Απρίεω καὶ τῶν τούτου προπατόρων, έστι μέντοι καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τῆ αὐλῆ τοῦ ίρου, παστάς λιθίνη μεγάλη και ήσκημένη στύλοισί τε φοίνικας τὰ δένδρεα μεμιμημένοισι καὶ τη άλλη δαπάνη έσω δὲ ἐν τη παστάδι διξά θυρώματα έστηκε, εν δε τοίσι θυρώμασι ή θήκη έστί.

170. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ αἱ ταφαὶ τοῦ οὐκ ὅσιον ποιεῦμαι ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι ἐξαγορεύειν τὸ οὔνομα ἐν Σάι, ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τῆς ᾿Αθηναίης, ὅπισθε τοῦ νηοῦ, παντὸς τοῦ τῆς ᾿Αθηναίης ἐχόμεναι τοίχου. καὶ ἐν τῷ τεμένεῖ ὀβελοὶ ἑστᾶσι μεγάλοι λίθινοι, λίμνη τε ἐστὶ ἐχομένη λιθίνη κρηπίδι κεκοσμημένη καὶ ἐργασμένη εὖ κύκλῳ καὶ μέγαθος, ὡς ἐμοὶ ἐδύκεε, ὅση περ ἡ ἐν Δήλῳ ἡ τροχοειδὴς καλεομένη.

supposed that not even a god could depose him from his throne; so firmly he thought he was established; and now being worsted in battle and taken captive he was brought to Sais, to the royal dwelling which belonged once to him but now to Amasis. There he was kept alive for a while in the palace, and well entreated by Amasis. But presently the Egyptians complained that there was no justice in keeping alive one who was their own and their king's bitterest enemy; whereupon Amasis gave Apries up to them. and they strangled him and then buried him in the burial-place of his fathers. This is in the temple of Athene, very near to the sanctuary, on the left of the entrance. The people of Sais buried within the temple precinct all kings who were natives of their province. The tomb of Amasis is farther from the sanctuary than the tomb of Apries and his ancestors: vet it also is within the temple court; it is a great colonnade of stone, richly adorned, the pillars whereof are wrought in the form of palm trees. In this colonnade are two portals, and the place where the coffin lies is within their doors.

170. There is also at Sais the burial-place of him whose name I deem it forbidden to utter in speaking of such a matter; it is in the temple of Athene, behind and close to the whole length of the wall of the shrine. Moreover great stone obelisks stand in the precinct; and there is a lake hard by, adorned with a stone margin and wrought to a complete circle; it is, as it seemed to me, of the bigness of the lake at Delos which they call the Round Pond.

171. Έν δὲ τῆ λίμνη ταύτη τὰ δείκηλα τῶν παθέων αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς ποιεῦσι, τὰ καλέουσι μυστήρια Αἰγύπτιοι. περὶ μέν νυν τούτων εἰδότι μοι ἐπὶ πλέον ὡς ἔκαστα αὐτῶν ἔχει, εἴστομα κείσθω. καὶ τῆς Δήμητρος τελετῆς πέρι, τὴν οἱ Ἑλληνες θεσμοφόρια καλέουσι, καὶ ταύτης μοι πέρι εἴστομα κείσθω, πλὴν ὅσον αὐτῆς ὁσίη ἐστὶ λέγειν · αὶ Δαναοῦ θυγατέρες ἦσαν αὶ τὴν τελετὴν ταύτην ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐξαγαγοῦσαι καὶ διδάξασαι τὰς Πελασγιώτιδας γυναῖκας μετὰ δὲ ἐξαναστάσης πάσης ¹ Πελοποννήσου ὑπὸ Δωριέων ἐξαπώλετο ἡ τελετή, οἱ δὲ ὑπολειφθέντες Πελοποννησίων καὶ οὐκ ἐξαναστάντες ᾿Αρκάδες διέσωζον αὐτὴν μοῦνοι.

172. 'Απρίεω δε ώδε καταραιρημένου εβασίλευσε 'Αμασις, νομού μέν Σαίτεω έών, έκ της δέ ην πόλιος, ούνομά οἱ ἐστὶ Σιούφ. τὰ μὲν δη πρώτα κατώνοντο τὸν "Αμασιν Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ἐν οὐδεμιῆ μοίρη μεγάλη ήγον άτε δη δημότην τὸ πρίν εόντα και οικίης ούκ επιφανέος μετά δε σοφίη αὐτοὺς ὁ "Αμασις, οὐκ ἀγνωμοσύνη προσηγάγετο. ην οι άλλα τε άγαθὰ μυρία, έν δὲ καὶ ποδανιπτήρ χρύσεος, ἐν τῷ αὐτός τε ό "Αμασις καὶ οἱ δαιτυμόνες οἱ πάντες τους πόδας έκάστοτε έναπενίζοντο τοῦτον κατ ων κόψας ἄγαλμα δαίμονος έξ αὐτοῦ ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ίδρυσε της πόλιος όκου ην επιτηδεότατον. οί δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι φοιτέοντες προς τώγαλμα έσέβοντο μεγάλως. μαθών δὲ ὁ Αμασις τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἀστῶν ποιεύμενον, συγκαλέσας Αίγυπτίους έξέφηνε φάς έκ τοῦ ποδανιπτήρος τώγαλμα γεγο-

 $<sup>^{1}</sup>$  Stein brackets  $\pi d\sigma \eta s$ , as not consistent with the following words.

171. On this lake they enact by night the story of the god's sufferings, a rite which the Egyptians call the Mysteries. I could speak more exactly of these matters, for I know the truth, but I will hold my peace; nor will I say aught concerning that rite of Demeter which the Greeks call Thesmophoria, saving such part of it as I am not forbidden to mention. It was the daughters of Danaus who brought this rite out of Egypt and taught it to the Pelasgian women; afterwards, when the people of Peloponnesus were driven out by the Dorians, it was lost, except in so far as it was preserved by the Arcadians alone, the Peloponnesian nation that was not driven out but left in its home.

172. Apries being thus deposed, Amasis became king; he was of a town called Siuph in the province of Saïs. Now at first he was contemned and held in but little regard by the Egyptians, as having been but a common man and of no high family; but presently he won them to him by being cunning and not arrogant. He had among his countless treasures a golden washpot, in which he and all those who feasted with him were ever wont to wash their feet. This he broke in pieces and made thereof a god's image, which he set in the most fitting place in the city; and the Egyptians came ever and anon to this image and held it in great reverence. When Amasis knew what the townsmen did, he called the Egyptians together and told them that the image had been made out of the washpot; once (said he)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A festival celebrated by Athenian women in autumn.

νέναι, èς τον πρότερον μèν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐνεμέειν τε καὶ ἐνουρέειν καὶ πόδας ἐναπονίζεσθαι, τότε δὲ μεγάλως σέβεσθαι. ἤδη ὧν ἔφη λέγων ὁμοίως αὐτὸς τῷ ποδανιπτῆρι πεπρηγέναι· εἰ γὰρ πρότερον εἶναι δημότης, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ παρεόντι εἶναι αὐτῶν βασιλεύς· καὶ τιμᾶν τε καὶ προμηθέεσθαι ἐωντοῦ ἐκέλενε.

173. Τοιούτω μέν τρόπω προσηγάγετο τούς Αίγυπτίους ώστε δικαιούν δουλεύειν, έγρατο δέ καταστάσι πρηγμάτων τοιήδε το μέν όρθριον μέχρι ότευ πληθούσης αγορής προθύμως έπρησσε τὰ προσφερόμενα πρήγματα, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου έπινέ τε και κατέσκωπτε τούς συμπότας και ην μάταιός τε και παιγνιήμων. άχθεσθέντες δὲ τούτοισι οί φίλοι αὐτοῦ ἐνουθέτεον αὐτὸν τοιάδε λέγοντες. " Ω βασιλεύ, οὐκ ὀρθώς σεωυτού προέστηκας, ές τὸ ἄγαν φαῦλον προάγων σεωυτόν. σὲ γὰρ ἐχρῆν ἐν θρόνω σεμνώ σεμνὸν θωκέοντα δι' ήμέρης πρήσσειν τὰ πρήγματα, καὶ οὕτω Αἰγύπτιοί τ' αν ήπιστέατο ως ύπ' ανδρός μεγάλου άρχονται, καὶ ἄμεινον σὺ αν ἤκουες νῦν δὲ ποιέεις οὐδαμῶς βασιλικά." δ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε αὐτούς. "Τὰ τόξα οἱ ἐκτημένοι, ἐπεὰν μὲν δέωνται χρᾶσθαι, έντανύουσι εί γάρ δή τον πάντα χρόνον έντεταμένα είη, εκραγείη άν, ώστε ες το δέον ούκ αν έχοιεν αὐτοίσι χρασθαι. ούτω δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπου κατάστασις εί εθέλοι κατεσπουδάσθαι αίει μηδέ ές παιγνίην τὸ μέρος έωυτὸν ἀνιέναι, λάθοι ἄν ήτοι μανείς ή ο γε απόπληκτος γενόμενος τὰ έγω έπιστάμενος μέρος έκατέρω νέμω." ταῦτα μὲν τοὺς φίλους άμεί νατο.

174. Λέγεται δὲ ὁ "Αμασις, καὶ ὅτε ἡν ἰδιώτης.

# BOOK II. 172-174

his subjects had washed their feet in it and put it to yet viler uses; now they greatly revered it. "So now" (quoth he to them) "it has fared with me as with the washpot; once I was a common man, now I am your king; it is your duty to honour me and hold me in regard."

173. In this manner he won the Egyptians to consent to be his slaves; and this is how he ordered his affairs: in the morning, till the filling of the market place, he wrought zealously at such business as came before him; the rest of the day he spent in drinking and jesting with his boon companions in idle and sportive mood. But this displeased his friends, who thus admonished him: "O King, you are ill guided so to demean yourself. We would have you sit aloft on a throne of pride all day doing your business; thus would the Egyptians know that they have a great man for their ruler, and you would have the better name among them; but now your behaviour is nowise royal." "Nay," Amasis answered them, "men that have bows bend them at need only; were bows kept for ever bent they would break, and so would be of no avail when they were needed. Such too is the nature of men. Were they to be ever at serious work nor permit themselves a fair share of sport they would go mad or silly ere they knew it; I am well aware of that, and give each of the two its turn." Such was his answer to his friends.

174. It is said that before Amasis was a king he

ώς φιλοπότης ήν καὶ φιλοσκώμμων καὶ οὐδαμῶς κατεσπονδασμένος ἀνήρ· ὅκως δέ μιν ἐπιλείποι πίνοντά τε καὶ εὐπαθέοντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεα, κλέπτεσκε ἄν περιιών· οἱ δ' ἄν μιν φάμενοι ἔχειν τὰ σφέτερα χρήματα ἀρνεύμενον ἄγεσκον ἐπὶ μαντήιον, ὅκου ἐκάστοισι εἰη. πολλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἡλίσκετο ὑπὸ τῶν μαντηίων, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπέφευγε. ἐπείτε δὲ καὶ ἐβασίλευσε, ἐποίησε τοιάδε· ὅσοι μὲν αὐτὸν τῶν θεῶν ἀπέλυσαν μὴ φῶρα εἰναι, τούτων μὲν τῶν ἱρῶν οὔτε ἐπεμέλετο οὔτε ἐς ἐπισκευὴν ἐδίδου οὐδέν, οὐδὲ φοιτέων ἔθυε ὡς οὐδενὸς ἐοῦσι ἀξίοισι ψευδέα τε μαντήια ἐκτημένοισι· ὅσοι δέ μιν κατέδησαν φῶρα εἰναι, τούτων δὲ ὡς ἀληθέων θεῶν ἐόντων καὶ ἀψευδέα μαντήια παρεχομένων τὰ μάλιστα ἐπεμέλετο.

175. Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν Σάι τῆ ᾿Αθηναίη προπύλαια θωμάσια οἶα ἐξεποίησε, πολλὸν πάντας ὑπερβαλόμενος τῷ τε ὕψεϊ καὶ τῷ μεγάθεϊ, ὅσων τε τὸ μέγαθος λίθων ἐστὶ καὶ ὁκοίων τεῶν ΄ τοῦτο δὲ κολοσσοὺς μεγάλους καὶ ἀνδρόσφιγγας περιμήκεας ἀνέθηκε, λίθους τε ἄλλους ἐς ἐπισκευὴν ὑπερφυέας τὸ μέγαθος ἐκόμισε. ἡγάγετο δὲ τοῦτων τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ Μέμφιν ἐουσέων λιθοτομιέων, τοὺς δὲ ὑπερμεγάθεας ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος πλόον καὶ εἴκοσι ἡμερέων ἀπεχούσης ἀπὸ Σάιος. τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἥκιστα αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ μάλιστα θωμάζω, ἔστι τόδε · οἴκημα μουνόλιθον ἐκόμισε ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος, καὶ τοῦτο ἐκόμιζον μὲν ἐπὸ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος, καὶ τοῦτο ἐκόμιζον μὲν ἐπὸ

was a man nowise serious-minded but much given to drinking and jesting; and when his drinking and merrymaking brought him to penury, he would steal from one and another. Then those others, when he denied the charge that he had taken their possessions, would bring him to whatever place of divination was nearest them; and the oracles often declared him guilty and often acquitted him. When he became king, he took no care of the shrines of the gods who had acquitted him of theft, nor gave them aught for maintenance, nor made it his practice to sacrifice there, for he deemed them to be worthless and their oracles to be false; but he tended with all care the gods who had declared his guilt, holding them to be gods in very truth and their oracles infallible.

175. Amasis made a marvellous outer court for the temple of Athene <sup>1</sup> at Saïs, exceeding all that any had built in height and greatness, and in the size and splendour of the stone blocks; moreover, he set up huge images and vast man-headed sphinxes, <sup>2</sup> and brought enormous blocks of stone besides for the building. Some of these he brought from the stone quarries of Memphis; those of greatest size came from the city Elephantine, <sup>3</sup> distant twenty days' journey by river from Saïs. But let me now tell of what I hold the most marvellous of his works. He brought from Elephantine a shrine made of one single block of stone; three years it

Apparently, Nit; also identified with Demeter (132, note).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Visitors to Karnak will remember the double row of sphinxes leading to the temple.

<sup>3</sup> The island opposite Assuan; the Assuan quarries have always been famous.

έτεα τρία, δισχίλιοι δέ οί προσετετάχατο ἄνδρες άνωνέες, καὶ οὖτοι ἄπαντες ἦσαν κυβερνῆται. τῆς δε στέγης ταύτης το μεν μήκος έξωθεν έστι είς τε καὶ εἴκοσι πήχεες, εὖρος δὲ τεσσερεσκαίδεκα, ὕψος δὲ ὀκτώ. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ μέτρα ἔξωθεν τῆς στέγης της μουνολίθου έστί, αταρ έσωθεν το μηκος οκτωκαίδεκα πηγέων καὶ πυγόνος . . . . το δὲ ύνος πέντε πηγέων έστί. αυτη του ίρου κέεται παρά την έσοδον έσω γάρ μιν ές τὸ ίρον φασι τωνδε είνεκα οὐκ ἐσελκύσαι τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτῆς έλκομένης της στέγης άναστενάξαι, ολά τε χρόνου έγγεγουότος πολλού καὶ ἀχθόμενον τῷ ἔργω, τον δὲ 'Αμασιν ἐνθύμιον ποιησάμενον οὐκ ἐᾶν ἔτι προσωτέρω έλκύσαι. ήδη δὲ τινὲς λέγουσι ως ἄνθρωπος διεφθάρη ύπ' αὐτης των τις αὐτην μογλευόντων, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου οὐκ ἐσελκυσθηναι.

176. 'Ανέθηκε δὲ καὶ ἐν τοισι ἄλλοισι ἱροισι ὁ ''Αμασις πασι τοισι ἐλλογίμοισι ἔργα τὸ μέγαθος ἀξιοθέητα, ἐν δὲ καὶ ἐν Μέμφι τὸν ὕπτιον κείμενον κολοσσὸν τοῦ 'Ηφαιστείου ἔμπροσθε, τοῦ πόδες πέντε καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα εἰσὶ τὸ μῆκος· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ βάθρῳ ἐστασι τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐόντος λίθου δύο κολοσσοί, εἴκοσι ποδῶν τὸ μέγαθος ἐῶν ἐκιάτερος, ὁ μὲν ἔνθεν ὁ δ' ἔνθεν τοῦ μεγάλου. ἔστι δὲ λίθινος ἔτερος τοσοῦτος καὶ ἐν Σάι, κείμενος κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τῷ ἐν Μέμφι. τῆ "Ισι τε τὸ ἐν Μέμφι ἱρὸν ''Αμασις ἐστὶ ὁ ἐξοικοδομήσας,

έὸν μέγα τε καὶ ἀξιοθεητότατον.

177. Ἐπ' ᾿Αμάσιος δὲ βασιλέος λέγεται Αἴγυπτος μάλιστα δὴ τότε εὐδαιμονῆσαι καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This lacuna is in one MS, filled by the words τὸ δὲ εδρος δυώδεκα πηχέων.

# BOOK II. 175-177

was in the bringing, and two thousand men were charged with the carriage of it, pilots all of them. This chamber measures in outer length twenty-one cubits, in breadth fourteen, in height eight. These are the outer measurements of the chamber which is made of one block; its inner length is of eighteen cubits and four-fifths of a cubit, and its height of five cubits. It lies by the entrance of the temple: the reason why it was not dragged within into the temple was (so they say), that while it was being drawn the chief builder groaned aloud for the much time spent and his weariness of the work, and Amasis taking this to heart would not suffer it to be drawn further. Some again say that a man, one of them that heaved up the shrine, was crushed by it, and therefore it was not dragged within.

176. Moreover Amasis dedicated, besides monuments of marvellous size in all the other temples of note, the huge image that lies supine before Hephaestus' temple at Memphis; this image is seventy-five feet in length; there stand on the same base, on either side of the great image, two huge statues hewn from the same block, each of them twenty feet high. There is at Saïs another stone figure of like bigness, lying as lies the figure at Memphis. It was Amasis, too, who built the great and most marvellous temple of Isis at Memphis.

177. It is said that in the reign of Amasis Egypt attained to its greatest prosperity, in respect of what

ποταμοῦ τῆ χώρη γινόμενα καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς χώρης τοισι ἀνθρώποισι, καὶ πόλις ἐν αὐτῆ γενέσθαι τὰς ἀπάσας τότε δισμυρίας τὰς οἰκεομένας. νόμον τε Αἰγυπτίοισι τόνδε "Αμασις ἐστὶ ὁ καταστήσας, ἀποδεικνύναι ἔτεος ἑκάστου τῷ νομάρχη πάντα τινὰ Αἰγυπτίων ὅθεν βιοῦται μὴ δὲ ποιεῦντα ταῦτα μηδὲ ἀποφαίνοντα δικαίην ζόην ἰθύνεσθαι θανάτῳ. Σόλων δὲ ὁ ᾿Αθηναίος λαβὼν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοῦτον τὸν νόμον ᾿Αθηναίοισι ἔθετο· τῷ

έκείνοι ές αίει χρέωνται έόντι άμώμφ νόμφ.

178. Φιλέλλην δὲ γενόμενος ὁ "Αμασις ἄλλα τε ές Έλλήνων μετεξετέρους ἀπεδέξατο, καὶ δη καὶ τοίσι ἀπικνευμένοισι ές Αίγυπτον έδωκε Ναύκρατιν πόλιν ενοικήσαι τοίσι δε μή βουλομένοισι αὐτῶν οἰκέειν, αὐτοῦ δὲ ναυτιλλομένοισι ἔδωκε χώρους ενιδρύσασθαι βωμούς καὶ τεμένεα θεοίσι. το μέν νυν μέγιστον αὐτῶν τέμενος, καὶ ονομαστότατον έον και χρησιμώτατον, καλεύμενον δέ Έλλήνιον, αίδε αι πόλιες είσι αι ίδρυμέναι κοινή. Ιώνων μέν Χίος καὶ Τέως καὶ Φώκαια καὶ Κλαζομεναί, Δωριέων δε Ρόδος και Κνίδος και Αλικαρνησσός καὶ Φάσηλις, Αἰολέων δὲ ή Μυτιληναίων μούνη. τουτέων μεν έστι τούτο το τέμενος, και προστάτας του έμπορίου αυται αι πόλιες είσι αί παρέχουσαι όσαι δὲ ἄλλαι πόλιες μεταποιεύνται, οὐδέν σφι μετεὸν μεταποιεύνται. δὲ Αἰγινήται ἐπὶ ἐωυτῶν ἰδρύσαντο τέμενος Διός, καὶ ἄλλο Σάμιοι "Ηρης καὶ Μιλήσιοι 'Απόλ-Lavos.

179. <sup>\*</sup>Ην δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν μούνη Ναύκρατις ἐμπόριον καὶ ἄλλο οὐδὲν Αἰγύπτου· εἰ δέ τις ἐς τῶν τι ἄλλο στομάτων τοῦ Νείλου ἀπίκοιτο, χρῆν

# BOOK II. 177-179

the river did for the land and the land for its people: and that the whole sum of inhabited cities in the country was twenty thousand. It was Amasis also who made the law that every Egyptian should yearly declare his means of livelihood to the ruler of his province, and, failing so to do or to prove that he had a just way of life, be punished with death. Solon the Athenian got this law from Egypt and established it among his people; may they ever keep it! for it is a perfect law.

178. Amasis became a lover of the Greeks, and besides other services which he did to some of them he gave those who came to Egypt the city of Naucratis to dwell in, and to those who voyaged to the country without desire to settle there he gave lands where they might set altars and make holy places for their gods. Of these the greatest and most famous and most visited precinct is that which is called the Hellenion, founded jointly by the Ionian cities of Chios, Teos, Phocaea, and Clazomenae, the Dorian cities of Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, and Phaselis, and one Aeolian city, Mytilene. It is to these that the precinct belongs, and these are they that appoint wardens of the port; if any others claim rights therein they lay claim to that wherein they have no part or lot. The Aeginetans made a precinct of their own, sacred to Zeus; and so did the Samians for Here and the Milesians for Apollo.

179. Naucratis was in old time the only trading port in Egypt. Whosoever came to any other mouth of the Nile must swear that he had not come of his

ομόσαι μὴ μὲν έκόντα ἐλθεῖν, ἀπομόσαντα δὲ τῷ νηὶ αὐτῷ πλέειν ἐς τὸ Κανωβικόν ἡ εἰ μή γε οἰά τε εἴη πρὸς ἀνέμους ἀντίους πλέειν, τὰ φορτία ἔδεε περιάγειν ἐν βάρισι περὶ τὸ Δέλτα, μέχρι οὐ ἀπίκοιτο ἐς Ναύκρατιν. οὕτω μὲν δὴ Ναύκρατις

ἐτετίμητο.

180. `Αμφικτυόνων δὲ μισθωσάντων τὸν ἐν Δελφοισι νῦν ἐόντα νηὸν τριηκοσίων ταλάντων ἐξεργάσασθαι (ὁ γὰρ πρότερον ἐων αὐτόθι αὐτόματος κατεκάη), τοὺς Δελφοὺς δὴ ἐπέβαλλε τεταρτημόριον τοῦ μισθώματος παρασχεῖν. πλανώμενοι δὲ οἱ Δελφοὶ περὶ τὰς πόλις ἐδωτίναζον, ποιεῦντες δὲ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐλάχιστον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἠνείκαντο ''Αμασις μὲν γάρ σφι ἔδωκε χίλια στυπτηρίης τάλαντα, οἱ δὲ ἐν Αἰγύπτω οἰκέοντες ''Ελληνες

είκοσι μνέας.

181. Κυρηναίοισι δὲ "Αμασις φιλότητά τε καὶ συμμαχίην συνεθήκατο, ἐδικαίωσε δὲ καὶ γῆμαι αὐτόθεν, εἴτ' ἐπιθυμήσας Ἑλληνίδος γυναικὸς εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως φιλότητος Κυρηναίων εἴνεκα· γαμέει δὲ ὧν οῖ μὲν λέγουσι Βάττου οῖ δ' Αρκεσίλεω θυγατέρα, οῖ δὲ Κριτοβούλου ἀνδρὸς τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμου, τῆ οὔνομα ἡν Λαδίκη· τῆ ἐπείτε συγκλίνοιτο ὁ "Αμασις, μίσγεσθαι οὐκ οἰός τε ἐγίνετο, τῆσι δὲ ἄλλησι γυναιξὶ ἐχρᾶτο. ἐπείτε δὲ πολλὸν τοῦτο ἐγίνετο, εἶπε ὁ "Αμασις πρὸς τὴν Λαδίκην ταύτην καλεομένην," Ὁ γύναι, κατά με ἐφάρμαξας, καὶ ἔστι τοι οὐδεμία μηχανὴ μὴ οὐκ ἀπολωλέναι κάκιστα γυναικῶν πασέων." ἡ δὲ Λαδίκη, ἐπείτε οἱ ἀρνευμένη οὐδὲν ἐγίνετο πρηΰτερος ὁ "Αμασις, εὕχεται ἐν τῷ νόφ τῆ 'Αφροδίτη, ἤν οἱ ὑπ' ἐκείνην

own will, and having so sworn must then take his ship and sail to the Canobic mouth; or, if he could not sail against contrary winds, he must carry his cargo in barges round the Delta till he came to Naucratis. In such honour was Naucratis held.

180. When the Amphictyons had hired out for three hundred talents the work of finishing the temple that now stands at Delphi (that which was formerly there having been burnt by pure mischance), it fell to the Delphians to provide a fourth part of the cost. They went about from city to city collecting gifts, and in this business they got most from Egypt; for Amasis gave them a thousand talents' weight of astringent earth, and the Greek dwellers

in Egypt twenty minae.

181. Amasis made friends and allies of the people of Cyrene. Moreover he thought fit to take himself a wife from thence; whether it was that he desired a Greek woman, or that he had other cause for winning the friendship of Cyrene, I know not; but he married one Ladice, said to be the daughter of Battus by some, of Arcesilaus by others, and by others again of Critobulus, an esteemed citizen of the place. But it so fell out that Ladice was the only woman with whom Amasis could not have intercourse; and this continuing, Amasis said to this Ladice, "Woman, you have cast a spell on me, and most assuredly you shall come to a terrible end." So, the king's anger not abating for all her denial, Ladice vowed in her heart to Aphrodite that she

<sup>1</sup> Alum, apparently.

τὴν νύκτα μιχθῆ ὁ "Αμασις, τοῦτο γάρ οἱ κακοῦ εἶναι μῆχος, ἄγαλμά οἱ ἀποπέμψειν ἐς Κυρήνην. μετὰ δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν αὐτίκα οἱ ἐμίχθη ὁ "Αμασις. καὶ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη, ὁκότε ἔλθοι "Αμασις πρὸς αὐτήν, ἐμίσγετο, καὶ κάρτα μιν ἔστερξε μετὰ τοῦτο, ἡ δὲ Λαδίκη ἀπέδωκε τὴν εὐχὴν τῆ θεῷ ποιησαμένη γὰρ ἄγαλμα ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Κυρήνην, τὸ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἢν σόον, ἔξω τετραμμένον τοῦ Κυρηναίων ἄστεος. ταύτην τὴν Λαδίκην, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε Καμβύσης Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐπύθετο αὐτῆς ἤτις εἴη, ἀπέ-

πεμψε ἀσινέα ές Κυρήνην.

182. 'Ανέθηκε δὲ καὶ ἀναθήματα ὁ "Αμασις ἐς την Έλλάδα, τοῦτο μέν ές Κυρήνην ἄγαλμα ἐπίχρυσον 'Αθηναίης καὶ εἰκόνα έωυτοῦ γραφή είκασμένην, τοῦτο δὲ τῆ ἐν Λίνδω ᾿Αθηναίη δύο τε αγάλματα λίθινα καὶ θώρηκα λίνεον άξιοθέητον, τοῦτο δ' ἐς Σάμον τῆ "Ηρη εἰκόνας έωυτοῦ διφασίας ξυλίνας, αι έν τω νηω τω μεγάλω ίδρύατο έτι και τὸ μέγρι ἐμεῦ, ὅπισθε τῶν θυρέων, ἐς μέν νυν Σάμον ανέθηκε κατά ξεινίην την έωυτοῦ τε καὶ Πολυκράτεος του Αιάκεος, ές δε Λίνδον ξεινίης μεν οὐδεμιης είνεκεν, ότι δὲ τὸ ίρὸν τὸ ἐν Λίνδω τὸ τῆς 'Αθηναίης λέγεται τὰς Δαναοῦ θυγατέρας ίδρύσασθαι προσσχούσας, ότε ἀπεδίδρησκον τοὺς Αἰγύπτου παίδας. ταῦτα μὲν ἀνέθηκε ὁ "Αμασις, είλε δὲ Κύπρον πρώτος ανθρώπων και κατεστρέψατο ές φόρου άπαγωγήν.

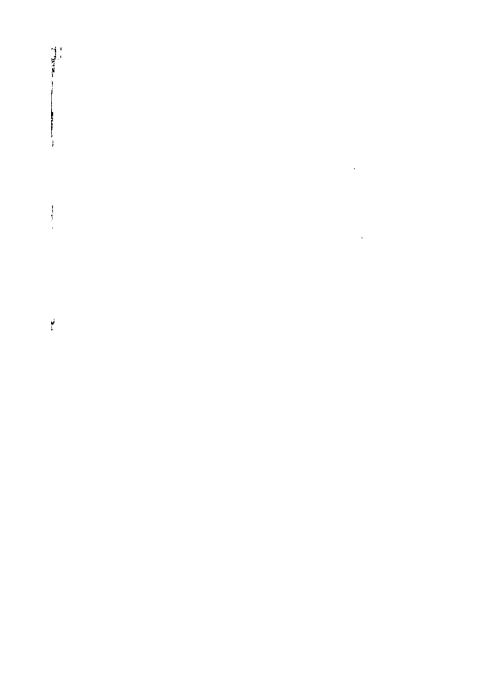
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would send the goddess a statue to Cyrene if Amasis had intercourse with her that night; for that would remedy the evil; and thereafter all went well, and Amasis loved his wife much. Ladice paid her vow to the goddess; she had an image made and sent it to Cyrene, where it stood safe till my time, outside the city. Cambyses, when he had conquered Egypt and learnt who Ladice was, sent her away to Cyrene unharmed.

182. Moreover Amasis dedicated offerings in Hellas. He gave to Cyrene a gilt image of Athene and a painted picture of himself, to Athene of Lindus two stone images and a marvellous linen breast-plate and to Here in Samos two wooden statues of himself. which stood yet in my time behind the doors in the great shrine. The offerings in Samos were dedicated by reason of the friendship between Amasis and Polycrates 1 son of Aeaces; what he gave to Lindus was for no friendship with any man, but because it is said that the temple of Athene in Lindus was founded by the daughters of Danaus, when they landed there in their flight from the sons of Egyptus. Such were Amasis' offerings. Moreover he was the first conqueror of Cyprus, which he made tributary to himself.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Polycrates' rule began probably in 532 B.C. For the friendship between him and Amasis, see iii. 39



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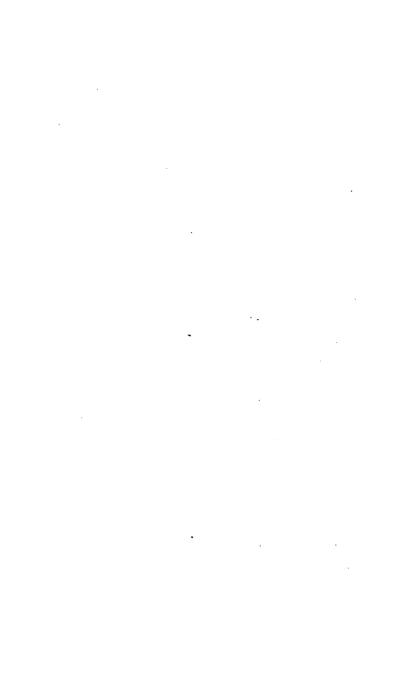
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